# THE RECORD OF LINJI

*translation and commentary by*
**Ruth Fuller Sasaki**

*edited by*
**Thomas Yūhō Kirchner**

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TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY BY

Ruth Fuller Sasaki

EDITED BY

Thomas Yūhō Kirchner

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# *Foreword*

Yamada Mumon 山田無文

Indian Buddhism is distinctly contemplative, quietistic, and inclined to speculative thought. By contrast, Chinese Buddhism is practical and down-to-earth, active, and in a sense transcendental at the same time. This difference reflects, I believe, the national characters of the two peoples. Zen, the name given to the Buddhism the first Zen patriarch Bodhidharma brought with him to China when he came from India, proved well suited to the Chinese mentality, and achieved a remarkable growth and development in its new environment. An Indian would no doubt find incredible the Chinese Zen master Baizhang's famous saying, "A day of no work is a day of no eating."

The lines, "One flower opens five petals / The fruit naturally ripen," traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma, are said to foretell the branching off of the five Zen schools that later appeared in China. These schools—the Yunmen, Guiyang, Linji, Fayan, and Caodong—derive their names from their founders, and their overall complexions also are traceable to the respective personalities of those men. Zen attaches the highest importance to each person's particular individuality, even as it concerns itself with that person's universality. The Linji or Rinzai school of Zen begins in the figure of the Tang priest Linji Yixuan (J. Rinzai Gigen). The *Linji lu*, in Japanese the *Rinzai roku*, is the record of his words and deeds.

Rinzai Zen is distinguished from the other Zen schools by its brusque and somewhat martial disposition. Its central concern is "the person who is master in all places," whose effortless activity is a giving and taking away, creating and annihilating absolutely at will, with the "sword that kills, and the sword that gives life." This is one reason the school has been given the label "Shōgun Zen," and no doubt also accounts for the great success it enjoyed in the past among the samurai classes of Japan.

Nishida Kitarō, the greatest Japanese philosopher of modern times and

*Editor's note:* Yamada Mumon's Foreword and Furuta Kazuhiro's Preface have been reprinted in close to their original form, but with some sections retranslated and with the Chinese names changed from Wade-Giles to Pinyin.

lifelong friend of the late Suzuki Daisetz, held the *Linji lu* in special regard. He once wrote, "If there should come a time when books were to disappear from the earth, or I was banished to some bookless land, it would be enough for me if I had only Shinran's *Tannishō* and the *Linji lu*."

I believe that Zen, particularly Rinzai Zen, has a significant role in the present world. Modern people are adrift amid the great confusion and uncertainty of contemporary life. The *Linji lu* can give us a foundation on which to construct a new and powerful view of human existence.

It thus gives me great joy to know that with the appearance of this first English translation of the *Linji lu*, this Zen classic will be available more than ever before to readers throughout the world.

Kyoto, Institute for Zen Studies

# *Preface to the 1975 Edition*

Furuta Kazuhiro 古田和弘

The *Linji lu* (J. *Rinzai roku*) consists of the recorded sayings of Linji Yixuan (d. 866), the founder of the Linji school of Chan (Zen) Buddhism, which emerged toward the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907). Linji's lifetime coincided with the declining years of the mighty Tang empire, when Chinese society was in a state of great turmoil.

Buddhism, initially transmitted to China in the first century, gradually became more Sinified from the fourth century on. During the sixth and seventh centuries—the Sui (581–618) and early Tang dynasties—a systematic organization of the Buddhist teaching took place, reaching a peak in the philosophical structures of the Tiantai, Sanlun, Huayan, Faxiang, and Jingtu (Pure Land) schools.

Linji shook himself free from the standardized views of humanity and religion prevalent in the historical period he lived in, and proclaimed a new Buddhism based on the personal experience of reality in a free and open mode of life. His voice carries to us across the centuries in the pages of the *Linji lu*.

Traditionally, Chan traces its origins in China back to Bodhidharma, the First Patriarch, who is said to have arrived there in the sixth century. Chan came to maturity at the time of Huineng (638–713), the Sixth Patriarch. Huineng's dharma was inherited by Linji after passing through four generations of illustrious Chan masters: Nanyue Huairang (677–744), Mazu Daoyi (709–788), Baizhang Huaihai (720–814), and Huangbo Xiyun (d. *ca.* 850). The *Linji lu*, then, can perhaps be regarded as providing a true index of this tradition of Chan at the end of the Tang dynasty. Although Chan later branched out into the "Five Houses and Seven Schools," by the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127) the school established by Linji's descendents had assumed preeminence as the central line.

Nothing is known of the first edition of the *Linji lu*. The earliest extant text is a reprint edition for which the woodblocks were cut in 1120, with a preface written by the Song court official Ma Fang. This became the standard version used in Linji Chan down through the years. The Linji school's traditional way of reading the *Linji lu* is also said to have evolved during the Northern Song period. As a product of the Chan world as it existed in the

Song dynasty, the reading reflects, of course, the concerns and interests of that age. This reading was transmitted to Japan, where it was passed down from generation to generation in the training halls of Rinzai monasteries. Until the present day the way Japanese priests have interpreted the *Linji lu* has followed largely along the general lines set in the Song dynasty.

The present English translation has its beginnings in the desire of the late Ruth Fuller Sasaki to fulfill the dying wish of her husband Sōkei-an (Sasaki Shigetsu Roshi; 1882–1945). In all, the actual work went on for close to thirty years, only to be discontinued, just short of final completion, by Ruth's sudden death in 1967.

Sōkei-an, the dharma heir of Shaku Sōkatsu Roshi (1870–1954), went to America at his teacher's suggestion for the purpose of making available to American students the traditional teaching of Japanese Rinzai Zen. In 1930 he founded in New York the First Zen Institute of America. There, while directing his students in their Zen practice, he gave talks on the *Linji lu*, which led him to attempt an English translation of the work.

Mrs. Sasaki began her Rinzai Zen studies in Japan in 1932, and continued them under Sōkei-an in New York from 1938 until his death in 1945. They were married during the Second World War, when Sōkei-an was in the midst of a serious illness. In 1949, in keeping with her husband's deathbed wish, Mrs. Sasaki went to Japan to resume her Zen study under the elder dharma brother of Sōkei-an, Gotō Zuigan Roshi, Chief Abbot of Daitoku-ji. She also set about preparing the manuscripts of Sōkei-an's translation for publication. In the meantime, she received permission from Daitoku-ji to restore as a residence the subtemple Ryōsen-an, where she established a branch of the First Zen Institute of America to provide training facilities in Japan for foreign students. Ryōsen-an had formerly been the head of an important branch in the Daitoku-ji temple system; Sōkei-an had belonged to that line of Daitoku-ji priests.

Coming to believe that the satisfactory translation of Chan texts into English could be achieved only with the participation of scholars trained in the colloquial Chinese language of the Tang and Song dynasties—the language of most Chan texts—Mrs. Sasaki asked Prof. Iriya Yoshitaka, a member of the Institute for Humanistic Studies of Kyoto University and a specialist in the Chinese colloquial language, to help her examine Sōkei-an's manuscript translation of the *Linji lu*. Prof. Kanaseki Hisao of Dōshisha University participated in the work as well. When Iriya pointed out a number of questionable points in the traditional reading of the text, Mrs. Sasaki decided to attempt a new and scholarly accurate translation directly from the original.

A small group of Japanese and American scholars was organized to work

on the project. In addition to Prof. Iriya, the group included Prof. Yanagida Seizan, a specialist in Chan history at Hanazono College; Dr. Burton Watson of Columbia University; and Dr. Philip Yampolsky, also of Columbia University. By 1960 this team had completed research on the text of the *Linji lu*, an initial English translation, and the draft versions for approximately five hundred notes and a lengthy bibliography. Another four years, until 1964, were required to finish a second version of the text and notes. Members of the staff during this part of the work were Mrs. Sasaki, Profs. Iriya, Kanaseki, and Yanagida, and Furuta Kazuhiro of Ōtani University.

The same people completed a third version in 1966; in 1967 a fourth version, complete up to the end of the "Discourses" section, was finished. With the work at that point, in the summer of 1967 Mrs. Sasaki traveled to Europe to make arrangements for printing the translation, and to the United States to discuss its publication with an American publishing house. At that time the plan was to publish three separate volumes, the first to include an introduction, the Chinese text of the *Linji lu*, and the English translation; the second to contain approximately six hundred pages of notes; and the third to include a bibliography, appendices, and an index. Upon Mrs. Sasaki's return to Japan the entire staff hastened to finish the remaining portions of the fourth, or semifinal, draft. That work was brought to an abrupt and unfortunate halt by Mrs. Sasaki's sudden death on 24 October 1967.

During the fifteen years of their collaboration, Mrs. Sasaki and the research staff produced three publications: *The Development of Chinese Zen* (1953), in collaboration with Heinrich Dumoulin, S.J.; *The Zen Koan* (1965), together with Miura Isshū Roshi; and *Zen Dust* (1966). With her untimely death, the daily activities of the Kyoto branch of the First Zen Institute and the plans for publishing *The Record of Linji* had to be suspended.

It was decided by the remaining members of the Ryōsen-an staff to at least complete the unfinished part of the fourth draft so that a full semifinal version could be made. They enlisted for this work the aid of Gary Snyder, American poet and former member of the Institute. In the spring of 1968 the semifinal version was finally finished, with the help of a generous grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, arranged through the offices of Prof. William T. de Bary and Dr. Philip Yampolsky of Columbia University.

In the summer of 1968, still without any definite plans for publication, Prof. Iriya, joined by Mr. Dana R. Fraser (a Zen student at Shōkoku-ji and former member of the Institute), and myself commenced work on the fifth and final version. From the enormous amount of note material that had been assembled, new notes were compiled that would provide the minimal information necessary for the general reader. A wealth of information of great value to specialists and scholars, which in the original plans was to have been

included in the second volume, had to be eliminated. It is still preserved in thick notebooks in the Ryōsen-an library.

In 1969 the text and notes were finished. At the request of Prof. Yanagida, the Institute for Zen Studies at Hanazono College kindly offered to publish it, with arrangements made under the direction of the Institute's Prof. Kimura Jōyū.

As it now stands, this edition represents a compromise version of the work originally planned by Mrs. Sasaki and so diligently worked upon by her, Prof. Iriya, and the other members of the staff. Yet in the sense that all their years of work can be said to have reached a culmination in the translation itself, the publication at this time of *The Recorded Sayings of Linji* may be regarded as a satisfactory denouement after all. It was a similar feeling that led to the decision to publish *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang*, another translation that was left unfinished at her passing.

The Chinese text used for the translation is given at the end of the volume. It was established by collating the edition in the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, vol. 47, with the variant readings noted in that edition and also with the text in the *Xu guzunsu yuyao* (*Zoku kosonshuku goyō*). For the reader's convenience the Chinese text that follows the notes has been paragraphed at appropriate intervals and numbered, with corresponding numbers appearing in the text of the English translation. The Song-dynasty preface by Ma Fang, which is usually found at the head of the *Linji lu*, has been moved to the end. The original plans called for a detailed introduction, but it was never actually written. A preparatory essay by Yanagida dealing mainly with the historical aspects of Linji and the *Linji lu* was prepared and translated at Mrs. Sasaki's request. It was published in 1972 in the *Eastern Buddhist*, n.s. 5/2.

# *Editor's Prologue*

Ruth Fuller Sasaki's translation of the *Linji lu* was one of the first Zen texts I encountered after starting Zen practice in Japan in the early 1970s. Even prior to the publication of the Institute for Zen Studies' 1975 edition (see Furuta Kazuhiro's Preface), typescripts of the translation, minus the notes, had found their way to Western Zen students attending retreats at Ryūtaku-ji 龍澤寺, a Rinzai Zen monastery south of Mount Fuji that was at the time a popular place of practice with foreigners. It was there, at the November 1970 retreat (the first Zen retreat I ever attended), that I was given a well-used sheaf of bound, double-spaced typewritten pages to read in lieu of listening to the daily Zen *teishō* (lecture) in Japanese. This initial encounter, I must confess, was not particularly auspicious. We Westerner participants, clutching our *Record of Linji* manuscripts, made our way up a long flight of wooden stairs to a cold tatami room, where we attempted to find reasonably comfortable sitting positions as we contemplated the text's puzzling pronouncements. For some reason the following passage remained ingrained in my mind:

> When Linji was planting pine trees, Huangbo asked, "What's the good of planting so many trees in the deep mountains?" "First, I want to make a natural setting for the main gate. Second, I want to make a landmark for later generations," said Linji, thumping the ground with his mattock three times. "Be that as it may, you've already tasted thirty blows of my stick," replied Huangbo. Again Linji thumped the ground with his mattock three times and breathed out a great breath. "Under you my line will flourish throughout the world," said Huangbo.

This famous passage, so inspiring to generations of Zen monks, left me utterly mystified. Together with the late autumn cold, the excruciating leg pain, the lack of sleep, and all the other discomforts of the retreat, it made me wonder just what exactly I was doing in this far distant land practicing a strange, incomprehensible foreign religion.

As it was, I remained intrigued enough by Zen to remain in Japan, making my way seven months later to Shōfuku-ji 祥福寺, a monastery in the city of Kobe, where I spent three years as a lay monk under Yamada Mumon 山田無文 (1900–1988). Mumon Roshi saw Shōfuku-ji as a place of Zen training not only for ordained Zen monks but also for laypeople, and consequently

opened the doors of the meditation hall to ordinary Japanese and Westerners who were interested in experiencing the full monastic life. Mumon Roshi also served as president of both Hanazono University and the Institute for Zen Studies in Kyoto, and it was with his support that the plan to publish an abbreviated version of Ruth's manuscript finally got under way, resulting in the 1975 edition.

It was also around this time, in 1973, that I first met Matsunami Taiun 松濤泰雲, the Zen monk who was later to become priest of Ryōsen-an 龍泉庵, the Daitoku-ji subtemple restored by Ruth Sasaki. At the time he was a monk at the monastery Bairin-ji 梅林寺 on the southern island of Kyūshū. Our paths crossed again five years later when I was a guest monk at his home temple, Kōtoku-ji 廣德寺 in Tokyo. When Rev. Matsunami was installed as priest of Ryōsen-an in 1985, I was living at Hōshun-in 芳春院, the Daitoku-ji subtemple just north of Ryōsen-an.

The Ryōsen-an that he entered was pretty much as it had been at the time of Ruth's death eighteen years earlier. The kitchen was still outfitted with her 1950s-vintage American refrigerator and gas stove, and the library still housed her excellent book collection, complete until 1967, the year of her death. The thick black looseleaf notebooks containing the laboriously compiled material for *The Record of Linji* lay, untouched and dusty, on the shelves of the temple storehouse. Feeling that republication of the *Record* (this time in an edition containing her note material) would make the most suitable memorial for Ruth, Rev. Matsunami considered ways of seeing the project through to completion. In 1998, when I assumed my present position as an associate researcher at the International Research Institute for Zen Buddhism (IRIZ) at Hanazono University, he approached Dr. Urs App (former IRIZ Assistant Director) and Dr. Michel Mohr (former Staff Research Fellow) about the possibility of my completing Ruth's work as an Institute project. The idea was submitted to Prof. Nishimura Eshin and Prof. Okimoto Katsumi, the former directors of the IRIZ, who approved the proposal. Following this, Dr. James Heisig and Dr. Paul Swanson of the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture agreed to handle the final editing of the manuscript as part of the Nanzan Library of Asian Religion and Culture, for publication by the University of Hawai'i Press.

The present volume therefore represents the culmination of decades of work involving a large number of individuals, from Ruth's husband Sōkei-an in the 1930s and 1940s, to Ruth and the research staff at the First Zen Institute at Ryōsen-an in the 1950s and 1960s, to the people who produced the 1975 edition, and finally to all those who have participated in the publication of this Nanzan Library edition. In many respects, though, the central figure was, and remains, Ruth Fuller Sasaki, the remarkable woman whose

Photograph from 1 February 1955. Seated (left to right): Philip Yampolsky, Gary Snyder, Donatienne Lebovich, Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Miura Isshū, Vanessa Coward, Manzōji Yōko, Walter Nowick, Yanagida Seizan. *(Photo, courtesy of Gary Snyder)*

energy, vision, and force of personality have inspired the project throughout. Although considerations of space do not permit a lengthy account of her life here, any proper introduction of her *Linji lu* translation requires, at the very least, a summary of her life and work.[1]

### RUTH FULLER SASAKI

Ruth was born in Chicago on 31 October 1892, to Clara Elizabeth and George E. Fuller, a wealthy couple of Canadian background. She had a brother named David, three years her junior. Ruth attended private high school in Chicago, and while still a student traveled in Europe. Following graduation she returned to Europe to study music (particularly piano) and receive private instruction in French and German. Her educational opportunities appear not to have been solely the result of her privileged family circumstances—already in high school Ruth, who served as president of the Theta

1. Ruth's story is fully deserving of book-length treatment, and fortunately a monograph on her life is now available. *Zen Pioneer: The Life and Works of Ruth Fuller Sasaki*, by Isabel Stirling, presents Ruth's biography and reprints of three of her lengthy essays on Zen and Zen practice—essays as valuable now as they were in the mid-twentieth century. Much of the material in the following biographical sketch is based on Stirling's book.

Society and editor of the yearbook, showed exceptional intelligence, energy, and leadership.

These were qualities that served Ruth well following her marriage in 1917, at the age of twenty-four, to the wealthy attorney Edward Warren Everett (1872–1940), a senior partner in one of Chicago's major law firms. Edward and Ruth and their daughter Eleanor, born in 1918, became a prominent presence in the Chicago social scene, often mentioned in the society columns of the Chicago newspapers. Ruth was fully up to the demands of her position as mistress of the house. Her capabilities were eloquently described by Mary Farkas (1911–1992), a friend and colleague of Ruth at the First Zen Institute of America. Farkas noted that, although Ruth would sometimes refer to herself as an ordinary American woman and housewife, this

> by no means described her skill in the feminine arts nor indicated the scale of her abilities as a hostess. As the wife of a prominent Chicago attorney she had had a great deal of experience at entertaining. There was no dish she wouldn't try to make, no problem of gardening, decorating, or construction she wouldn't undertake to solve. Servants in her employ left trained professionals. I asked her one time how she had learned to do all the things she did so well. Her blue eyes blazed. "When I was a young woman I would watch how others did things. I assumed if they could do them I must be able to." Cooking, gardening, driving, typewriting, book designing, cataloguing, written Chinese and Japanese, all were achieved by diligent application. Her early education had included extensive travel abroad and study of various languages, but in a sense she was a self-made rather than the spoiled society woman the popular press tends to make of her. Her unflagging industry and perseverance dismayed as well as impressed those of lesser energy. (Farkas 1967)

Despite her social status (or perhaps in part because of it), Ruth's concerns at this time started to move beyond literature, music, and the skills required of a well-to-do housewife. She reports that she became "conscious of another hunger than that for food, and of another thirst than that which water can quench. There comes a great yearning to understand the 'why' of existence and a longing to find one's own place in and relationship to the great Universe" (Farkas 1967). In a "Personal History and Academic Background," prepared by Ruth in 1958, she reported that already in 1917 she had become interested in Theravada Buddhism and started to practice meditation. In 1923 and 1924 Ruth and Eleanor, both of whom had developed some medical problems, stayed at a resort in Nyack, New York, run by an exponent of yoga and Eastern religion named Pierre A. Bernard (1875–1955), also known in the popular press as "Oom the Omnipotent." It may have been there that she first started to practice yoga; in any event her drive to excel

apparently expressed itself in this area too, since Alan Watts (the well-known Buddhist writer and scholar, who married Ruth's daughter Eleanor in 1938) later described her as "a graciously handsome woman who could go through the most astonishing hatha-yoga contortions I have ever seen, although Virginia Denison of Los Angeles comes a close second" (WATTS 1972, p. 146). Ruth's interest in Eastern religions led her in 1927 to begin a two-year study of Pali, Sanskrit, Buddhism, and Indian philosophy at the University of Chicago. She may have attended as an unofficial student, since Farkas mentions "a year of Sanskrit at Chicago University plus two years of private instruction and some self-taught Pali" (FARKAS 1967).

Ruth's studies of Theravada Buddhism did not bring her what she was seeking, and she eventually became interested in Zen Buddhism. She described her contacts with the respective Buddhist traditions and her encounter with Zen as follows:

> When I came to read the life and teachings of Gotama Buddha for the first time I found a satisfactory answer to my own questionings. When Gotama was asked about the future life, he answered to this effect, that when men had learned all there was to know about this life, then only might they begin to learn about the future life. His teaching, he said, had to do only with unhappiness (that is, the misery and sorrow of this everyday life), the cause of unhappiness, the way that unhappiness might be got rid of, and the path which led to the getting rid of unhappiness in this life. He himself had tested out the path and found it successful. His teaching was the technique of walking in that path. But each man would himself have to tread the path and only as he found the results successful was he to accept the teaching as true. Each man was to work out his own salvation. Salvation, Nirvana, Satori, this was an affair not of the future but was to be obtained here and now, today, in the midst of this everyday life.
>
> Deeper study of Hinayana Buddhism and of various forms of the Mahayana at first brought me great disappointment. They had all grown far away from and had forgotten what seemed to me to be the essential teaching of Buddhism. It was not until I came to the study of Zen that I found that simple and eloquent truth again re-established. (Quoted in FARKAS 1967)

Ruth's first actual contact with Zen was in 1930, when she and her husband traveled to China and Japan. On their return voyage, after their ship docked in Kobe, Ruth traveled to the nearby city of Kyoto and there met the Zen scholar D. T. Suzuki and his wife, Beatrice Lane Suzuki, through the introduction of a friend, Dr. William M. McGovern. Their meeting went well, marking the beginning of a cooperative relationship that was to last, with some ups and downs, until Suzuki's death in 1966.[2] At this initial meeting they had

2. Apparently Beatrice did not always share the friendship; in one unpublished letter to Suzuki she expressed annoyance with Ruth's "conquering heroine" attitude.

dinner at the Miyako Hotel, a first-class Western hotel where Ruth was often to stay during subsequent sojourns in Kyoto. Several days later they visited the monastery Enpuku-ji 圓福寺, in the town of Yawata just south of Kyoto, where Kōzuki Tesshū 神月徹宗 Roshi (1879–1937) had established facilities for Westerners interested in Zen practice. Suzuki's unpublished diaries mention a number of meetings with Ruth over the course of the next decade, both in Japan and the United States (in one intriguing entry dated 19 June 1936, made during a visit to Chicago, Suzuki writes, "Talk on Zen with Mrs. Everett under the apple tree"). Ruth also helped proofread some of Suzuki's work, particularly his *Essays in Zen Buddhism, Third Series* (1934).

Suzuki's help was instrumental when, in March 1932, Ruth returned to Japan with the intention of practicing Zen at a formal training monastery. Suzuki met her at the port of Yokohama and accompanied her to Kyoto, where he tried first to arrange a stay at Daitoku-ji 大徳寺 monastery. When the authorities there proved unwilling to accept her, Suzuki turned to Nanzen-ji 南禅寺 monastery, then under the guidance of Kōno Mukai 河野霧海 (1864–1935). Kōno Mukai, usually referred to by his teaching name, Nanshinken 南針軒, was more open to the idea of having a foreign seeker train at his temple. On 1 April 1932 Ruth began her practice there, staying at a rented house nearby during the evenings and spending her days doing zazen at Nanshinken's private temple, Senko-an 僊壺庵. After a month she was allowed to sit in the *zendō* (meditation hall) with the monks. Ruth continued her practice at Nanzen-ji until the end of the June *sesshin* (week-long meditation retreat) and returned to the United States in the late summer.

In 1933 Ruth met the Zen master who was to become her main teacher during the late 1930s and early 1940s. In April, on the recommendation of Dwight Goddard (best known as the author of *A Buddhist Bible*), Ruth visited Sasaki Shigetsu 佐々木指月 (1882–1945) in New York, where he was teaching Zen to a small group of students. She and Sasaki (more commonly known by his teaching name, Sōkei-an 曹谿庵) continued to meet occasionally when Ruth was in New York or Sōkei-an was in Chicago, though their formal master-disciple relationship had not yet begun. Ruth returned to Japan in the autumn of 1933 for ten months of further training under Nanshinken, and received from him the Buddhist name Kūge 空花 (*kū* 空 means both "sky" and "śūnyatā"; *ge* 花 means "flower").

Ruth's husband Edward had been in declining health for some time. Although well enough to accompany Ruth and D. T. Suzuki to China in 1934, by 1935 he had to retire from his Chicago law firm, and in 1938 he entered a sanatorium in Hartford, Connecticut, for treatment of mental illness. Ruth, too, left Chicago at this time and moved to New York, a few hours by train from Hartford. Edward died in January 1940, aged sixty-seven years.

Ruth's move to New York allowed her finally to begin serious Zen study under Sōkei-an. At that time Sōkei-an had been living in the United States for about thirty years. Born in 1882, he had learned the craft of woodcarving in his youth and later entered the Imperial Academy of Arts, where he studied sculpture. While at the academy he also became interested in Zen and joined the lay Zen group under Shaku Sōkatsu 釋宗活 (1869–1954), in the lineage of Shaku Sōen 釋宗演 (1859–1919).[3] Sōkei-an married Tome, one of Sōkatsu's students, and joined Sōkatsu when the latter left for the United States in 1906 intending to establish a Zen farm near San Francisco. Although the venture proved unsuccessful and Sōkatsu returned to Japan in 1910, Sōkei-an stayed on in America with Sōkatsu's blessings. He moved the family to Seattle, supporting them with woodcarving and other activities. When Tome returned to Japan in 1913 with their children, Sōkei-an again chose to remain. He moved east and took up residence in New York. Twice, from 1919 to 1921 and again from 1926 to 1928, he returned to Japan for further study under Sōkatsu, and at the end of his second stay received *inka* (dharma transmission) and permission to teach. Back in New York, he rented a two-room apartment and began to offer Zen instruction to the group of students that gradually formed around him. In June 1938 Ruth began sitting with this group, then known as the Buddhist Society of America. In a ceremony on 10 December she became a full member and was given the name Eryū 慧龍 (Wise Dragon).

Sōkei-an's approach to teaching was in many ways very traditional, centering around koan practice and formal *teishō*, although he did not demand that students adopt the cross-legged sitting position (a practice that Ruth later made efforts to implement). He gave *teishō* (lecture) twice a week, preceded by *sanzen* (individual meditation guidance) and a short chanting service. One of the principal texts on which he lectured was the *Linji lu*, for which he prepared his own English translations—translations that, in effect, formed the first draft of the present work.

Ruth, with her energy, leadership skills, and financial resources, soon became a central figure in the Society. Within several years she was its vice-president and the editor of its newsletter, *Cat's Yawn*, and was planning to provide the organization with a larger headquarters. This she did by purchasing and renovating a brownstone at 124 East 65th Street, to which the Society relocated in December 1941, just prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' subsequent entry into WW II. As a result of the war Sōkei-an was interned, first at Ellis Island and then at Fort Meade, Maryland.

3. Shaku Sōen Roshi was the master of Engaku-ji 圓覺寺 in the city of Kamakura, on the coast south of Tokyo. He became the first Japanese Zen master to visit the United States when he attended the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893.

Although his students helped secure his release in August 1943, by then his health had considerably weakened. Soon after leaving the internment camp he suffered a coronary thrombosis, necessitating a long period of convalescence. One bright spot was that following his release the name of the Buddhist Society of America was changed to the First Zen Institute of America, in accordance with Sōkei-an's long-standing wish.

In spite of his weak health, around this time he and Ruth decided to marry. Several explanations for the union have been offered, including a desire on the part of Sōkei-an to leave his family name to Ruth so that she could more effectively carry on his work after his death. It is unlikely, in any case, that the two would have considered marriage unless there had been some genuine affection between them, and that, according to Alan Watts, was certainly the case: "[Sōkei-an] and Ruth had just fallen in love, and we were the fascinated witnesses of their mutually fructifying relationship—she drawing out his bottomless knowledge of Buddhism; and he breaking down her rigidities with ribald tales that made her blush and giggle" (1972, p. 145). At the time Sōkei-an was still married to his estranged wife Tome, so there were legal issues to consider. The couple went to Arkansas, where Sōkei-an obtained a divorce and, on 10 June 1944, married Ruth in a civil ceremony.

Sōkei-an's health problems continued, ultimately leading to his death on 17 May 1945, less than a year after his marriage to Ruth. Ruth remained in New York for several years, continuing the Institute's activities and seeking ways to find a new Zen master. The main person to whom she turned for help was Gotō Zuigan 後藤瑞巖 (1879–1965), chief abbot of Daitoku-ji and Sōkei-an's dharma brother under Shaku Sōkatsu. When repeated appeals failed to bring about any concrete results, Ruth decided to go to Japan herself to present the Institute's case.

She arrived in Kyoto in November 1949, and soon met with Zuigan Roshi. While proceeding with her search for a new Institute master, Ruth began *sanzen* and translation work with Zuigan Roshi and within a short time sought his help in finding a more permanent place to live in the vicinity of the monastery. Zuigan Roshi's successor, Oda Sessō 小田雪窓 (1901–1966), offered her a house on the Daitoku-ji grounds that had been the residence of a former master, Den'enshitsu (an interesting development, as Den'enshitsu had been abbot of Daitoku-ji when Ruth was denied permission to practice there in 1932). This house was located on the site of the defunct but once-important subtemple Ryōsen-an, which had served as the headquarters of one of Daitoku-ji's four sublineages—the sublineage to which Sōkei-an, unknown to him, had been affiliated. This house, soon renamed Ryōsen-an in honor of the former temple, was to serve as the headquarters of Ruth's activities in Japan until her death nearly two decades later in 1967.

Ruth moved into her new quarters in August 1950, and within a year had embarked on the building program that, over the years, was to give Ryōsen-an its present complement of buildings and restore it as a fully operating temple. In 1951, to remedy the shortage of storage space, Ruth built a two-story storehouse in the Japanese style with thick, fireproof plaster walls. In 1956 she financed construction of a library and adjoining study room, the latter a well-designed, comfortable Japanese structure with white plaster walls, exposed wooden beams, a small Western-style fireplace, and a hardwood-floored area with space for five or six desks. Facing the fireplace was a large, well-stuffed couch. The following year she built a meditation hall, designed along traditional monastic lines but smaller in scale, and with the same architectural warmth as the study room.

During these years of building Ruth maintained her usual full schedule of activities: writing articles, assisting Western Zen students, and working on a growing number of translation projects. Periodically she returned to America to help manage the First Zen Institute, where she still kept an apartment. The gate of Ryōsen-an was always open to visitors, and Ruth made efforts to cultivate a wide circle of friends and colleagues. A number of these acquaintances were later to assist her in her work. One of the first of her Japanese assistants, whom she met soon after her arrival in Kyoto, was Kanaseki Hisao 金関寿夫 (1918–1996), a professor of English literature at Dōshisha University. By 1954 she was working with Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 (1910–1998), a specialist in Chinese at Kyoto University, on the translation of the *Pang jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Record of Layman Pang) and other texts. When, with the completion of the library in 1956, Ruth decided to establish a Ryōsen-an branch of the First Zen Institute of America, she had already formed connections with many of the young scholars—Philip Yampolsky (1920–1996), Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922–2006), Burton Watson, and Gary Snyder—who were to form the core of the Institute's research staff.

Ruth's successful efforts to reestablish Ryōsen-an as a temple and organize it as a center for spreading Zen to the West were recognized in 1958 when Daitoku-ji formally ordained her as a priest; Ruth became the first Westerner ever to receive this honor. She was given the name Jōkei 紹谿 by the Daitoku-ji officials and appointed the first *jūshoku* (abbess) of the newly restored Ryōsen-an.

From the very beginning, one of the Ryōsen-an research staff's principal tasks was to continue work on Sōkei-an's *Linji lu* translation. Owing to its connections with Sōkei-an, this translation was a project close to Ruth's heart and the one that she hoped to complete first. Progress proved to be slow, however. Ruth was convinced that the Institute's work had to meet the highest academic standards if the Buddhist teachings were to receive the respect

they deserved, and consequently her approach to scholarship was meticulous and time-consuming. It was decided that much of Sōkei-an's original work could not be used, as many problems with the traditional Zen readings were pointed out by the scholars of Chinese on the staff. This necessitated a reexamination of the entire work, which was carried out in meetings where the nuances of every word and phrase were discussed and possible translations considered. Detailed notes were prepared on the content and grammar of the original text, and work was also started on a lengthy descriptive bibliography of all the classical Buddhist texts directly and indirectly related to the *Linji lu*. In the meantime other projects, like *Zen Dust*, came up that were valuable in themselves but that diverted the staff's energies for years.

The situation was further complicated by personal tensions that arose between Ruth and the staff. Ruth was by all accounts a formidable personality, competent in her work, accustomed to running things, and never lacking in self-confidence. These qualities were important in helping her accomplish all that she did, but they were often the cause of friction between her and her associates. Such frictions emerged within a few short years of the Institute's establishment. At the beginning of 1960 Walter Nowick, a Zen student who had assisted Ruth as vice-president of the Institute, submitted a formal resignation. Also in 1960 her teacher, Zuigan Roshi, cut her off as a *sanzen* student because, he explained to senior members of the Institute, she had insisted on purchasing Zuiken, a Daitoku-ji property located adjacent to the Daitoku-ji monastery, to use as a dormitory for foreign students—a project he had specifically requested her to stop.

At the Institute itself dissatisfactions were growing over Ruth's approach and the slow pace of progress—Yampolsky commented that "little of substance was being accomplished; the atmosphere was becoming oppressive" (Halper 1991, p. 68). Things came to a head in July 1961, when Ruth, suspecting that Yampolsky was intending to publish the Institute's *Linji lu* work as his own, confronted him in front of the staff. Though her suspicions were shown to be without foundation, they led to Yampolsky's dismissal; Burton Watson and Gary Snyder resigned in protest. Ruth was left to work on her publication projects with the help of only her Japanese associates. The remaining staff carried on bravely, but progress was further slowed.

Ruth eventually mended fences with Zuigan Roshi, and Gary Snyder returned to the staff after several years. In 1963 Leon Hurvitz started to help with research on *The Record of Linji*. Ruth, then in her seventies, hoped to focus more completely on her translation work, reducing her involvement with the increasing number of foreign students drawn to Japan by the international interest in Zen. Ruth had long had plans to publish English versions

of other important Zen works, including the *Wumenguan* (J. *Mumonkan*) and the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, but for the time being limited her efforts to the Institute's ongoing projects. *Zen Dust* was published in 1966, and sections of the *Linji lu* translation approached final draft form. Work on the *Pang jushi yulu* continued.

Virtually all of this activity ceased with Ruth's death from a heart attack on 24 October 1967. Ruth had hoped to arrange things so that the Institute could continue its activities after she was gone, but at the time of her sudden death no preparations had been made. As described in Furuta Kazuhiro's Preface, several members of the staff continued work on the unfinished manuscripts, resulting in the publication of *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang* by Weatherhill in 1971 and *The Record of Lin-chi* by the Institute for Zen Studies in 1975.

## THE 2008 EDITION

Although Ruth's death in 1967 put an end to the *Record of Linji* project on the large scale that she had envisioned, the labor she and her team of scholars had invested was far from lost. As mentioned above, their full translation, along with an abridged version of the notes, became available with the 1975 Institute for Zen Studies edition. Furthermore, the late Yanagida Seizan and Iriya Yoshitaka—Ruth's two chief Japanese collaborators on the project—published much of the original research they had done (together with the results of further study and reflection) in their detailed Japanese-language monographs on the *Linji lu* (YANAGIDA 1977 and IRIYA 1989).

Nevertheless, as someone who found the detailed notes in *Zen Dust* to be one of that work's most valuable assets, I could not help feeling a sense of disappointment when I read the 1975 edition and came across Furuta Kazuhiro's words in the preface that "a wealth of information of great value to specialists and scholars, which in the original plans was to have been included in the second volume, had to be eliminated. It is still preserved in thick notebooks in the Ryōsen-an library" (p. xiii, above). It was thus with great anticipation that in early 1999 I took up the present project and started editing the very notebooks that Furuta had mentioned.

These notebooks contained, in addition to the manuscript for the *Linji lu* translation, Dr. Yanagida's lengthy Historical Introduction outlining Chinese Chan history, providing biographical information on Linji, and explaining the development of the "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語録) literature; hundreds of notes at various stages of completion; and rough-draft entries for the planned descriptive bibliography of Chinese and Japanese Zen texts.

Of these, the portion needing the least work was, of course, the transla-

tion, since this portion had been put into final form for the 1975 edition by the remaining members of Ruth's team, and given a final revision for style by Dana Fraser. The only further changes that I thought were justified were some further stylistic polishings and the correction of several errors of interpretation that had been brought to light by Dr. Yanagida and Dr. Iriya in their subsequent research on the *Linji lu*. Alterations that affect the meaning are identified and explained in the present edition in "Editor's Notes" added to Ruth's original annotation.

The material in the Historical Introduction and Text and Note sections reflects the state of Buddhist scholarship as it was in the 1950s and 1960s, and is thus dated in many ways. At the time, the general supposition among scholars was still that the Chan classics more or less adhered to the actual words of the masters they were attributed to. However, subsequent textual research has revealed that the actual situation was considerably more subtle and complex. In the years (and occasionally the centuries) that separated the lives of the masters from the compilation of the records that were issued in their names, the texts often underwent a significant process of change. This is not to assert that the resulting works are no longer genuine reflections of the original teachings and spirit of the masters, but simply to recognize that Chan texts, like religious texts everywhere, evolved in response to the historical and doctrinal development of the Chan lineages themselves. This is particularly true of the case of the *Linji lu*, the representative text of the lineage that came to dominate Chinese Buddhism.

Dr. Yanagida nevertheless advised against revising the content of the Historical Introduction and Text and Note sections for this new edition, feeling that the original manuscript possessed its own unique historical value as a work of the times, and that as a presentation of materials and views that are still very much accepted in the Zen tradition today it would be of continuing use to those practicing Zen meditation. This point of view was supported by the IRIZ and Nanzan Institute. In any event, much of the manuscript would not have required updating anyway, based as it is on translated passages from primary sources (often the first translations of the respective passages into English). Such material is as relevant now as it was then, and it was Ruth's emphasis on this type of textual scholarship that makes her earlier book, *Zen Dust*, so eagerly sought by scholars even today.

For the most part, whatever stylistic alterations I made were related only to matters of format and academic convention, and were made as much as possible in accordance with what I believe would have been Ruth's preferences had she been alive today to oversee the final revisions. For example, Ruth was deeply concerned with adherence to current scholarly protocol, and would almost certainly have chosen nowadays to romanize Chinese

terminology using the Pinyin system, rather than the Wade-Giles system that she used at the time. I have thus changed all readings of Chinese words to this system.

Certain alterations in usage and convention were made in the hope that they would render the work a bit more congenial to the modern reader. In particular, there has been since Ruth's time a major change in the use of gender-specific terminology. As was standard practice at the time, Ruth routinely used "he" as a general-use pronoun, and "man" as a neutral term meaning "person." Such usages can grate on the ear nowadays, and I have therefore tried to make the language as gender-neutral as possible (usually the result is stylistically preferable as well). Also in the last few decades there has been a tendency away from the capitalization of many religious terms, such as "buddha" (when used as a general term for "awakened one," and not as the honorific name of the historical buddha, Śākyamuni). I have thus opted to use the lowercase for many words that were generally capitalized at the time Ruth was compiling the present volume.

In the case of certain other academic conventions, however, I have followed Ruth's preferences as indicated in *Zen Dust*. Ruth always provided glosses for foreign titles, for example, and repeated dates and other identifying information for figures who appeared only infrequently in the notes. She was also careful that Sanskrit and Japanese terms had the proper diacritical marks; the only such words that I have left without diacritics are those that have long since passed into common usage, such as "sutra," "koan," "Mahayana," "roshi," and "nirvana". I have followed the convention used by certain scholars of not italicizing Sanskrit terminology.

Dr. Yanagida's Historical Introduction was in relatively finished form. Much of the editing work had already been done by Dr. Burton Watson in the course of translating the original Japanese text, and the biographical section on Linji had been further revised and polished for publication in the *Eastern Buddhist* (Yanagida 1972). Since the material in the essay was pretty much limited to strictly historical factors, it was suggested that this section be supplemented with an English translation of the long interpretive introduction to Dr. Yanagida's own Japanese *Rinzairoku*. This, however, seemed inadvisable for several reasons. First was the simple matter of space—the present work is long enough as it is, and hardly needs another lengthy section. Second, interesting though Dr. Yanagida's analysis is, it is only one of many possible interpretations. Given that Ruth intended *The Record of Linji* primarily as an authoritative translation of the *Linji lu* rather than as a work of exegesis, I thought it best to present just Dr. Yanagida's historical material along with the translation and notes, and let the reader arrive at his or her

own conclusions as to what Linji meant. This, I imagine, would have been more in line with what Linji himself might have wanted.

The Notes section was more of a challenge than I had expected. The information itself was detailed and valuable, of course, particularly for its abundance of material from primary sources (Ruth's approach, stressed in a comment she typed at the bottom of one of the pages, was to clarify the meaning of the *Linji lu* principally by contextualizing it in the broader Buddhist literature). However, the notes themselves remained in quite unfinished form. The individual entries had been prepared by the team in stages, with Dr. Yanagida composing the original versions of notes pertaining to history and doctrine, and Dr. Iriya handling those relating to grammar. These drafts were then given to Dr. Yampolsky, while he was still part of the staff, for revisions and suggestions. The material was later examined by Ruth for further suggestions and revisions, and for eventual recomposition into her clear, grammatically precise style. As it was, most of the more than five hundred notes existed in two or three versions, carefully dated and typed out on different colors of paper, with many additions, deletions, and rewordings as the versions progressed. The margins often contained corrections and queries written out in Ruth's precise longhand script. In some cases (fortunately quite rare) the notes were simply first drafts, written in Dr. Yanagida's and Dr. Iriya's impressively good English, but obviously not yet examined or edited by Ruth. In a number of other cases (also fortunately rare) there were nothing more than entry headings; here I attempted to piece together something from reference works and the later books of Dr. Yanagida and Dr. Iriya.

Generally speaking, what Ruth intended to include in the final note entries was fairly clear, although in a number of cases some editorial judgment on my part was required. Taking my cue from the information-packed notes in *Zen Dust*, I tried to err on the side of excess, including as much as possible of the material that Ruth and her team had assembled—even, in some cases, material that Ruth had apparently slated for exclusion, but which I regarded as particularly interesting. The notes were anything if not detailed—from all appearances Ruth designed her annotation so that the reader would never have to consult any outside reference material. The example that particularly struck me when I started work on the manuscript was the note on the term "mountain monk" 山僧—the item receives a mere fourteen words in the 1975 *The Record of Lin-chi*, while in the original manuscript the explanation went on for several typewritten pages. Dr. Yanagida recalled that it was an entry that he had particularly enjoyed working on.

A separate notebook, compiled by Dr. Iriya, was devoted to grammatical issues; at one point a special section on grammar seems to have been

planned, but the idea was apparently abandoned as it was not mentioned by Furuta in his description of Ruth's final design for publication (see page XI, above). Dr. Iriya himself expressed reservations about use of this grammatical material when consulted in 1998, having in the intervening years changed his thinking on a number of points. Dr. Iriya had a certain iconoclastic side that occasionally led him to be a bit hasty in criticizing traditional readings—a number of traditional interpretations that were scathingly critiqued in his 1960s-era grammatical notes for Ruth had been quietly rehabilitated by the time he published his own *Rinzai roku* in 1989. This openness to reassessment testifies, of course, to his scholarly integrity. Dr. Iriya's work on Tang colloquial language remains his legacy, providing new insights into the *Linji lu* that have influenced subsequent interpretations of the text.

As it was, Ruth had apparently decided to forgo many of the less important grammatical comments, and to incorporate significant entries within the main body of the notes. That is where they were in the version of the manuscript that came into my hands, and this is the approach that I have followed.

One part of Ruth's original design that I was eager to preserve was her plan to have all notes on the same page as the related text. Among the materials at Ryōsen-an was a short mockup section of the book that Ruth had made, in which the translation occupied a portion of the left-hand page, with the remainder of the page plus the facing right-hand page being devoted to notes. Given the amount of annotation (certain sections of the translation have at least one note for nearly every sentence) this was probably the only workable approach, as endnotes would have required incessant flipping back and forth by the reader. A perfect match of text and annotation was in the end not possible, but I attempted at least to spare the reader the effort of turning more than a page or two.

Adjusting the layout to Ruth's design was a complex process, particularly since the amount of note material declined greatly toward the conclusion of the translation, by which time most of the terms and concepts had already been dealt with. The Preface by Ma Fang, placed at the end of the text in accordance with Ruth's design, required no annotation at all. I was unable to find any explanation among Ruth's materials for her decision to move Ma Fang's Preface from its traditional location. I can only assume that she had good reason for doing so and I therefore decided to respect her wishes.

Several other features of Ruth's original plans for *The Record of Linji* proved to be impractical. One that Ruth herself appears to have abandoned (or at least failed to reach a final decision on) was for a romanized Japanese text for the original *Linji lu*. This was intended to help Westerners who wished to study *Linji lu* koans under Japanese Zen masters. The difficulty was

that the original Chinese can be rendered into Japanese in various different ways depending on how one understands the text—Chinese is a remarkably flexible language, with the same word potentially serving several different grammatical functions. As a result the same scholar or Zen master will often offer several possible readings for the same line; there is no single "correct" Japanese reading for the *Linji lu*, and Ruth seems to have decided in the end that disciples of Japanese masters are best off learning their teacher's preferred readings directly from the teacher.

Another of Ruth's planned sections that had to be modified for the present edition was the comprehensive descriptive bibliography of Chinese and Japanese Zen texts. Even the existing first-draft manuscript, if completed in the way that Ruth envisioned, would have been of nearly book length, with much material only distantly related to the *Linji lu*. Such a text might make a useful reference work in itself, but as a bibliography for a *Linji lu* translation it seemed disproportionately large. In the end I included in the present edition's descriptive bibliography basic information on all of the texts mentioned in the book, incorporating a significant amount of the material that Ruth had assembled as well as information from standard reference works, both published and digital. Among the materials that were especially helpful were the *Oxford Dictionary of Buddhism*, by Damien Keown; *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, by the English Buddhist Dictionary Committee of Soka Gakkai; the *Sōgō Bukkyō daijiten* 総合佛教大辞典, by Yokochō Enichi 横超慧日 et al.; the *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten* 大蔵経全解説大事典, by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 et al.; the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典, by Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 et al.; the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, maintained by Charles Muller; and the *WWW Database of Chinese Buddhist Texts*, maintained by Christian Wittern.

A table giving the Wade-Giles and Japanese readings of all Pinyin Chinese names appearing in the present volume is appended to the Bibliography. In addition, the Japanese readings for the names of several Chinese masters who are known primarily for their work in Japan or their connection with Japanese Zen monks have been provided in the text where appropriate.

The Nanzan editorial staff added marginal numbers in the Translation to indicate the pages of the corresponding passages in the Commentary. Thus readers who wish to read the translation straight in the Translation section can quickly locate the relevant comments for items or passages on which they would like more information.

All in all, Ruth's original plans for the present book seem symptomatic of the perfectionism that was one of her greatest strengths as a scholar and yet at the same time one of the reasons why *The Record of Linji* and many of her other projects remained unfinished even after years of work. However, it is

also this perfectionism that we have to thank for the wealth of information in the work that she did complete, like *Zen Dust*, and for the valuable material that now appears in *The Record of Linji*. Even in unfinished form, the notes and other sections were fascinating to edit. The enthusiasm of Ruth and her staff for the work, and their commitment to solid scholarship, were evident on every page. The information offered—historical facts, traditional biographical sketches, translated passages from the Buddhist literature—adds much to the body of material presently available on Chinese Chan, and is certain to contribute greatly to the experience of reading the *Linji lu*.

Preparation of *The Record of Linji* involved for Ruth and her staff a long process of painstaking research, but nevertheless much remained to be done at the time of her death. In the course of my editorial work I attempted to check information that seemed incomplete or otherwise questionable, but, given my lack of full academic training in the field of Buddhist studies, I am certain that errors remain. I accept full responsibility for these, of course, and would greatly appreciate any corrections that readers can provide, in the event that this book is fortunate enough to see a second edition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The process of publication always involves many individuals, but this is especially true in the case of *The Record of Linji*, a project that continued over several decades. The central figures in this project were, of course, Sōkei-an and Ruth Sasaki, without whose vision and dedication the original work never would have gotten under way. Of nearly equal importance were the researchers on Ruth's staff at Ryōsen-an: Kanaseki Hisao, Iriya Yoshitaka, Yanagida Seizan, Philip Yampolsky, Burton Watson, Gary Snyder, Dana Fraser, and others. Thanks to the thoroughness of their work, my own job was largely limited to purely editorial tasks.

The notebooks containing the results of these individuals' efforts would still be gathering dust on the shelves of the Ryōsen-an storehouse had it not been for the desire of Matsunami Taiun, abbot of Ryōsen-an, to produce a complete, fully annotated edition of *The Record of Linji* as a memorial to Ruth. Rev. Matsunami was thus in many ways responsible for initiating the present edition, and has been a constant source of support throughout the editorial process.

Production of the present volume was facilitated in many ways by the Institute for Zen Studies' 1975 *The Record of Lin-chi*, which provided in convenient form the final translation produced by the First Zen Institute staff and a complete Chinese text of the *Linji lu*. Permission to use the material in the 1975 edition was generously granted by Rev. Toga Masataka, adminis-

trative director of the Institute for Zen Studies, who also made available the steady support of the Institute staff.

The recommendations of Dr. Urs App and Dr. Michel Mohr, both formerly of the IRIZ, were instrumental in helping obtain permission to work on this edition of *The Record of Linji* as an IRIZ project. Dr. Mohr also did a valuable assessment of the original manuscript when publication was being considered by the University of Hawai'i Press. I would also like to thank Prof. Nishimura Eshin and Prof. Okimoto Katsumi, the IRIZ's directors, for their willingness to let me take on this very time-consuming task.

I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Victor Sogen Hori of McGill University and Dr. John McRae of the University of Tokyo, who carefully read through my first revision of the manuscript. They caught many errors that had crept in during the editing and retyping process, and offered valuable advice that helped bring the entire manuscript into line with present academic conventions.

Much of the actual work on the manuscript, particularly at the final stages, was possible only with the help of Dr. James Heisig and Dr. Paul Swanson of the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture at Nanzan University in Nagoya. Their advice concerning content, format, and layout significantly shaped the way this volume was edited and designed, and their uncanny ability to solve any computer problem saved me immense amounts of time. They also handled all communications with the publisher, the University of Hawai'i Press.

I would also like to thank Edmund Skrzypczak, former copy editor at the Nanzan Institute for Religion and Culture, who went through the manuscript when it was nearing completion and discovered numerous errors and inconsistencies of the type that only an experienced copy editor can spot.

Isabel Stirling, Associate University Librarian at the University of California at Berkeley, generously shared the manuscript for her recent book *Zen Pioneer: The Life and Work of Ruth Fuller Sasaki*, making it immeasurably easier for me to write my biographical sketch of Ruth for the Editor's Prologue to the present volume.

Wayne Yokoyama of the *Eastern Buddhist* was of steady help throughout the years with his investigative and editing skills, checking facts, tracking down obscure references, and unearthing all types of valuable information.

Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Yoshizawa Katsuhiro and the staff at the IRIZ at Hanazono University for the help and advice they provided, and for their patience and generosity in allowing me to devote most of my time at the Institute during the past several years to *The Record of Linji* project. Without this support the results of Ruth's long years of labor still would not have seen the light of day.

# *Abbreviations*

| | |
|---|---|
| BG | *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄 (Extensive record of Baizhang) |
| BL | *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (The blue cliff record) |
| BZ | *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Biographies of the Precious Forest Temple) (801) |
| CF | *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials on the transmission of mind-dharma) (857) |
| CS | *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Biographies of monks of the Chan school) (1331) |
| CZ | *Chuanfa zhenzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (Record of the transmission of the dharma in the true school) (1064) |
| DB | *Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌變文集 (A collection of popularizations from Dunhuang) |
| DL | *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the great perfection of wisdom) |
| DQ | *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on the awakening of faith in Mahayana) |
| GY | *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (Recorded sayings of the ancient worthies) (1267) |
| GZ | *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks) (519) |
| JC | *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era *Record of the transmission of the lamp*) (1011) |
| LL | *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (Record of Linji) |
| QT | *Quantangwen* 全唐文 (Complete prose literature of the Tang) |
| RY | *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 (The eye of humans and gods) (1188) |
| SG | *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song-dynasty *Biographies of eminent monks*) (988) |
| SY | *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the four houses) (1607) |
| T | *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō-era revised Buddhist canon) |
| TG | *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era *Extensive record of the transmission*) (1148) |
| WG | *Wumen guan* 無門關 (The gateless barrier) (1229) |
| WH | *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Compendium of the five lamps) (1253) |
| WL | *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄 (The Wanling record) |

WZ *Wujia zhengzong zan* 五家正宗贊 (In praise of the five houses of the true school)

X *Xuzangjing* 續藏經 (Taiwan edition of the Japanese canonical collection *Zoku zōkyō*)

XG *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Supplementary *Biographies of eminent monks*) (645 and 667)

YK *Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡真禪師廣錄 (Extensive record of Chan Master Yunmen Kuangzhen)

ZD *Zen Dust*

ZH *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要 (Essential materials from the Chan school's successive lamp records) (1183)

ZJ *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Annals of the ancestral hall) (952)

ZL *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the source-mirror) (961)

ZY *Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye)

# *The Record of Linji*

# 臨濟慧照禪師語錄

translated by Ruth Fuller Sasaki

# *The Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou*

## Compiled by his humble heir Huiran of Sansheng

### DISCOURSES

#### I

The Prefectural Governor, Councilor Wang, along with the other officials, 117
requested the master to address them. The master took the high seat in the Dharma Hall and said:

"Today, I, this mountain monk, having no choice in the matter, have perforce yielded to customary etiquette and taken this seat. If I were to demonstrate the Great Matter in strict keeping with the teaching of the ancestral school, I simply couldn't open my mouth and there wouldn't be any place for you to find footing. But since I've been so earnestly entreated today by the councilor, why should I conceal the essential doctrine of our school? Now, is 119
there any adept warrior who forthwith can array his battle line and unfurl his banners here before me? Let him try proving himself before the assembly!"

A monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?"

The master gave a shout. The monk bowed low.

"As an opponent in argument this young reverend is rather good," said the master.

A monk asked, "Master, of what house is the tune you sing? To whose 120
style of Chan do you succeed?"

The master said, "When I was staying with Huangbo I questioned him three times and was hit three times."

The monk hesitated. The master gave a shout and then struck him, saying, "You can't drive a stake into the empty sky."

122 A lecture master asked, "The Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of teachings make the buddha-nature quite clear, do they not?"

"This weed patch has never been spaded," said Linji.

125 "Surely the Buddha would not have deceived people!" said the lecture master.

"Where is the Buddha?" asked Linji.

The lecture master had no reply.

"You thought you'd make a fool of me in front of the councilor," said the master. "Get out, get out! You're keeping the others from asking questions."

The master continued, "Today's dharma assembly is concerned with the Great Matter. Does anyone else have a question? If so, let him ask now! But 126 the instant you open your mouth you're already way off. Why is this? Don't you know that Venerable Śākyamuni said, 'Dharma is separate from words, because it is neither subject to causation nor dependent upon conditions'? Your faith is insufficient, therefore we have bandied words today. I fear I am obstructing the councilor and his staff, thereby obscuring the buddha-nature. I had better withdraw."

The master shouted and then said, "For those whose root of faith is weak the final day will never come. You have been standing a long time. Take care of yourselves."

## II

128 One day Linji went to He Prefecture. The governor, Councilor Wang, requested the master to take the high seat.

At that time Mayu came forward and asked, "The Great Compassionate One has a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. Which is the true eye?"

The master said, "The Great Compassionate One has a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. Which is the true eye? Speak, speak!"

Mayu pulled the master down off the high seat and sat on it himself. Coming up to him, the master said, "How do you do?" Mayu hesitated. The master, in his turn, pulled Mayu down off the high seat and sat upon it himself. Mayu went out. The master stepped down.

## III

129 The master, taking the high seat in the hall, said, "On your lump of red flesh is a true man without rank who is always going in and out of the face of every one of you. Those who have not yet confirmed this, look, look!"

Then a monk came forward and asked, "What about the true man without rank?"

The master got down from his seat, seized the monk, and cried, "Speak, 131
speak!"

The monk faltered.

Shoving him away, the master said, "The true man without rank—what kind of dried piece of shit is he!" Then he returned to his quarters.

## IV

The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk came forward and 132
bowed. The master gave a shout.

"Venerable priest," said the monk, "you'd better not try to spy on me."

"Tell me what you've arrived upon," the master said.

The monk shouted.

Another monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?"

The master shouted. The monk bowed.

"Do you say that was a good shout?" asked the master.

"The bandit in the grass has met complete defeat," returned the monk.

"What's my offense?" asked the master. 133

"It won't be pardoned a second time," replied the monk. The master gave a shout.

That same day the head monks of the two halls had met and simultaneously given shouts.

A monk asked the master, "Was there a guest and a host?"

"Guest and host were obvious," replied the master. He continued, "If you of the assembly want to understand the 'guest and host' that I speak of, ask the two head monks of the halls."

Then the master stepped down.

## V

The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk asked, "What about the 135
cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?"

The master raised his whisk. The monk shouted. The master struck him.

Another monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddha- 136
dharma?"

Again the master raised his whisk. The monk shouted. The master also shouted. The monk faltered; the master struck him.

Then the master said, "You of the assembly, those who live for dharma do not shrink from losing their bodies or sacrificing their very lives. Twenty

years ago, when I was with my late master Huangbo, three times I asked him specifically about the cardinal meaning of the buddhadharma, and three times he favored me with blows from his stick. But it was as if he were patting me with a branch of mugwort. How I would like now to taste another dose of the stick! Who can give it to me?"

A monk stepped forward and said, "I can."

The master held out his stick to him. The monk tried to take it; the master struck him.

## VI

137 The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk asked, "What about the matter of the sword blade?"

"Heavens, heavens!" cried the master.

The monk hesitated; the master struck him.

138 Someone asked, "The lay worker Shishi in treading the pestle shaft of the rice mortar would forget he was moving his feet; where did he go?"

"Drowned in a deep spring!" the master replied.

139 Then he continued, "Whoever comes to me, I do not fail him; I know exactly where he comes from. Should he come in a particular way, it's just as if he'd lost [himself]. Should he not come in a particular way, he'd have bound himself without a rope. Never ever engage in random speculation—whether you understand or don't understand, either way you're mistaken. I say this straight out. Anyone in the world is free to denounce me as he will. You have been standing a long time. Take care of yourselves."

## VII

141 The master took the high seat in the hall and said, "One person is on top of a solitary peak and has no path by which to leave. One person is at the busy crossroads and has neither front nor back. Which is ahead, which is behind? Don't make the one out to be Vimalakīrti and the other to be Fu Dashi. Take care of yourselves."

## VIII

143 The master took the high seat in the hall and said, "One man is endlessly on the way, yet has never left home. Another has left home, yet is not on the way. Which one deserves the offerings of humans and gods?" Then he stepped down.

## IX

The master took the high seat in the hall. 144
A monk asked, "What about the First Statement?"
The master said:

The Seal of the Three Essentials being lifted, the vermilion impression is sharp;
With no room for speculation, host and guest are clear and distinct.

"What about the Second Statement?" 145
The master said:

How could Miaojie permit Wuzhuo's questioning?
How could expedient means go against the activity that cuts through the stream?

"What about the Third Statement?" 148
The master said:

Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage!
Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the person behind."

The master further said, "Each Statement must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries, and the gate of each mystery must comprise the Three Essentials. There are expedients and there is functioning. How do all of you understand this?" The master then stepped down.

## X

At the evening gathering the master addressed the assembly, saying: 150
"Sometimes I take away the person but do not take away the surroundings; sometimes I take away the surroundings but do not take away the person; sometimes I take away both person and surroundings; sometimes I take away neither person nor surroundings."

Then a monk asked, "What about 'to take away the person and not take away the surroundings'?" 151
The master said:

The spring sun comes forth, covering the earth with brocade;
A child's hair hangs down, white as silken strands.

The monk asked, "What about 'to take away the surroundings and not take away the person'?"
The master said:

The rule of the sovereign prevails throughout the land;
The general has laid to rest the dusts of battle beyond the frontiers.

Again the monk asked, "What about 'to take away both person and surroundings'?"

The master said:

No news from Bing and Fen,
Isolated and away from everywhere.

153 The monk asked, "What about 'to take away neither person nor the surroundings'?"

The master said:

The sovereign ascends into the jeweled palace;
Aged rustics sing songs.

Then the master said, "Nowadays, he who studies buddhadharma must seek true insight. Gaining true insight, he is not affected by birth-and-death, but freely goes or stays. He needn't seek the excellent—that which is excellent will come of itself.

"Followers of the Way, our eminent predecessors from of old have all had their ways of saving people. As for me, what I want to make clear to you is that you must not accept the deluded views of others. If you want to act, then act. Don't hesitate.

155 "Students today can't get anywhere. What ails you? Lack of faith in yourself is what ails you. If you lack faith in yourself, you'll keep on tumbling along, following in bewilderment after all kinds of circumstances and being taken by them through transformation after transformation without ever attaining freedom.

"Bring to rest the thoughts of the ceaselessly seeking mind, and you will not differ from the patriarch-buddha. Do you want to know the patriarch-buddha? He is none other than you who stand before me listening to my discourse. But because you students lack faith in yourselves, you run around seeking something outside. Even if, through your seeking, you did find something, that something would be nothing more than fancy descriptions in written words; never would you gain the mind of the living patriarch.
158 Make no mistake, worthy Chan men! If you don't find it here and now, you'll go on transmigrating through the three realms for myriads of kalpas and thousands of lives, and, held in the clutch of captivating circumstances, be born in the wombs of asses or cows.

"Followers of the Way, as I see it we are no different from Śākya. What do we lack for our manifold activities today? The six-rayed divine light never ceases to shine. See it this way, and you'll be a man who has nothing to do his whole life long. Virtuous monks,

The three realms lack tranquility
Just like a burning house.

This is not a place we remain for long. The death-dealing demon of impermanence comes in an instant, without discriminating between noble and base, old and young.

"If you wish to differ in no way from the patriarch-buddha, just don't seek 160
outside. The pure light in a single thought of yours—this is the dharmakāya buddha within your own house. The nondiscriminating light in a single thought of yours—this is the saṃbhogakāya buddha within your own house. The nondifferentiating light in a single thought of yours—this is the nirmāṇakāya buddha within your own house. This threefold body is you, listening to my discourse right now before my very eyes. It is precisely because you don't run around seeking outside that you have such meritorious activities.

"According to the masters of the sutras and śāstras, the threefold body is 162
regarded as the ultimate norm. But in my view this is not so. The threefold body is merely a name; moreover, it is a threefold dependency. A man of old said, 'The [buddha-]bodies are posited depending upon manifested meaning; the [buddha]lands are postulated in keeping with essential substance.' Therefore we clearly know that 'dharma-natured bodies' and 'dharma-natured lands' are no more than shimmering reflections.

"Virtuous monks, you must recognize the one who manipulates these 163
reflections. 'He is the primal source of all the buddhas,' and the place to which every follower of the Way returns.

"This physical body of yours, composed of the four great elements, can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it; your spleen and stomach, liver and gallbladder can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it; the empty sky can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it. Then what can expound the dharma and listen to it? This very you standing distinctly before me without any form, shining alone—just this can expound the dharma and listen to it! Understand it this way, and you are not different from the patriarch-buddha. Just never ever allow interruptions, and all that meets your eyes will be right. But, because 'when feeling arises, wisdom is barred, and when thinking changes, the substance varies,' people transmigrate through the three realms and undergo all kinds of suffering. As I see it, there are none who are not of the utmost profundity, none who aren't emancipated.

"Followers of the Way, mind is without form and pervades the ten direc- 165
tions.

In the eye it is called seeing, in the ear it is called hearing.
In the nose it smells odors, in the mouth it holds converse.
In the hands it grasps and seizes, in the feet it runs and carries.

Fundamentally it is one pure radiance; divided it becomes the six harmoniously united spheres of sense. If the mind is void, wherever you are, you are
166 emancipated.

"What is my purpose in speaking this way? I do so only because you followers of the Way cannot stop your mind from running around everywhere seeking, because you go clambering after the worthless contrivances of the men of old.

"Followers of the Way, if you take my viewpoint you'll cut off the heads of the saṃbhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya buddhas; a bodhisattva who has attained the completed mind of the tenth stage will be like a mere hireling; a bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment or a bodhisattva of marvelous enlightenment will be like pilloried prisoners; an arhat and a pratyekabuddha will be like privy filth; bodhi and nirvana will be like hitching posts for asses. Why is this so? Followers of the Way, it is only because you haven't yet realized the emptiness of the three asamkhyeya kalpas that you have such obstacles.

171 "A true follower of the Way is never like this; conforming with circumstances as they are he exhausts his past karma; accepting things as they are he puts on his clothes; when he wants to walk he walks, when he wants to sit he sits; he never has a single thought of seeking buddhahood. Why is this so? A man of old said:

> If you seek buddha through karma-creating activities,
> Buddha becomes the great portent of birth-and-death.

173 "Virtuous monks, time is precious. And yet, hurrying hither and thither, you try to learn meditation, to study the Way, to accept names, to accept phrases, to seek buddha, to seek a patriarch, to seek a good teacher, to think and speculate.

"Make no mistake, followers of the Way! After all, you have a father and a mother—what more do you seek? Turn your own light inward upon yourselves! A man of old said:

> Yajñadatta [thought he had] lost his head,
> But when his seeking mind came to rest, he was at ease.

176 "Virtuous monks, just be ordinary. Don't put on airs. There're a bunch of shavepates who can't tell good from bad; they see spirits, they see demons; they point to the east, they point to the west; they like fair weather, they like rain. The day will come when such men as these, every one of them, will have to repay their debts in front of Old Yama by swallowing red-hot iron balls.

"[You] sons and daughters of good families, bewitched by this pack of wild foxes, lose your senses. Blind idiots! Someday you'll be made to pay up for the vittles you've eaten!"

## XI

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "Followers of the Way, it 178
is urgently necessary that you endeavor to acquire true insight and stride boldly [here] under the heavens, not losing your senses owing to that bunch of spirits. [He who has] nothing to do is the noble one. Simply don't strive—just be ordinary. Yet you look outside, searching side paths and seeking help. You're all wrong!

"You keep trying to find buddha, but buddha is merely a name. Don't you 180
know what it is that you are running around seeking? The buddhas and the patriarchs of the three periods and the ten directions appear only in order to seek the dharma. You followers of the Way who are studying today—you, too, have only to seek the dharma. Attain dharma and you're all done. Until then, you'll go on transmigrating through the five paths of existence just as you have been.

"What is dharma? 'Dharma' is the dharma of mind. Mind is without form; it pervades the ten directions and is manifesting its activity right before your very eyes. But because people lack sufficient faith [in this] they turn to names and phrases, attempting to grasp the buddhadharma through written words. They're as far away as heaven from earth!

"Followers of the Way, when I, this mountain monk, expound the dharma, 181
what dharma do I expound? I expound the dharma of mind-ground, which enters the secular and the sacred, the pure and the defiled, the real and the temporal. But your 'real and temporal,' your 'secular and sacred,' cannot 183
attach labels to all that is real and temporal, secular and sacred. The real and the temporal, the secular and the sacred, cannot attach a name to this person. Followers of the Way, grasp and use, but never name—this is called the 'mysterious principle'.

"My discourse on dharma is different from that of every other man on 184
earth. Supposing Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra were to appear before me, manifesting their respective bodily forms for the purpose of questioning me about dharma. The moment they said, 'Venerable Priest, what...,' I would have discerned them through and through. And if a follower of the Way comes for an interview as I sit quietly here, I discern him through and through. Why is this so? Just because my way of viewing things is different; outside, I make no distinction between the secular and the sacred; inside, I do not dwell in the absolute; I see right through, and am free from all doubt."

## XII

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "Followers of the Way, as to 185
buddhadharma, no effort is necessary. You have only to be ordinary, with

nothing to do—defecating, urinating, wearing clothes, eating food, and lying down when tired.

Fools laugh at me,
But the wise understand.

186 A man of old said,

Those who make work for themselves outside
Are just a bunch of blockheads.

"Just make yourself master of every situation, and wherever you stand is the true [place]. No matter what circumstances come they cannot dislodge you [from there]. Though you bear the influence of past delusions or the karma of [having committed] the five heinous crimes, these of themselves become the ocean of emancipation.

188 "Students nowadays know nothing of dharma. They're just like sheep that take into their mouths whatever their noses happen to hit against. They neither discriminate between master and slave, nor distinguish host from guest. Such as these, coming to the Way with crooked motives, readily enter bustling places. They cannot be called true renouncers of home. True householders are what they are.

"Renouncers of home must possess true insight at all times, distinguishing between the Buddha and Māra, between true and false, between secular and sacred. If they can do this, they may be called true renouncers of home. But those who cannot distinguish Māra from Buddha have only left one house to enter another. They may be described as karma-creating beings, but they cannot be called true renouncers of home.

"Now suppose there were Buddha-Māra, inseparably united in one body like a mixture of water and milk. The King of Geese would drink only the milk, but an open-eyed follower of the Way would handle Māra and Buddha equally.

If you love the sacred and hate the secular,
you'll float and sink in the sea of birth-and-death."

## XIII

190 Someone asked, "What is Buddha-Māra?"

The master said, "One thought of doubt in your mind is Māra. But if you realize that the ten thousand dharmas never come into being, that mind is like a phantom, that not a speck of dust nor a single thing exists, that there is no place that is not clean and pure—this is Buddha. Thus Buddha and Māra are simply two states, one pure, the other impure.

191 "In my view there is no Buddha, no sentient beings, no past, no present. Anything attained was already attained—no time is needed. There is nothing

to practice, nothing to realize, nothing to gain, nothing to lose. Throughout all time there is no other dharma than this. 'If one claims there's a dharma surpassing this, I say that it's like a dream, like a phantasm.' This is all I have to teach.

"Followers of the Way, the one who at this very moment shines alone 192
before my eyes and is clearly listening to my discourse—this man tarries nowhere; he traverses the ten directions and is freely himself in all three realms. Though he enters all types of situations with their various differentiations, none can confuse him. In an instant of time he penetrates the dharma realms, on meeting a buddha he teaches the buddha, on meeting a patriarch he teaches the patriarch, on meeting an arhat he teaches the arhat, on meeting a hungry ghost he teaches the hungry ghost. He travels throughout all lands bringing enlightenment to sentient beings, yet is never separate from his present mind. Everywhere is pure, light illumines the ten directions, and 'all dharmas are a single suchness.'

"Followers of the Way, right now the resolute man knows full well that 193
from the beginning there is nothing to do. Only because your faith is insufficient do you ceaselessly chase about; having thrown away your head you go on and on looking for it, unable to stop yourself. You're like the bodhisattva of complete and immediate [enlightenment], who manifests his body in any dharma realm but within the Pure Land detests the secular and aspires for the sacred. Such ones have not yet left off accepting and rejecting; ideas of purity and defilement still remain.

"For the Chan school, understanding is not thus—it is instantaneous, 194
now, not a matter of time! All that I teach is just provisional medicine, treatment for a disease. In fact, no real dharma exists. Those who understand this are true renouncers of home, and may spend a million gold coins a day.

"Followers of the Way, don't have your face stamped with the seal of sanction by any old master anywhere, then go around saying, 'I understand Chan, I understand the Way.' Though your eloquence is like a rushing torrent, it is nothing but hell-creating karma.

"The true student of the Way does not search out the faults of the world, but eagerly seeks true insight. If you can attain true insight, clear and complete, then, indeed, that is all."

## XIV

Someone asked, "What is 'true insight'?" 195

The master said, "You have only to enter the secular, enter the sacred, enter the defiled, enter the pure, enter the lands of all the buddhas, enter the Tower of Maitreya, enter the dharma realm of Vairocana and all of the lands everywhere that manifest and come into being, exist, decay, and disappear.

196 "The Buddha appeared in the world, turned the Wheel of the Great Dharma, then entered nirvana, yet no trace of his coming and going can be seen. Though you seek his birth and death, you will never find it.

"Then, having entered the dharma realm of no-birth and traveled throughout every country, you enter the realm of the lotus-womb, and there see through and through that all dharmas are characterized by emptiness and that there are no real dharmas whatsoever.

197 "There is only the man of the Way who depends upon nothing, here listening to my discourse—it is he who is the mother of all buddhas. Therefore buddhas are born from nondependence. Awaken to nondependence, then there is no buddha to be obtained. Insight such as this is true insight.

"Students do not understand this, and, because they adhere to names and phrases and are obstructed by such terms as 'secular' and 'sacred', becloud their Dharma Eye and cannot obtain clarity of vision. Take, for instance, the twelve divisions of the teachings—all are nothing but surface explanations. Not understanding this, students form views based on these superficial words and phrases. All such students are dependent and thus fall into causation; they haven't escaped birth-and-death in the three realms.

198 "If you want to be free to live or to die, to go or to stay as you would put on or take off clothes, then right now recognize the one listening to my discourse, the one who has no form, no characteristics, no root, no source, no dwelling place, and yet is bright and vigorous. Of all his various responsive
199 activities, none leaves any traces. Thus the more you chase him the farther away he goes, and the more you seek him the more he turns away; this is called the 'Mystery'.

"Followers of the Way, don't acknowledge this illusory companion, your body—sooner or later it will return to impermanence. What is it you seek in this world that you think will bring you emancipation? You hunt about for a mouthful to eat and while away time patching your robe. You should be
200 searching for a good teacher! Don't just drift along pursuing comfort. Value every second. Each successive thought-moment passes quickly away. The grosser part of you is at the mercy of [the four elements:] earth, water, fire, and wind; the subtler part of you is at the mercy of the four phases: birth, being, decay, and death. Followers of the Way, you must right now apprehend the state in which the four elements [and four phases] are formless, so that you may avoid being buffeted about by circumstances."

## XV

201 Someone asked, "What is the state in which the four elements [and four phases] are formless?"

The master said, "An instant of doubt in your mind and you're obstructed

by earth; an instant of lust in your mind and you're drowned by water; an instant of anger in your mind and you're scorched by fire; an instant of joy in your mind and you're blown about by wind. Gain such discernment as this, and you're not turned this way and that by circumstances; making use of circumstances everywhere—you spring up in the east and disappear in the west, spring up in the south and disappear in the north, spring up in the center and disappear at the border, spring up at the border and disappear in the center, walk on the water as on land, and walk on the land as on water.

"How is this possible? Because you have realized that the four elements 202
are like dreams, like illusions. Followers of the Way, the *you* who right now is listening to my discourse is not the four elements; this *you* makes use of the four elements. If you can fully understand this, you are free to go or to stay [as you please].

"From my point of view, there is not a thing to be disliked. If you love the 'sacred', what is sacred is no more than the name 'sacred'.

"There's a bunch of students who seek Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai. Wrong from the start! There's no Mañjuśrī on Wutai. Do you want to know Mañjuśrī? Your activity right now, never changing, nowhere faltering—this is the living Mañjuśrī. Your single thought's nondifferentiating light—this indeed is the true Samantabhadra. Your single thought that frees itself from bondage and 204
brings emancipation everywhere—this is the Avalokiteśvara samādhi. Since these [three] alternately take the position of master and attendants, when they appear they appear at one and the same time, one in three, three in one. Gain understanding such as this, and then you can read the sutras."

## XVI

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "You who today study the 205
Way must have faith in yourselves. Don't seek outside or you'll just go on clambering after the realm of worthless dusts, never distinguishing true from false. [Notions] like 'There are buddhas, there are patriarchs' are no more than matters in the teachings. When someone brings forward a phrase or comes forth from the hidden and the revealed, you are at once beset by doubt. You appeal to heaven, appeal to earth, run to question your neighbors, and are utterly perplexed. Resolute men, don't pass your days in idle chatter 206
this way, talking of rulers and talking of outlaws, discussing right and discussing wrong, speaking of women and speaking of money.

"As for me, whoever comes here, whether monk or layman, I discern him through and through. Regardless of where he comes from, his words and phrases are all just dreams and illusions. On the other hand, it's obvious that one in control of every circumstance [embodies] the mysterious principle of all the buddhas. The state of buddhahood does not of itself proclaim, 'I am

the state of buddhahood!' Rather, this very man of the Way, dependent upon nothing, comes forth in control of every circumstance.

"If someone comes and asks about seeking buddha, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of purity; if someone asks about bodhisattva-hood, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of compassion; if someone asks me about bodhi, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of pure mystery; if someone asks me about nirvana, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of serene stillness. Though there be ten thousand different states, the person does not differ. Therefore,

According with things he manifests a form,
Like the moon [reflecting] on the water.

"Followers of the Way, if you want to accord with dharma, just be men of great resolve. If you just shilly-shally spinelessly along, you're good for noth-
208 ing. Just as a cracked jug is unfit to hold ghee, so he who would be a great vessel must not be taken in by the deluded views of others. Make yourself master everywhere, and wherever you stand is the true [place].

"Whatever comes along, don't accept it. One thought of doubt, and instantly the demon [māra] enters your mind. Even a bodhisattva, when in doubt, is taken advantage of by the demon of birth-and-death. Just desist from thinking, and never seek outside. If something should come, illumine it. Have faith in your activity revealed now—there isn't a thing to do.

"One thought of your mind produces the three realms and, in accordance with causal conditions and influenced by circumstances, the division into the six dusts takes place. What is lacking in your present responsive activity! In an instant you enter the pure, enter the dirty, enter the Tower of Maitreya, enter the Land of the Three Eyes, and everywhere you travel all you see are empty names."

## XVII

209 Someone asked, "What about the 'Land of the Three Eyes'?"

The master said, "When you and I together enter the Land of Pure Mystery we put on the robe of purity and preach as the dharmakāya buddha; when we enter the Land of Nondifferentiation we put on the robe of non-differentiation and preach as the saṃbhogakāya buddha; when we enter the Land of Emancipation we put on the robe of brightness and preach as the nirmāṇakāya buddha. These Lands of the Three Eyes are all dependent transformations.

210 "According to the masters of the sutras and śāstras, the dharmakāya is regarded as basic substance and the saṃbhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya as function. From my point of view the dharmakāya cannot expound the

dharma. Therefore a man of old said, 'The [buddha-]bodies are posited depending upon meaning; the [buddha-]lands are postulated in keeping with substance.' So we clearly know that the dharma-nature body and dharma-nature land are fabricated things, based on dependent understanding. Empty fists and yellow leaves used to fool a child! Spiked gorse seeds! Horned water chestnuts! What kind of juice are you looking for in such dried-up bones!

"Outside mind there's no dharma, nor is there anything to be gained within it. What are you seeking? Everywhere you say, 'There's something to practice, something to obtain.' Make no mistake! Even if there were something to be gained by practice, it would be nothing but birth-and-death karma. You say, 'The six pāramitās and the ten thousand [virtuous] actions 212
are all to be practiced.' As I see it, all this is just making karma. Seeking buddha and seeking dharma are only making hell-karma. Seeking bodhisattvahood is also making karma; reading the sutras and studying the teachings are also making karma. Buddhas and patriarchs are people with nothing to do. Therefore, [for them] activity and the defiling passions and also nonactivity and passionlessness are 'pure' karma.

"There are a bunch of blind shavepates who, having stuffed themselves 214
with food, sit down to meditate and practice contemplation. Arresting the flow of thought they don't let it rise; they hate noise and seek stillness. This is the method of the heretics. A patriarch said, 'If you stop the mind to look at stillness, arouse the mind to illumine outside, control the mind to clarify inside, concentrate the mind to enter samādhi—all such [practices] as these are artificial striving.'

"This very *you*, the man who right now is thus listening to my discourse, 216
how is he to be cultivated, to be enlightened, to be adorned? He is not one to be cultivated, he is not one to be adorned. But if you let him do the adorning, then everything would be adorned. Don't be mistaken!

"Followers of the Way, you seize upon words from the mouths of those old masters and take them to be the true Way. You think, 'These good teachers are wonderful, and I, simple-minded fellow that I am, don't dare measure such old worthies.' Blind idiots! You go through your entire life holding such views, betraying your own two eyes. Trembling with fright, like donkeys on an icy path, [you say to yourselves,] 'I don't dare disparage these good teachers for fear of making karma with my mouth!'

"Followers of the Way, it is only a great teacher who dares to disparage the buddhas, dares to disparage the patriarchs, to determine the right and the wrong of the world, to reject the teachings of the Tripiṭaka, to revile all infantile fellows, and to look for a Person amidst fortunate and unfortunate circumstances.

217 "Therefore, when I look back over the past twelve years for a single thing having the nature of karma, I can't find anything even the size of a mustard seed. The Chan master who is like a new bride will fear lest he be thrown out of his temple, be given no food to eat, and have no contentment and ease. From olden days our predecessors never had people anywhere who believed in them. Only after they had been driven out was their worth recognized. If they had been fully accepted by people everywhere, what would they have been good for? Therefore it is said, 'The lion's single roar splits the jackals' skulls.'

"Followers of the Way, people everywhere say that there is a Way to be practiced, a dharma to be confirmed. Tell me, what dharma will you confirm, what Way will you practice? What is lacking in your present activity? What still needs to be patched up?

218 "The immature young monk, not understanding this, believes in these fox-spirits and lets them speak the kind of nonsense that binds other people, nonsense such as, 'Only by harmonizing the principle and practice and by guarding [against] the three karmas can buddhahood be attained.' People who talk like this are as common as spring showers.

"A man of old said:

> If on the road you meet a man who has mastered the Way,
> Above all do not speak of the Way.

219 Therefore it is said:

> When a man tries to practice the Way, the Way does not function,
> And ten thousand evil circumstances vie in raising their heads.
> But when the sword of wisdom flashes forth, nothing remains;
> Before brightness is manifest, darkness is bright.

For that reason a man of old said, 'Ordinary mind is the Way.'

"Virtuous monks, what are you looking for? [You] nondependent people of the Way who listen to my discourse right now before my eyes, [you are]
220 bright and clear and have never lacked anything. If you want to be no different from the patriarch-buddha, just see things this way. There's no need to waver.

"Your minds and Mind do not differ—this is called [your] living patriarch. If mind differs, its essence will differ from its manifestations. Since mind does not differ, its essence and its manifestations do not differ."

## XVIII

221 Someone asked, "What about the state where 'mind and Mind do not differ'?"

The master said, "The instant you ask the question they are already separate, and essense differs from its manifestations.

"Followers of the Way, make no mistake! All the dharmas of this world and of the worlds beyond are without self-nature. Also, they are without produced nature. They are just empty names, and these names are also empty. All you are doing is taking these worthless names to be real. That's all wrong! 222
Even if they do exist, they are nothing but states of dependent transformation, such as the dependent transformations of bodhi, nirvana, emancipation, the threefold body, the [objective] surroundings and the [subjective] mind, bodhisattvahood, and buddhahood. What are you looking for in these lands of dependent transformations! All of these, up to and including the Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of teachings, are just so much waste paper to wipe off privy filth. The Buddha is just a phantom body, the patriarchs just old monks.

"But you, weren't you born of a mother? If you seek the Buddha, you'll be 223
held in the grip of Buddha-Māra. If you seek the patriarchs, you'll be bound by the ropes of Patriarch-Māra. If you engage in any seeking, it will all be pain. Much better to do nothing.

"There are a bunch of shavepate monks who say to students, 'The Buddha is the Ultimate; he attained buddhahood only after he came to the fruition of practices carried on through three great asaṃkhyeya kalpas.' Followers of the Way, if you say that the Buddha is the ultimate, how is it that after eighty years of life the Buddha lay down on his side between the twin śāla trees at Kuśinagara and died? Where is the Buddha now? We clearly know that his birth and death were not different from ours.

"You say, 'The thirty-two [primary] features and the eighty [secondary] 224
features indicate a buddha.' Then must a cakravartin also be considered a tathāgata? We clearly know that these features are illusory transformations. A man of old said:

> The Tathāgata's various bodily features
> Were assumed to conform with worldly sensibilities.
> Lest men conceive annihilist views,
> He provisionally provided unreal names.
> Temporarily we speak of the 'thirty-two,'
> The 'eighty,' also, are but empty sounds.
> The mortal body is not the awakened body,
> Featurelessness is the true figure.

"You say, 'A buddha has six supernatural powers. This is miraculous!' 225
All the gods, immortals, asuras, and mighty pretas also have supernatural powers—must they be considered buddhas? Followers of the Way, make no mistake! For instance, when Asura fought against Indra and was routed 226
in battle he led his entire throng, to the number of eighty-four thousand, into the tube in a fiber of a lotus root to hide. Wasn't he then a sage? Such 227

supernatural powers as these I have just mentioned are all reward powers or dependent powers.

"Those are not the six supernatural powers of a buddha, which are entering the world of color yet not being deluded by color; entering the world of sound yet not being deluded by sound; entering the world of odor yet not being deluded by odor; entering the world of taste yet not being deluded by taste; entering the world of touch yet not being deluded by touch; entering the world of dharmas yet not being deluded by dharmas. Therefore, when it is realized that these six—color, sound, odor, taste, touch, and dharmas—are all empty forms, they cannot bind the man of the Way, dependent upon
228 nothing. Constituted though he is of the seepage of the five skandhas, he has the supernatural power of walking upon the earth.

"Followers of the Way, true buddha has no figure, true dharma has no form. All you're doing is devising models and patterns out of phantoms. Anything you may find through seeking will be nothing more than a wild fox-spirit; it certainly won't be the true buddha. It will be the understanding of a heretic.

"The true student of the Way has nothing to do with buddhas and nothing to do with bodhisattvas or arhats. Nor has he anything to do with the good things of the triple world. Having transcended these, solitary and free, he is not bound by things. Heaven and earth could turn upside down and he wouldn't have a doubt; the buddhas of the ten directions could appear before him and he wouldn't feel an instant of joy; the three hells could suddenly yawn at his feet and he wouldn't feel an instant of fear. Why is this so? Because, as I see it, all dharmas are empty forms—when transformation takes place they are existent, when transformation does not take place they are nonexistent. The three realms are mind-only, the ten thousand dharmas
230 are consciousness-only. Hence,

> Illusory dreams, flowers in the sky,
> Why trouble to grasp at them!

"Only you, the follower of the Way right now before my eyes listening to my discourse, [only you] enter fire and are not burned, enter water and are not drowned, enter the three hells as though strolling in a pleasure garden, enter the realms of the hungry ghosts and the beasts without suffering their fate. How can this be? There are no dharmas to be disliked.

231 > If you love the sacred and hate the secular
> You'll float and sink in the birth-and-death sea.
> The passions exist dependent on mind;
> Have no-mind, and how can they bind you?
> Without troubling to discriminate or cling to forms
> You'll attain the Way naturally in a moment of time.

"But if you try to get understanding by hurrying down this byway and that, you'll still be in the round of samsara after three asakhyeya kalpas. Better take your ease sitting cross-legged on a meditation platform in the monastery.

"Followers of the Way, students come from every quarter, and after 232
host and guest have met the student will test the teacher with a phrase. Some tricky words are chosen by the student and flung at the corner of the teacher's mouth. 'Let's see if you can understand this!' he says. If you teachers recognize it as a device, you seize it and throw it into a pit. Whereupon the student quiets down and asks the teacher to say something. As before, the teacher robs him of his attitude. The student says, 'What superlative wisdom! A great teacher, indeed!' To which you teachers instantly retort, 'You can't even tell good from bad.'

"Or a teacher may take out a bunch of stuff and play with it in front of a student. The latter, seeing through this, makes himself master in every case and doesn't fall for the humbug. Now the teacher reveals half of his body, whereupon the student gives a shout. Again the teacher tries to rattle the student by using all sorts of expressions having to do with differentiation. 'You can't tell good from bad, you old shavepate!' exclaims the student. And the teacher, with a sigh of admiration, says, 'Ah, a true follower of the Way!'

"There are teachers all around who can't distinguish the false from the 234
true. When students come asking about bodhi, nirvana, the trikāya, or the [objective] surroundings and the [subjective] mind, the blind old teachers immediately start explaining to them. When they're railed at by the students they grab their sticks and hit them, [shouting,] 'What insolent talk!' Obviously you teachers yourselves are without an eye so you've no right to get angry with them.

"And then there're a bunch of shavepates who, not knowing good from bad, point to the east and point to the west, delight in fair weather, delight in rain, and delight in lanterns and pillars. Look at them! How many hairs are left in their eyebrows! There is a good reason for this [loss of eyebrows]. 235
Lacking understanding, students become infatuated with them. Such [shavepates] as these are all wild fox-spirits and nature-goblins. Good students snicker and say, 'Blind old shavepates, deluding and bewitching everyone under heaven!'

"Followers of the Way, he who is a renouncer of home must needs study the Way. Take me, for example—I started out devoting myself to the vinaya and also delved into the sutras and śāstras. Later, when I realized that they were only remedies to help the world and displays of opinion, I threw them all away, and, searching for the Way, I practiced meditation. Still later I met a great teacher. Then, indeed, my dharma-eye became clear and for the first

time I was able to understand all the old teachers of the world and to tell the true from the false. It is not that I understood from the moment I was born of my mother, but that, after exhaustive investigation and grinding practice, in one instant I knew for myself.

236 "Followers of the Way, if you want insight into dharma as it is, just don't be taken in by the deluded views of others. Whatever you encounter, either within or without, slay it at once. On meeting a buddha slay the buddha, on meeting a patriarch slay the patriarch, on meeting an arhat slay the arhat, on meeting your parents slay your parents, on meeting your kinsman slay your kinsman, and you attain emancipation. By not cleaving to things, you freely pass through.

237 "Among all the students from every quarter who are followers of the Way, none has yet come before me without being dependent on something. Here I hit them right from the start. If they come forth using their hands, I hit them on the hands; if they come forth using their mouths, I hit them on the mouth; if they come forth using their eyes, I hit them on the eyes. Not one has yet come before me in solitary freedom. All are clambering after the worthless contrivances of the men of old. As for myself, I haven't a single dharma to give to people. All I can do is to cure illnesses and untie bonds. You followers of the Way from every quarter, try coming before me without being dependent upon things. I would confer with you.

"Five years, nay ten years, have passed, but as yet not one person [has appeared]. All have been [ghosts] dependent upon grasses or attached to leaves, souls of bamboos and trees, wild fox-spirits. They recklessly gnaw on
238 all kinds of dung clods. Blind fools! Wastefully squandering the alms given them by believers everywhere and saying, 'I am a renouncer of home,' all the while holding such views as these!

"I say to you there is no buddha, no dharma, nothing to practice, nothing to enlighten to. Just what are you seeking in the highways and byways? Blind men! You're putting a head on top of the one you already have. What do you yourselves lack? Followers of the Way, your own present activities do not differ from those of the patriarch-buddhas. You just don't believe this and keep on seeking outside. Make no mistake! Outside there is no dharma; inside, there is nothing to be obtained. Better than grasp at the words from
239 my mouth, take it easy and do nothing. Don't continue [thoughts] that have already arisen and don't let those that haven't yet arisen be aroused. Just this will be worth far more to you than a ten years' pilgrimage.

"As I see it, there isn't so much to do. Just be ordinary—put on your clothes, eat your food, and pass the time doing nothing. You who come here from here and there all have a mind to seek buddha, to seek dharma, to seek

emancipation, to seek escape from the three realms. Foolish fellows! When you've left the three realms where would you go?

"'Buddha' and 'patriarch' are only names of praise-bondage. Do you want to know the three realms? They are not separate from the mind-ground of you who right now are listening to my discourse. Your single covetous thought is the realm of desire; your single angry thought is the realm of form; your single delusive thought is the realm of formlessness. These are the 240
furnishings within your own house. The three realms do not of themselves proclaim, 'We are the three realms!' But you, followers of the Way, right now vividly illumining all things and taking the measure of the world, you give the names to the three realms.

"Virtuous monks, the physical body [composed] of the four great elements is impermanent; [every part of it,] including the spleen, stomach, liver, and gallbladder, the hair, nails, and teeth as well, only proves that all dharmas are empty appearances. The place where your one thought comes to rest is called the bodhi tree; the place where your one thought cannot come to rest is called the avidyā tree. Avidyā has no dwelling place; avidyā has no beginning and no end. If your successive thoughts cannot come to rest, you go 241
up the avidyā tree; you enter the six paths of existence and the four modes of birth, wear fur on your body and horns on your head. If your successive thoughts can come to rest, then this [very body] is the pure body.

"When not a single thought arises in your mind, then you go up the bodhi 242
tree: you supernaturally transform yourself in the three realms and change your bodily form at will. You rejoice in the dharma and delight in samādhi, and the radiance of your body shines forth of itself. At the thought of garments a thousand lengths of brocade are at hand; at the thought of food a hundred delicacies are before you; furthermore, you never suffer unusual illness. 'Bodhi has no dwelling place, therefore it is not attainable.'

"Followers of the Way, what more is there for the resolute fellow to doubt? 244
The activity going on right now—whose is it? Grasp and use, but never name—this is called the 'mysterious principle.' Come to such understanding as this, and there is nothing to be disliked. A man of old said:

> [My] mind turns in accordance with the myriad circumstances,
> And this turning, in truth, is most mysterious.
> Recognizing [my] nature while according with the flow,
> [I] have no more joy nor any sorrow.

"Followers of the Way, the view of the Chan school is that the sequence 245
of death and life is orderly. The student of Chan must examine [this] most carefully.

"When host and guest meet they vie with each other in discussion. At times, in response to something, they may manifest a form; at times they may

act with their whole body; or they may use tricks or devices to appear joyful or angry; or they may reveal half of the body; or again they may ride upon a lion or mount a lordly elephant.

246 "A true student gives a shout, and to start with holds out a sticky lacquer tray. The teacher, not discerning that this is an objective circumstance, goes after it and performs a lot of antics with it. The student again shouts but still the teacher is unwilling to let go. This is a disease of the vitals that no doctoring can cure; it is called 'the guest examines the host.'

247 "Sometimes a teacher will offer nothing, but, the moment a student asks a question, grabs it away. The student, his question having been taken from him, resists to the death and will not let go. This is called 'the host examines the guest.'

"Sometimes a student comes forth before a teacher in conformity with a state of purity. The teacher, discerning that this is an objective circumstance, seizes it and flings it into a pit. 'What an excellent teacher!' exclaims the student, and the teacher replies, 'Bah! You can't tell good from bad!' Thereupon the student makes a deep bow: this is called 'the host examines the host.'

"Or again, a student will appear before a teacher wearing a cangue and bound with chains. The teacher fastens on still more chains and cangues for him. The student is so delighted that he can't tell what is what; this is called 'the guest examines the guest.'

"Virtuous monks, all the examples I have brought before you serve to distinguish demons and point out heretics, thus making it possible for you to know what is erroneous and what is correct.

"Followers of the Way, true sincerity is extremely difficult to attain, and the buddhadharma is deep and mysterious, yet a goodly measure of under-

248 standing can be acquired. I explain it exhaustively all day long, but you students give not the slightest heed. Though a thousand times, nay ten thousand times, you tread it underfoot, you are still in utter darkness. It is without a vestige of form, yet is clear in its solitary shining.

"Because your faith [in yourselves] is insufficient, you students turn to words and phrases and base your understanding upon them. Until you've reached the half-century mark you continue dragging [your] dead bodies up blind alleys and running about the world bearing your heavy load. The day will come when you'll have to pay up for the straw sandals you've worn out.

"Virtuous monks, when I state that there are no dharmas outside, the student does not comprehend and immediately tries to find understanding within. He sits down cross-legged with his back against a wall, his tongue glued to the roof of his mouth, completely still and motionless. This he takes to be the buddhadharma of the patriarchal school. That's all wrong.

"If you take the state of motionlessness and purity to be correct, then you

are recognizing the darkness [of avidyā] as master. This is what a man of old meant when he said, 'Fearful indeed is the bottomless black pit!' If on the other hand you recognize motion to be correct, since all plants and trees can move, must they then be the Way?

"Thus 'motion is the wind element; motionlessness is the earth element.' 250
Motion and motionlessness both are without self-nature. If you try to seize it within motion, it takes a position within motionlessness. If you try to seize it within motionlessness, it takes a position within motion.

Like a fish hidden in a pool,
Smacking the waves as it leaps [from the water].

Virtuous monks, motion and motionlessness are merely two kinds of states; it is the nondependent Man of the Way who utilizes motion and utilizes motionlessness.

"As for the students who come from every quarter, I myself divide them 251
into three categories according to their inherent capacities. If one of less than average capacity comes, I snatch away his state but do not take away his dharma. If one of better than average capacity comes, I snatch away both his state and dharma. If one of superior capacity comes, I snatch away neither his state, his dharma, nor himself. But should a man of extraordinary understanding come, I would act with my whole body and not place him in any category. Virtuous monks, when a student has reached this point, his manifest power is impenetrable to any wind and swifter than a spark from flint or a flash of lightning.

"The moment a student blinks his eyes he's already way off. The moment 252
he applies his mind, he's already differed. The moment he arouses a thought, he's already deviated. But for the man who understands, it's always right here before his eyes.

"Virtuous monks, you carry your bowl-bag and lug your dung-sack, rushing up blind alleys in search of buddha and in search of dharma. Do you know who it is who right now is running around searching this way? He is brisk and lively, with no roots at all. Though you [try to] embrace him, you cannot gather him in; though you [try to] drive him away, you cannot shake him off. If you seek him he retreats farther and farther away; if you don't seek him, then he's right there before your eyes, his wondrous voice resounding in your ears. If you have no faith [in this], you'll waste your entire life.

"Followers of the Way, in an instant you enter the Lotus World, the Land 254
of Vairocana, the Land of Emancipation, the Land of Supernatural Powers, the Land of Purity, and the dharma realm; you enter the dirty and the pure, the secular and the sacred, the realm of hungry ghosts and the realm of beasts. Yet however far and wide you may search, nowhere will you see any birth or death; there will only be empty names.

Illusory transformations, flowers in the sky—
Don't trouble to grasp at them.
Gain and loss, right and wrong—
Away with them once and for all!

"Followers of the Way, my buddhadharma is that of the correct transmission, a transmission that has continued in a single line through the masters Mayu, Danxia, Daoyi, Lushan, and Shigong, and has spread abroad over all the world. Yet no one has faith in it and everyone heaps slander on it.

257 "Venerable Daoyi's activity was pure and simple; not one of his three to five hundred students could discern what he meant. Venerable Lushan was free and true; whether conforming or opposing, his actions were unfathom-
258 able to his students—they were all dumbfounded. Venerable Danxia played with the pearl, concealing and revealing it; every single student who came was reviled by him. As for Venerable Mayu, his activity was as bitter as the huangbo tree; no one could approach him. Venerable Shigong's activity was to search for a man with the point of his arrow; all who came before him were struck with fear.

"With respect to my own activity today—true creation and destruction—I play with miraculous transformations, enter into all kinds of circumstances, yet nowhere have I anything to do. Circumstances cannot change me.

259 "Whenever someone comes here seeking I immediately go out and look at him. He doesn't recognize me. Thereupon I don various kinds of robes. The student, assigning some meaning to this, straightway falls into words and phrases. What a pity that the blind shavepate, a man without the eye [to see], grasps at the robe I'm wearing and declares it to be blue or yellow, red or white! When I remove the robe and enter the state of purity, the student takes one look and is immediately filled with delight and longing. Then, when I cast off everything, the student is stunned and, running about in wild confusion, cries, 'You have no robe!' If I say, 'Do you know me, the man who wears these robes?' he'll abruptly turn his head around and recognize me through and through.

"Virtuous monks, don't acknowledge robes. Robes cannot move of themselves, but people can put them on. There is the robe of purity, the robe of birthlessness, the robe of bodhi, the robe of nirvana, the patriarch-robe, and the buddha-robe. Virtuous monks, these spoken words and written phrases are all nothing but changes of robes.

"Churning up the sea of breath in your belly and clacking your teeth together, you devise wordy interpretations. So it's clear that these are only
260 illusory transformations. Virtuous monks:

Acts of speech are displayed without,
Mental activities are manifested within.

Because of mental activities thoughts arise, but these are all just robes.

"If all you do is acknowledge as real the robes that are merely put on, even after the passage of kalpas numerous as dust you'll still have nothing but an understanding of robes, and will continue going round and round in the three realms, transmigrating through birth-and-death. Much better do nothing.

I meet [him] yet do not recognize [him],
I speak with [him] yet do not know his name.

"Students of today get nowhere because they base their understanding upon the acknowledgment of names. They inscribe the words of some dead old guy in a great big notebook, wrap it up in four or five squares of cloth, and won't let anyone look at it. 'This is the Mysterious Principle,' they aver, and safeguard it with care. That's all wrong. Blind idiots! What kind of juice are you looking for in such dried-up bones!

"Then there're a bunch of guys who, not knowing good from bad, guess 261
around and speculate about the scriptures and make wordy interpretations of them. They're like men who, having held dung clods in their mouths, spit them out for the other people. They're like peasants engaged in playing a passing-the-word game. They spend their entire lifetime in vain, yet declare 'We are renouncers of home!' Questioned about buddhadharma, they just shut their mouths, bereft of words. Their eyes are as vacant as black chimney holes and their mouths sag like [loaded] carrying-poles. Such men as these, even 262
though they were to be present when Maitreya appears in this world, would be banished to another region and there, lodged in hell, suffer its torments.

"Virtuous monks, what are you seeking as you go around hither and yon, walking until the soles of your feet are flat? There is no buddha to seek, no Way to complete, no dharma to attain.

If you seek outside for a buddha having form,
You won't find him to resemble you;
If you know your own original mind,
It's neither united with nor apart from [him].

"Followers of the Way, true buddha has no shape, true Way has no sub- 263
stance, true dharma has no form; these three are fused together harmoniously united into one. Just because you can't understand this, you're called 'sentient beings with unlimited karmic consciousness.'"

## XIX

Someone asked, "What about the true buddha, the true dharma, and the 264
true Way? We beg of you to disclose this for us."

The master said, "Buddha is the mind's purity; dharma is the mind's

radiance; the Way is the pure light pervading everywhere without hindrance. The three are one, yet all are empty names and have no real existence. With the true man of the Way, from moment to moment mind is not interrupted.

"From the time the great teacher Bodhidharma came from the Western Land, he just sought a man who would not accept the deluded views of others. Later, he met the Second Patriarch, who, having understood at [Bodhidharma's] one word, for the first time realized that hitherto he had been futilely engaged in striving.

"As for my understanding today, it's no different from that of the patriarch-buddhas. He who attains at the First Statement becomes the teacher of patriarch-buddhas; he who attains at the Second Statement becomes the teacher of men and gods; he who attains at the Third Statement cannot save even himself."

## XX

265 Someone asked, "What was the purpose of the [Patriarch's] coming from the West?"

The master said, "If he had had a purpose he couldn't have saved even himself."

Someone asked, "Since he had no purpose, how did the Second Patriarch obtain the dharma?"

The master said, "'To obtain' is to not obtain."

Someone asked, "If it is 'to not obtain,' what is the meaning of 'to not obtain'?"

266 The master said, "It is because you cannot stop your mind which runs on seeking everywhere that a patriarch said, 'Bah, superior men! Searching for your heads with your heads!' When at these words you turn your own light in upon yourselves and never seek elsewhere, then you'll know that your body and mind are not different from those of the patriarch-buddhas and on the instant have nothing to do—this is called 'obtaining the dharma.'

267 "Virtuous monks, at present I've no other choice than to speak so much trash and rubbish. Don't be mistaken. As I see it there really aren't so many problems. If you want to act, act; if you don't, don't.

"There are people in every quarter who assert that the ten thousand practices and the six pāramitās constitute the buddhadharma. But I say to you that they are merely means of adornment, expedients for carrying out the
268 buddha's work; they are not buddhadharma [itself]. Even those who keep the rules regarding food and conduct with the care of a man carrying a bowl of oil so as not to spill a drop, if their dharma-eye is not clear they'll have to pay their debts, and the day will come when the cost of their food will be exacted from them. Why is this so?

Since he entered the Way but didn't penetrate the Principle,
He returned in the flesh to repay the alms he'd received.
When the rich man reaches four score and one,
The tree will no longer produce the fungus.

"Even those who live alone on a solitary peak, or who eat their single meal at dawn, sit for long periods of time without lying down, and worship buddha at the six appointed hours of the day—all such persons are simply creating karma. There are others who give away everything as alms—their 270
heads and eyes, marrow and brains, states and cities, wives and children, elephants, horses, and the seven precious things—but all such acts only cause suffering of body and mind and end up inviting future sorrow. It is better to have nothing to do, better to be plain and simple.

"Even if bodhisattvas having the completed mind of the tenth stage were to search for traces of this follower of the Way, they could never find them. Therefore [it is said]: 'All the gods rejoice, the gods of earth clasp his feet in adoration, and of all the buddhas of the ten directions, there are none who do not praise him.' Why is this so? Because the person of the Way who is now listening to my discourse leaves no trace of his activity."

## XXI

Someone asked, "[The sutra says:] 271

The Buddha of Supreme Penetration and Surpassing Wisdom
Sat for ten kalpas in a place of practice,
But the buddhadharma did not manifest [itself to him],
And he did not attain the buddha-way.

I don't understand the meaning of this. Would the master kindly explain?"

The master said, "'Supreme Penetration' means that one personally penetrates everywhere into the naturelessness and formlessness of the ten thousand dharmas. 'Surpassing Wisdom' means to have no doubts anywhere and 272
to not obtain a single dharma. 'Buddha' means pureness of the mind whose radiance pervades the entire dharma realm. 'Sat for ten kalpas in a place of practice' refers to [the practice of] the ten pāramitās. 'The buddhadharma did not manifest' means that buddha is in essence birthless and dharma (dharmas) in essence unextinguished. Why should it manifest itself! 'He did not attain the buddha-way': a buddha can't become a buddha again.

"A man of old said, 'Buddha is always present in the world, but is not stained by worldly dharmas.' Followers of the Way, if you want to become a buddha, don't go along with the ten thousand things.

When mind arises, all kinds of dharmas arise;
When mind is extinguished, all kinds of dharmas are extinguished.

273 When mind does not arise,
The ten thousand dharmas have no fault.

Neither in this world nor beyond this world is there any buddha or dharma; they neither reveal themselves nor are they ever lost. Even if such things existed, they would only be words and writings for placating little children, expedient remedies for illnesses, displays of names and phrases. Moreover, names and phrases are not of themselves names and phrases; it is *you*, who right now radiantly and vividly perceive, know, and clearly illumine [everything]—you it is who affix all names and phrases.

"Virtuous monks, by creating the karma of the five heinous crimes, you attain emancipation."

## XXII

275 Someone asked, "What is the karma of the five heinous crimes?"

The master said, "Killing the father, slaying the mother, shedding the blood of a buddha, destroying the harmony of the sangha, and burning the scriptures and images—this is the karma of the five heinous crimes."

"What is meant by 'father'?"

The master said, "Avidyā is the father. When the place of arising or extinguishing of a single thought in your mind is not to be found, as with a sound reverberating throughout space, and there is nothing anywhere for you to do—this is called 'killing the father.'"

"What is meant by 'mother'?"

The master said, "Covetousness is the mother. When a single thought in your mind enters the world of desire and seeks covetousness, but sees that all dharmas are only empty forms, and [thus] has no attachment anywhere—this is called 'slaying the mother.'"

276 "What is meant by 'shedding the blood of a buddha'?"

The master said, "When in the midst of the pure dharma realm you haven't in your mind a single reasoning thought, and [thus] pitch blackness pervades everywhere—this is called 'shedding the blood of a buddha.'"

"What is meant by 'destroying the harmony of the sangha'?"

The master said, "When a single thought in your mind truly realizes that the bonds and enticements of the passions are like space with nothing upon which to depend—this is called 'destroying the harmony of the sangha.'"

"What is meant by 'burning the scriptures and images'?"

The master said, "When you see that causal relations are empty, that mind is empty, and that dharmas are empty, and [thus] your single thought is decisively cut off and, transcendent, you've nothing to do—this is called 'burning the scriptures and images.'

"Virtuous monks, reach such understanding as this, and you'll be free 277
from the hindrances of names [like] 'secular' and 'sacred'.

"Yet a single thought in your mind is doing nothing but

Conceiving an empty fist or a [pointing] finger to be real;
Senselessly conjuring up apparitions from among the dharmas of
the sense-fields.

You belittle yourselves and modestly withdraw, saying, 'We are but commoners; he is a sage.' Bald idiots! What's the frantic hurry to wrap yourselves in lions' skins while you're yapping like jackals!

"Resolute fellows [though you are], you do not draw the breath of the 278
resolute. Unwilling to believe in what you have in your own house, you do nothing but seek outside, go clambering after the worthless sayings of the men of old, rely upon yin and depend upon yang and are unable to achieve [by yourselves]. On meeting [outer] circumstances, you establish relationship with them; on meeting [sense-]dusts you cling to them; wherever you are doubts arise, and you yourselves have no standard of judgment.

"Followers of the Way, don't accept what I state. Why? Statements have no proof. They are pictures temporarily drawn in the empty sky, as in the metaphor of the painted figures.

"Followers of the Way, don't take the Buddha to be the ultimate. As I see it, 279
he is just like a privy hole. Both bodhisattvahood and arhatship are cangues and chains that bind one. This is why Mañjuśrī tried to kill Gautama with his sword, and why Aṅgulimāla attempted to slay Śākyamuni with his dagger.

"Followers of the Way, there is no buddha to be obtained. Even the doc- 281
trines [including those] of the Three Vehicles, the five natures, and complete and immediate enlightenment—all these are but provisional medicines for the treatment of symptoms. In no sense do any real dharmas exist. Even if they were to exist, they would all be nothing but imitations, publicly displayed proclamations, arrangements of letters stated that way just for the time being.

"Followers of the Way, there're a bunch of shavepates who try to seek a transcendental dharma by directing their efforts inward. A great mistake! If you seek buddha you lose buddha, if you seek the Way you lose the Way, if you seek the patriarchs you lose the patriarchs.

"Virtuous monks, make no mistake. I don't care whether you understand the sutras and śāstras, whether you're a king or a high minister, whether you're as eloquent as a rushing torrent, or whether you're clever or wise. I only want you to have true insight.

"Followers of the Way, even if you should master a hundred sutras and 282
śāstras, you're not as good as a teacher with nothing to do. If you do master them, you'll regard others with contempt. Asura-like conflict and egotisti-

cal ignorance increase the karma that leads to hell. Such was the case of Sunakṣātra bhikku—though he understood the twelve divisions of the teachings, he fell alive into hell. The great earth had no place for him. It's better to do nothing and take it easy.

When hunger comes I eat my rice;
When sleep comes I close my eyes.
Fools laugh at me, but
The wise man understands.

283 "Followers of the Way, don't seek within words, for when the mind is stirred you become wearied, and there's no benefit in gulping icy air. It's better, by the single thought that causal relations are [fundamentally] birthless, to surpass the bodhisattvas who depend upon the provisional teaching of the Three Vehicles.

"Virtuous monks, don't spend your days drifting along. In the past when I had as yet no understanding, all about me was utter darkness. But I wasn't one to waste time, so with a burning belly and a turbulent mind, I ran around inquiring about the Way. Later, however, I got some help and finally today I can talk to you like this. I advise all you followers of the Way not to
284 live for food and clothes. Look! The world passes swiftly away, and meeting a good teacher is as rare as the flowering of the udumbara tree.

"Hearing everywhere of old man Linji, you come here intending to bait me with difficult questions and make it impossible for me to answer. Faced with a demonstration of the activity of my whole body, you students just stare blankly and can't move your mouths at all; you're at such a loss you don't know how to answer. I tell you, 'Asses can't bear being trampled by a dragon-elephant.'

"You go around everywhere thumping your chests and whacking your ribs, saying, 'I understand Chan! I understand the Way!' But let two or three of you come here and you can't do a thing. Bah! Carrying that body and mind of yours, you go around everywhere flapping your lips like winnowing fans and deceiving villagers. The day will come when you'll be flogged with iron rods. You're not [true] renouncers of home. You'll all be herded together
285 in the realm of the asuras.

"As for the Way of ultimate truth, it is not something that seeks to arouse enthusiasm through arguments and disputes, nor that uses resounding oratory to refute heretics. As for the transmission of the buddhas and the patriarchs, it has no special purpose. Even though there are verbal teachings, they all fall into [the category of] such formulas for salvation as the Three Vehicles, the five natures, and the cause-and-effect that leads to [rebirth as] men or gods. But in the case of the teaching of the complete and immedi-

ate enlightenment this isn't so; Sudhana did not go around seeking any of 286
these.

"Virtuous monks, don't use your minds mistakenly. The great sea does not detain dead bodies, but all you do is rush about the world carrying them on your shoulders. You yourselves raise the obstructions that impede your minds. When the sun above has no clouds, the bright heavens shine everywhere. When there is no cataract on the eye, there are no [imaginary] flowers 287
in the sky.

"Followers of the Way, if you wish to be dharma as is, just have no doubts. 'Spread out, it fills the entire dharma realm; gathered in, the smallest hair cannot stand upon it.' Distinctly and radiantly shining alone, it has never lacked anything. No eye can see it, no ear can hear it—then by what name can it be called? A man of old said, 'To speak about a thing is to miss the mark.'

"Just see for yourselves—what is there? I can keep on talking forever. Each one of you must strive individually. Take care of yourselves."

## CRITICAL EXAMINATIONS

### I

289 One day when Huangbo entered the kitchen he asked the head rice-cook, "What are you doing?"

The cook said, "I'm picking over the rice for the monks."

"How much do they eat in a day?" asked Huangbo.

"Two and a half shi," said the cook.

"Isn't that too much?" asked Huangbo.

"I'm afraid it isn't enough," replied the cook.

Huangbo struck him. Later the cook mentioned this to Linji. Linji said, "I'll test the old fellow for you." As soon as Linji came to attend Huangbo, Huangbo told him the story.

"The cook didn't understand—Venerable Priest, kindly give a turning-word in place of the cook," said Linji, who then asked, "Isn't that too much?"

290 Huangbo said, "Well, why not say, 'We'll eat a meal again tomorrow!'"

"Why talk about tomorrow—eat it right now!" said Linji, slapping Huangbo in the face.

"This lunatic has come here again to pull the tiger's whiskers," said Huangbo. Linji shouted and went out.

Later, Guishan asked Yangshan, "What did these two worthies have in mind?"

"What do you think, Venerable Priest?" asked Yangshan.

"Only when you have a child do you understand fatherly love," Guishan answered.

"Not at all!" said Yangshan.

"Then what do you think?" asked Guishan.

"It's more like, 'To bring in a thief and ruin the house,'" replied Yangshan.

### II

291 The master asked a monk, "Where do you come from?" The monk shouted. The master saluted him and motioned him to sit down. The monk hesitated. The master hit him. Seeing another monk coming, the master raised his whisk. The monk bowed low. The master hit him. Seeing still another monk coming, the master again raised his whisk. The monk paid no attention. The master hit him, too.

III

One day when the master and Puhua were attending a dinner at a patron's house, the master asked, "'A hair swallows up the great sea and a mustard seed contains Mount Sumeru.' Is this the marvelous activity of supernatural power or is it original substance as it is?" Puhua kicked over the dinner table. 292
"How coarse!" exclaimed the master.

"What place do you think this is—talking about coarse and fine!" said Puhua.

The next day the master and Puhua again attended a dinner. The master asked, "How does today's feast compare with yesterday's?" Puhua kicked 293
over the dinner table as before. "Good enough," said the master, "but how coarse!"

"Blind man!" said Puhua. "What's buddhadharma got to do with coarse and fine?"

The master stuck out his tongue.

IV

One day when the master and the venerable old priests Heyang and Muta 294
were sitting together around the fire-pit in the Monks' Hall, the master said, "Every day Puhua goes through the streets acting like a lunatic. Who knows whether he's an ordinary person or a sage?" Before he had finished speaking Puhua came in. "Are you a commoner or a sage?" the master asked.

"Now, you tell me whether I'm a commoner or a sage," answered Puhua. The master shouted. Pointing his finger at them, Puhua said, "Heyang is a new bride, Muta is a Chan granny, and Linji is a young menial, but he has the eye."

"You thief!" cried the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried Puhua, and went out.

V

One day Puhua was eating raw vegetables in front of the Monks' Hall. The 295
master saw him and said, "Just like an ass!"

"Heehaw, heehaw!" brayed Puhua.

"You thief!" said the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried Puhua, and went off.

VI

Puhua was always going around the streets ringing a little bell and calling out:

Coming as brightness, I hit the brightness;
Coming as darkness, I hit the darkness;
Coming from the four quarters and eight directions, I hit like a whirlwind;
Coming from empty sky, I lash like a flail.

The master told his attendant to go and, the moment he heard Puhua say these words, to grab him and ask, "If coming is not at all thus, what then?" [The attendant went and did so.]

296 Puhua pushed him away, saying, "There'll be a feast tomorrow at Dabei yuan."

The attendant returned and told this to the master. The master said, "I've always held wonder for that fellow."

## VII

An old worthy came to see the master. Before presenting the customary gift, he asked, "Is it proper to bow, or is it proper not to bow?"

The master shouted. The old worthy bowed low. "A fine thief in the grass you are!" said the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried the old worthy and started to go out.

297 The master said, "Better not think you can get away with that." [Later] when the head monk was attending the master, the master asked, "Was there any fault?"

The head monk said, "There was."

"Whose fault was it, the guest's or the host's?" asked the master.

"Both were at fault," answered the head monk.

"Where was the fault?" asked the master. The head monk started to go out. The master said, "Better not think you can get away with that."

Later a monk told the story to Nanquan. Nanquan said, "Fine horses trampling one another."

## VIII

298 One day the master entered an army camp to attend a feast. At the gate he saw a staff officer. Pointing to a pillar, he asked, "Is this secular or sacred?" The officer had no reply. Striking the pillar, the master said, "Even if you could speak, this is still only a wooden post." Then he went in.

## IX

The master said to the steward of the temple, "Where have you come from?"

"I've been to the provincial capital to sell the millet," answered the steward. 299

"Did you sell all of it?" asked the master.

"Yes, I sold all of it," replied the steward.

The master drew a line in front of him with his staff and said, "But can you sell this?" The steward gave a shout. The master hit him. The chief cook came in. The master told him about the previous conversation.

The chief cook said, "The steward didn't understand you."

"How about you?" asked the master. The chief cook bowed low. The master hit him, too.

## X

When a certain lecture master came to have an interview with Linji, the master said to him, "What sutras and śāstras do you expound?"

"Insofar as my miserable abilities allow, I have made a cursory study of the Baifa lun," replied the lecture master.

The master said, "Suppose there was a man who had attained comprehension of the Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of the teachings, and there was another man who had not comprehended it, would there be any difference or not?"

"For the one who had attained comprehension, it would be the same; for 300 the one who had not attained comprehension, it would be different," replied the lecture master.

Lepu, who was standing behind the master attending him, said, "Lecture master, where do you think you are, talking about 'same' and 'different'!"

Turning his head, the master asked Lepu, "Well, how about you?"

The attendant gave a shout. When the master returned from seeing the lecture master off, he said to the attendant, "Was it to me that you shouted just now?"

"Yes," said the attendant.

The master hit him.

## XI

The master heard that Deshan of the second generation said, "Thirty blows if you can speak; thirty blows if you can't." The master told Lepu to go and ask Deshan, "'Why thirty blows to one who can speak?' Wait until he hits at you, then grab his stick and give him a jab. See what he does then."

When Lepu reached Deshan's place he questioned him as instructed. 301 Deshan hit at him. Lepu seized the stick and gave Deshan a jab with it. Deshan went back to his quarters.

Lepu returned and told Linji what had taken place. "I've always held wonder for that fellow," the master said. "Be that as it may, did you understand Deshan?" Lepu hesitated. The master hit him.

### XII

One day the Councilor Wang visited the master. When he met the master in front of the Monks' Hall, he asked, "Do the monks of this monastery read the sutras?"

"No, they don't read sutras," said the master.

"Then do they learn meditation?" asked the councilor.

"No, they don't learn meditation," answered the master.

"If they neither read sutras nor learn meditation, what in the world are they doing?" asked the councilor.

"All I do is make them become buddhas and patriarchs," said the master.

The councilor said, "'Though gold dust is valuable, in the eyes it causes cataracts.'"

"I always used to think you were just a common fellow," said the master.

### XIII

302 The master asked Xingshan, "What is the white ox on the bare ground?"

"Moo, moo!" said Xingshan.

"A mute, eh?" said the master.

"Venerable sir, how about you?" said Xingshan.

"You beast!" said the master.

### XIV

304 The master asked Lepu, "Up to now it has been the custom for some people to use the stick and others to give a shout. Which comes closer?"

"Neither," replied Lepu.

"What does come close?" asked the master.

Lepu shouted. The master hit him.

### XV

The master, seeing a monk coming, spread his arms out wide. The monk said nothing. "Do you understand?" the master asked.

"No, I don't," replied the monk.

"It's impossible to break open Hunlun," said the master. "I'll give you a couple of coins."

## XVI

Dajue came to see Linji. The master raised his whisk. Dajue spread his sit- 305
ting cloth. The master threw down the whisk. Dajue folded up the cloth and went into the Monks' Hall.

"That monk must be related to the Venerable Priest. He didn't bow and didn't get hit," said the monks.

Hearing of this, the master sent for Dajue. When Dajue came out, the master said, "The monks are saying that you haven't yet paid your respects to the master."

"How are you?" said Dajue and rejoined the monks.

## XVII

Zhaozhou while on a pilgrimage came to see Linji. The master happened to be washing his feet when they met.

Zhaozhou asked, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

"I just happen to be washing my feet," replied the master.

Zhaozhou came closer and, cocking his ear, gave the appearance of listening. The master said, "I'm going to pour out a second dipper of dirty water." Zhaozhou departed.

## XVIII

When Elder Ding came to see Linji he asked, "What is the cardinal prin- 306
ciple of the buddhadharma?"

The master got down from his rope-bottomed chair. Seizing Ding, he gave him a slap and pushed him away. Ding stood still.

A monk standing by said, "Elder Ding, why don't you bow?" Just as he bowed, Ding attained great enlightenment.

## XIX

Mayu came to see Linji. Spreading his mat, he asked, "Which is the true 307
face of the Twelve-faced Guanyin?"

Getting down from the rope-bottomed chair, the master seized the mat with one hand and with the other grabbed hold of Mayu. "Where has the Twelve-faced Guanyin gone?" he asked.

Mayu jerked himself free and tried to sit on the chair. The master picked up his stick and hit at him. Mayu grabbed the stick; holding it between them, they entered the master's quarters.

## XX

308 The master asked a monk, "Sometimes a shout is like the Diamond Sword of the Vajra King; sometimes a shout is like the golden-haired lion crouching on the ground; sometimes a shout is like a weed-tipped fishing pole; sometimes a shout doesn't function as a shout. How do you understand this?"

The monk hesitated. The master gave a shout.

## XXI

The master asked a nun, "Well-come or ill-come?" The nun shouted.

"Go on, go on, speak!" cried the master, taking up his stick.

Again the nun shouted. The master hit her.

## XXII

309 Longya asked Linji, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

Linji said, "Hand me the backrest." Longya handed the backrest to the master. The master took it and hit him with it.

Longya said, "It's all right that you hit me, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

Later Longya went to see Cuiwei and asked him, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

Cuiwei said, "Hand me the rush mat." Longya handed the mat to Cuiwei. Cuiwei took it and hit him with it.

310 Longya said, "It's all right that you hit me, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

After Longya had become the master of a temple, a monk entered his room to receive instruction. "I have heard," the monk said, "that when you were on pilgrimage, Venerable Priest, you had the opportunity to interview two eminent elders. Did you acknowledge them?"

"I acknowledged them profoundly all right, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

## XXIII

Five hundred monks were assembled at the monastery at Mount Jing, but few asked the master for instruction. Huangbo ordered Linji to go to Mount Jing, then asked, "What will you do when you get there?"

311 "When I get there I'll know what to do," said Linji. Upon arriving at Mount Jing he went to the Dharma Hall, still in his traveling clothes, to see

the master. As the master raised his head, Linji shouted, and when the master started to open his mouth, Linji swung his sleeves [as he turned] and left.

Shortly afterwards a monk asked the master, "What did you say just now that made that monk shout at you, Venerable Priest?"

The master replied, "That monk came from Huangbo's assembly. If you want to know, go ask him."

Of the five hundred monks at Mount Jing, the greater part drifted away.

## XXIV

One day Puhua went about the streets asking people he met for a one-piece gown. They all offered him one, but Puhua declined them all.

Linji had the steward of the temple buy a coffin, and when Puhua came back the master said, "I've fixed up a one-piece gown for you."

Puhua put the coffin on his shoulders and went around the streets calling out, "Linji fixed me up a one-piece gown. I'm going to the East Gate to depart this life." All the townspeople scrambled after him to watch.

"No, not today," said Puhua, "but tomorrow I'll go to the South Gate to depart this life."

After he had done the same thing for three days no one believed him anymore.

On the fourth day not a single person followed him to watch. He went outside the town walls all by himself, got into the coffin, and asked a passerby to nail it up. The news immediately got about. The townspeople all came scrambling; upon opening the coffin, they saw he had vanished, body and all. Only the sound of his bell could be heard in the sky, receding away: tinkle... tinkle... tinkle....

## RECORD OF PILGRIMAGES

### I

312 When Linji was one of the assembly of monks under Huangbo, he was plain and direct in his behavior. The head monk praised him saying, "Though he's a youngster, he's different from the other monks." So he asked, "Honorable monk, how long have you been here?"

"Three years," replied Linji.

"Have you ever asked for instruction?"

"No, I've never asked for instruction. I don't know what to ask," replied Linji.

"Why don't you go ask the head priest of this temple just what the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma is," said the head monk.

Linji went and asked. Before he had finished speaking Huangbo hit him. Linji came back. "How did your question go?" asked the head monk.

"Before I had finished speaking the master hit me. I don't understand," said Linji.

"Then go and ask him again," said the head monk.

313 So Linji went back and asked, and again Huangbo hit him. Thus Linji asked the same question three times and was hit three times.

Linji came back and said to the head monk, "It was so kind of you to send me to question the master. Three times I asked him and three times I was hit by him. I regret that some obstruction caused by my own past karma prevents me from grasping his profound meaning. I'm going away for awhile."

314 The head monk said, "If you are going away, you should go take your leave of the master." Linji bowed low and withdrew.

The head monk went to the master's quarters before Linji and said, "The young man who has been questioning you is a man of dharma. If he comes to take his leave, please handle him expediently. In the future, with training, he is sure to become a great tree which will provide cool shade for the people of the world."

Linji came to take his leave. Huangbo said, "You mustn't go anywhere else but to Dayu's place by the river in Gao'an. He's sure to explain things for you."

315 Linji arrived at Dayu's temple. Dayu said, "Where have you come from?"

"I have come from Huangbo's place," replied Linji.

"What did Huangbo have to say?" asked Dayu.

"Three times I asked him just what the cardinal principle of the bud-

dhadharma is and three times he hit me. I don't know whether I was at fault or not."

"Huangbo is such a grandmother that he utterly exhausted himself with your troubles!" said Dayu. "And now you come here asking whether you were at fault or not!"

At these words Linji attained great enlightenment. "Ah, there isn't so much to Huangbo's buddhadharma!" he cried.

Dayu grabbed hold of Linji and said, "You bed-wetting little devil! You 316
just asked whether you were at fault or not, and now you say, 'There isn't so much to Huangbo's buddhadharma.' What did you just see? Speak, speak!"

Linji jabbed Dayu in the side three times. Shoving him away, Dayu said, "You have Huangbo for a teacher. It's not my business."

Linji left Dayu and returned to Huangbo. Huangbo saw him coming and said, "What a fellow! Coming and going, coming and going—when will it end?"

"It's all due to your grandmotherly kindness," Linji said, and then presented the customary gift and stood waiting.

"Where have you been?" asked Huangbo.

"Recently you deigned to favor me by sending me to see Dayu," said Linji.

"What did Dayu have to say?" asked Huangbo. Linji then related what had happened. Huangbo said, "How I'd like to catch that fellow and give him a good dose of the stick!"

"Why say you'd 'like to'? Take it right now!" said Linji and immediately gave Huangbo a slap.

"You lunatic!" cried Huangbo. "Coming back here and pulling the tiger's whiskers." Linji gave a shout. "Attendant, get this lunatic out of here and take him to the Monks' Hall," said Huangbo.

Later Guishan, telling the story to Yangshan, asked, "On that occasion did 317
Linji get help from Dayu, or Huangbo?"

"He not only rode on the tiger's head but also seized its tail," replied Yangshan.

## II

When Linji was planting pine trees, Huangbo asked, "What's the good of planting so many trees in the deep mountains?"

"First, I want to make a natural setting for the main gate. Second, I want to make a landmark for later generations," said Linji, thumping the ground with his mattock three times.

"Be that as it may, you've already tasted thirty blows of my stick," replied Huangbo.

Again Linji thumped the ground with his mattock three times and breathed out a great breath.

"Under you my line will flourish throughout the world," said Huangbo.

318 Later Guishan related these words to Yangshan. "On that occasion did Huangbo put his trust only in Linji, or will there also be someone else?" he asked.

"There will be," replied Yangshan. "But he'll come so far in the future that I don't want to tell you about him, Venerable Priest."

"Be that as it may, I'd like to know. Come on, try and tell me," said Guishan.

Yangshan said, "One man heading south: Wu and Yue well-governed. When one meets the Great Wind he stops." (Prophesying Venerable Fengxue)

### III

When Linji was attending Deshan, Deshan said, "I'm tired today."

"Old man," said Linji, "what's the good of talking in your sleep?"

Deshan hit him. Linji overturned the rope-bottomed chair. Deshan desisted.

### IV

320 Once, during group work, Linji was hoeing the ground. Seeing Huangbo coming, he stopped and stood leaning on his mattock.

"Is this guy tired already?" said Huangbo.

"I haven't even lifted my mattock yet. How could I be tired?" answered Linji.

Huangbo hit at him. Linji seized Huangbo's stick, jabbed him with it, and knocked him down.

Huangbo called to the duty-monk, "Duty-monk! Help me up!"

The duty-monk came running and helped him up. "Venerable Priest, how can you let this lunatic get away with such rudeness?" he said.

Huangbo no sooner got to his feet than he hit the duty-monk.

321 Hoeing the ground, Linji said, "Everywhere else the dead are cremated, but here I immediately bury them alive."

Later Guishan asked Yangshan, "What did Huangbo have in mind when he hit the duty-monk?"

"The real thief escapes, and his pursuer gets the stick," answered Yangshan.

## V

One day Linji was sitting in front of the Monks' Hall. Seeing Huangbo coming, he closed his eyes. Giving the appearance of being frightened, Huangbo returned to his quarters. Linji followed him there and bowed low.

The head monk was attending Huangbo. Huangbo said to him, "Though he's a youngster, he knows about this matter."

"Venerable Priest, your own feet aren't on solid ground, yet you give recognition to this youngster," said the head monk.

Huangbo gave himself a slap on the mouth.

"It's all right as long as you know it," said the head monk.

## VI

Linji was sleeping in the [Monks'] Hall. Huangbo came in, and, seeing 322
him, struck the front plank [of the sitting platform] once with his staff. Linji lifted his head, and seeing it was Huangbo, went back to sleep.

Huangbo again struck the front plank, and went to the upper part of the hall. Seeing the head monk sitting in meditation, he said, "That youngster down in the lower part of the hall is sitting in meditation; what're you doing here, cooking up wild fancies?"

"What's this old man up to?" said the head monk.

Huangbo struck the front plank once more and left.

Later Guishan asked Yangshan, "What do you make of Huangbo in the Monks' Hall?"

"Two wins, one match," replied Yangshan.

## VII

One day during the group work, Linji was going along behind the others. 323
Huangbo looked around, and, seeing that Linji was empty-handed, asked, "Where is your mattock?"

"Somebody took it away from me," said Linji.

"Come here," said Huangbo. "I want to talk the matter over with you."

Linji stepped forward. Huangbo lifted up his mattock and said, "Just this people on the earth cannot hold up."

Linji snatched the mattock from Huangbo's grasp and held it high. "Then why is this in my hand now?" he asked.

"Today there's a man who really is working," said Huangbo, and returned to the temple.

Sometime later Guishan asked Yangshan, "The mattock was in Huangbo's 324
hand. How could it have been taken away by Linji?"

"The thief is an inferior fellow, but in cleverness he surpasses his superiors," answered Yangshan.

## VIII

Linji went to Guishan bearing a letter from Huangbo. Yangshan, who at that time was in charge of receiving guests, took the letter and said, "This is Huangbo's; where's the messenger's?"

Linji slapped at him.

Yangshan seized Linji and said, "Brother, since you know this much, that's enough." Then they went together to see Guishan.

Guishan asked, "How many students has my brother Huangbo?"

"Seven hundred," answered Linji.

"Who is their leader?" asked Guishan.

325 "He has just delivered a letter to you," replied Linji. Then Linji, in his turn, asked Guishan, "Venerable Priest, how many students do you have here?"

"Fifteen hundred," answered Guishan.

"That's a lot!" said Linji.

"My brother Huangbo also has no small number," said Guishan.

Linji took his leave of Guishan. As Yangshan was seeing him off, he said "Later on you'll go to the north and there'll be a place for you to stay."

"How can that be?" said Linji.

"Just go," replied Yangshan. "Afterwards there'll be a man to help you, my venerable brother. He'll have a head but no tail, a beginning but no end."

Later Linji arrived in Zhenzhou; Puhua was already there. When Linji became head of a temple, Puhua was of help to him. But the master had not been there very long when Puhua just vanished, body and all.

## IX

326 Linji came up to Mount Huangbo in the middle of the summer session. Seeing Huangbo reading a sutra, he said, "I always used to think you were a *man*. Now I see you're just a black-bean-eating old priest!"

327 Linji stayed a few days and then tried to take his leave. Huangbo said, "You came in violation of the rules of the summer session, and now you're leaving before it's over."

"I came for a little while to pay my respects to you, Venerable Priest," said Linji.

Huangbo hit him and chased him out. After he had gone a few li, Linji, thinking the matter over, returned to the temple and finished the summer session.

One day he took his leave of Huangbo. Huangbo asked, "Where are you going?"

"If I don't go to Henan, I'll return to Hebei," replied Linji.

Huangbo hit at him. Linji seized Huangbo and gave him a slap. Laughing heartily, Huangbo called to his attendant, "Bring me the backrest and armrest that belonged to my late teacher Baizhang."

"Attendant, bring me some fire!" cried Linji.

"Be that as it may, just take them with you. In the future you'll cut off the tongues of every man on earth," said Huangbo.

Later, Guishan asked Yangshan, "Didn't Linji abuse Huangbo's trust?" 328

"Not at all!" said Yangshan.

"Well then, what do you think?"

"Only one who recognizes beneficence can requite it," said Yangshan.

"From ancient times to the present, has there been anyone like him?" asked Guishan.

"Yes there has, but he lived so long ago I don't want to tell you about him, Venerable Priest," replied Yangshan.

"Be that as it may, I'd like to know. Come on, try and tell me," said Guishan.

Yangshan said, "At the Śūraṅgama assembly, Ānanda, in praising the Buddha, said, 'With my whole heart I shall serve all beings throughout the myriad worlds. This is called "requiting the Buddha's beneficence". Isn't this [also] an example of requiting beneficence?"

"Just so, just so!" replied Guishan. "One whose insight is the same as his 329 teacher's lacks half of his teacher's power. Only one whose insight surpasses his teacher's is worthy to be his heir."

## X

Linji arrived at Bodhidharma's memorial tower. The master of the tower said to him, "Venerable sir, will you pay homage first to the Buddha or to Bodhidharma?"

"I don't pay homage to either the Buddha or to Bodhidharma," said 330 Linji.

"Venerable sir, why are the Buddha and Bodhidharma your enemies?" asked the master of the tower.

Linji swung his sleeves and left.

## XI

Linji, while on a pilgrimage, arrived at the place of Longguang. Longguang had already ascended the high seat [to give a discourse] when Linji

advanced and asked, "Without unsheathing the point of a weapon, how can one win a battle?"

Longguang straightened up in his seat.

"Has the venerable teacher no expedient [means]?" asked Linji.

Staring fixedly at Linji, Longguang exhaled loudly.

Linji pointed his finger at Longguang and said, "Today you lose, old man."

## XII

Linji arrived at Sanfeng. Venerable Ping asked him, "Where did you come from?"

"I came from Huangbo," replied Linji.

"What does Huangbo have to say?" asked Ping.

Linji said:

The golden ox met with disaster last night,
And no one has seen a trace of it since.

Ping said:

The autumn wind blows a flute of jade;
Who is he who knows the tune?

Linji said:

He goes right through the manifold barrier,
And stays not even within the clear sky.

"Your question is much too lofty," said Ping.

Linji said:

The dragon's given birth to a golden phoenix
Who breaks through the azure dome of heaven.

"Do sit down and have some tea," said Ping. Then he asked, "Where have you been recently?"

"At Longguang," said Linji.

"How is Longguang these days?" asked Ping.

At that Linji went off.

## XIII

332 Linji arrived at the place of Daci. Daci was sitting in his quarters. Linji asked, "How is it with you when you're sitting erect in your quarters?" Daci replied:

The green of the winter pines endures a thousand years.
An aged rustic picks a flower and in myriad lands it's spring.

Linji answered:

Forever transcending past and present is the body of perfect wisdom.
Blocking the way to the Three Mountains there is a manifold barrier.

Daci gave a shout. Linji also shouted.

"Well?" said Daci. Linji swung his sleeves and left.

## XIV

Linji arrived at the temple of Huayan in Xiangzhou. Huayan was leaning on his staff, giving the appearance of being asleep. Linji said, "Venerable Priest, what's the good of dozing?" 333

"A true Chan adept is clearly different!" said Huayan.

"Attendant, make some tea and serve it to the Venerable Priest to drink," said Linji. Huayan called the duty-monk and said, "Place this honorable monk in the third seat."

## XV

When Linji reached Cuifeng's place, Cuifeng asked, "Where did you come from?" 334

"I came from Huangbo," said Linji.

"What words does Huangbo use to instruct people?" asked Cuifeng.

"Huangbo has no words," said Linji.

"Why not?" asked Cuifeng.

"Even if he had any, I wouldn't know how to state them," answered Linji.

"Come on, try and tell me," said Cuifeng.

"The arrow has flown off to the Western Heaven," said Linji.

## XVI

Linji visited Xiangtian and said to him, "[It's] neither secular nor sacred—please, master, speak!"

"I'm just this way," Xiangtian replied.

Linji shouted and said, "What kind of vittles are all these baldpates looking for here!"

## XVII

Linji arrived at Minghua's place. Minghua asked, "What's the good of all this coming and going!" 335

"I'm just trying to wear out my straw sandals," said Linji.

"What for, then?" asked Minghua.

"Old man, you don't even know the subject of the conversation!" replied Linji.

## XVIII

336 When Linji was going to Fenglin's place, he met an old woman on the road. "Where are you going?" she asked.

"I'm going to Fenglin's place," replied Linji.

"Fenglin happens to be away just now," said the old woman.

"Where did he go?" asked Linji.

At that the old woman walked away.

Linji called to her. The old woman turned her head. Linji hit her.

## XIX

337 Linji arrived at Fenglin's place. Fenglin said, "There is something I wish to ask you. May I?"

"Why gouge out [good] flesh and make a wound?" replied Linji. Fenglin said:

> The moon shines on the sea, there are no shadows;
> Yet the gamboling fish get lost.

Linji replied:

> Since shadowless is the moon over the sea,
> How can the gamboling fish get lost?

Fenglin said:

> Watching the wind I know the arising of waves;
> [And see boats] asport on the water with fluttering sails.

Linji replied:

> The solitary moon alone does shine—rivers and mountains are still;
> One laugh from me startles both heaven and earth.

Fenglin said:

> Your tongue may illumine heaven and earth, but
> Try speaking a word apropos of the moment.

338 Linji replied:

> If on the road you meet a swordsman, offer him your sword;
> To a man who's not a poet, don't present a poem.

Fenglin desisted. Linji then recited this verse:

> The Great Way defies comparison—one goes east or west at will.
> No spark from flint can go so fast, nor lightning flash pass by.

Guishan asked Yangshan, "If no spark from flint can go so fast, nor lightning flash pass by, how did the old-time sages save men?"

"What do you think, Venerable Priest?" asked Yangshan.

Guishan said, "No words have actual significance."

"Not so," disagreed Yangshan.

"Then what do you think?" asked Guishan.

"Officially, a needle is not permitted to enter; privately, carriages can get through."

## XX

Linji arrived at Jinniu's place. Jinniu saw him coming and, holding a stick 339
crosswise, sat down at the gate. Linji struck the stick three times with his hand, then entered the [Monks'] Hall and seated himself in the first seat.

Jinniu came in, saw him, and said, "In an interview between host and guest, each should conform to the prescribed formalities. Where do you come from, Elder Monk, that you are so rude?"

"What are you talking about, Old Priest?" replied Linji.

Jinniu started to open his mouth, and Linji hit him. Jinniu gave the appearance of falling down. Linji hit him again. Jinniu said, "I'm not doing so well today."

Guishan asked Yangshan, "In the case of these two venerable ones, was there a winner or a loser?"

"Call it a victory, then both won; call it a loss, then both lost," replied Yangshan.

## XXI

When the master was about to pass away, he seated himself and said, 340
"After I am extinguished, do not let my True Dharma Eye be extinguished."

Sansheng came forward and said, "How could I let your True Dharma Eye be extinguished!"

"Later on, when somebody asks you about it, what will you say to him?" asked the master.

Sansheng gave a shout.

"Who would have thought that my True Dharma Eye would be extinguished upon reaching this blind ass!" said the master. Having spoken these words, sitting erect, the master revealed his nirvana.

## XXII

The master's name as a monk was Yixuan. He was a native of the prefec- 341
ture of Nanhua in the province of Cao. His family name was Xing. As a child

he was exceptionally brilliant, and when he became older he was known for his filial piety. After shaving his head and receiving the full precepts, he frequented lecture halls; he mastered the vinaya and made a thorough study of the sutras and śāstras.

Suddenly [one day] he said with a sigh, "These are prescriptions for helping the world, not the principle of the transmission outside the scriptures."
342 Then he changed his robe and traveled on a pilgrimage. First he studied under Huangbo. Then he visited Dayu. What was said on those occasions has been set down in the "Record of Pilgrimages."

After receiving the seal of dharma from Huangbo, the master went to Hebei and became priest of a small temple on the banks of the Hutuo River, outside the southeast corner of the capital of Zhenzhou. Because of its location the temple was called "Linji" ("Overlooking the Ford"). By that time Puhua was already there. Pretending to be crazy, Puhua mixed with the people and no one could tell whether he was a sage or a commoner. When the master arrived there Puhua was of help to him. When the master's teaching began to flourish, Puhua vanished, body and all. This agreed with the prediction made by Yangshan, the "Little Śākya."

343 It happened that local fighting broke out, and Linji abandoned the temple. The Grand Marshal, Mo Junhe, donated his house inside the town walls and made it into a temple. Hanging up a plaque there, inscribed with the old name "Linji," he had the master make it his residence.

Later the master tucked up his robes and went south to the prefecture of He. The governor of the prefecture, Councilor Wang, extended to him the honors due a master. After staying for a short while, the master went to Xinghua temple in Daming Prefecture, where he lived in the Eastern Hall.

Suddenly one day the master, although not ill, adjusted his robes, sat erect, and when his exchange with Sansheng was finished, quietly passed away. It was on the tenth day of the first month in the eighth year of Xiantong of the Tang dynasty.

His disciples built a memorial tower for the master's body in the north-
344 west corner of the capital of Daming Prefecture. The emperor decreed that the master be given the posthumous title Meditation Master Huizhao ["Illuminating Wisdom"] and his stupa be called Chengling ["Translucent Spirit"]. Joining my hands with palms together and bowing low my head, I have recorded in summary the life of the master.

*Respectfully inscribed by the humble heir Yanzhao of Baoshou in Zhenzhou.*

*Here ends the Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou.*

*Collated by the humble heir Cunjiang of Xinghua in Daming Prefecture.*

## *Preface to the Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou*

Compiled by Ma Fang, Scholar of the Yankang Hall; Gentleman of the Gold and Purple Rank in attendance at Imperial Banquets; Emissary in Charge of Keeping Order in Zhending Circuit; concurrently Chief Commandant of Cavalry and Infantry Forces; concurrently Administrator of Chengde Military Prefecture.

On top of Mount Huangbo he met the painful stick.
On Dayu's ribs he could use his fist.
"Garrulous grandmother!" "Bed-wetting little devil!"
"This lunatic, twice pulling the tiger's whiskers!"
In a rocky gorge he planted pines, a landmark for later generations.
He dug the ground with his mattock; the others were nearly buried alive.
Having approved the youngster, Huangbo slapped himself right on the mouth.
On leaving, Linji wanted to burn the armrest; he'll cut off the tongues [of everyone].
If he didn't go to Henan, he'd return to Hebei.
His temple overlooked the old ferry landing—he carried travelers across the stream.
He guarded the vital ford like an escarpment ten thousand spans high.
Snatching away the man or the surroundings, he shaped and fashioned superlative students.
With his Three States and Three Fundamentals, he forged and tempered black-robed monks.
He's always at home, yet forever on the way.
The true man without rank went in and out the face.
The monks of the two halls gave equal shouts, but guest and host were obvious.
Illumination and action are simultaneous, fundamentally without front or back.
A mirror confronting a form, an empty valley echoing a sound.
Marvelously responding in any direction, he left not a trace behind.
Tucking up his robe, he journeyed southward, then went to stay in Daming.

Xinghua took him as his teacher and attended him in the Eastern Hall.
Still using the copper pitcher and iron bowl, he closed his room and stopped his words.
As the pines grew old and the clouds idled, he found boundless contentment within himself.
He had not long sat facing the wall when the secret transmission neared its end.
To whom was the true dharma transmitted? It was extinguished upon reaching the blind ass!
Old Yan of Yuanjue has now undertaken to circulate this text.
It has been examined and corrected, therefore it contains no error or confusion.
There is still one more shout coming; it needs further consideration:
Chan students who have the eye [to see], I entreat you not to exploit this text.
Preface respectfully composed on the day of the midautumn festival, the year Gengzi of the Xuanhe era [1120].

# *Historical Introduction and Commentary*

# *Historical Introduction to* The Record of Linji

Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山

The *Linji lu* (Record of Linji), a compilation of the recorded sermons, statements, and actions of the Tang-dynasty Chan priest Linji Yixuan (d. 866),[1] forms the central text of the Linji school of Chan. This school rose to prominence within a century of Linji's death, owing not only to the stature of Linji himself but also to the contributions of the master's many eminent successors. In the ensuing centuries the school's increasing importance throughout East Asia brought a widespread acclaim to the *Linji lu*, by then accepted as an authoritative statement of the Linji school's basic spirit and as one of the most important early records of Chan thought.

Scholars have always regarded the *Linji lu* not only as an essential source for the Linji school but also as a vital document in the history of both Buddhist doctrine and East Asian thought in general. Few works in the Buddhist canon match it in simplicity, directness, and force of expression, and few retain such immediate appeal for the reader of today.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the text itself, let us briefly describe

*Editor's note:* As noted in the Editor's Prologue, this Introduction was written by Prof. Yanagida for the original 1975 edition of *The Record of Linji*. Although the scholarship is thus considerably dated, Yanagida decided to leave it unrevised for the present edition, as an indication of the state of Zen scholarship at that time, and for its value in understanding historical views that still prevail in traditional Zen Buddhism. Much of Yanagida's original note material, which had to be abridged for the *Eastern Buddhist* article (Yanagida 1972), is included in the present Introduction, with some additions and alterations by the editor. For recent scholarly studies on the background and development of the *Linji lu* and other Zen literature, see, for example, Yanagida 1967, 1977; Yampolsky 1967; Iriya 1989; McRae 1986, 2003; Wright 2000; and Welter 2008.

the historical circumstances that helped produce this work, and examine what is known of the life of the man whose teachings it embodies.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Buddhism first entered China toward the end of the first century BCE, from the south by sea and from the west by the overland trade routes of Central Asia, but it was not until the latter part of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220 CE) that this religion began to take root in a land whose climate, customs, and ways of thought differed so markedly from those of its native India. Over the early centuries of the first millennium Buddhism became increasingly influential in the Middle Kingdom, and itself underwent profound changes in both form and content.[2]

Religions develop in the context of a certain culture, and thus inevitably encounter difficulties when introduced to new lands. Buddhism, however, has shown itself throughout history to be remarkably adaptable in the face of such difficulties, and from the beginning its missionaries have not hesitated to adopt expedient ways of meeting them.

During its early years in China, Buddhism remained a largely alien cult, confined to the communities of foreigners settled on Chinese soil. Indian and Central Asian monks, who generally traveled to China in the company of merchants, established temples in the scattered towns and cities along the trade routes, often with the merchants' assistance. These temples not only functioned as centers of religious activity, but, fortified as they were against the attacks prevalent in those turbulent times, also served as inns, warehouses, and financial centers. In the ensuing centuries, through the gradual expansion of their commercial activities and the acquisition of large holdings of land, the Buddhist monasteries became important forces in the Chinese economy.

The decline of the Han dynasty and, with it, the final dissolution of the political and social structure of the empire gave rise to frequent shifts in power, particularly during the troubled years of the Three Kingdoms (221–265) and Six Dynasties (265–580). These shifts, however, offered the Buddhist missionaries from India and Central Asia greater opportunities to serve in advisory capacities to the new regimes that rose to power, and thus to disseminate in China both the doctrines of Buddhism and the hitherto little-known culture, art, and secular knowledge of their homelands.

Needless to say, the China into which this new religion was being introduced already possessed a long and highly developed cultural tradition of its own. This native tradition immediately began to act upon and mold the foreign religion, at the same time that it drew inspiration from the new elements

of philosophy, ritual, and iconography that were being introduced from the Buddhist side. As a result the Chinese fine arts, particularly sculpture, were infused with a new spirit and vigor, a development that in time inspired the superb Buddhist images seen in the caves of Datong 大同 and Longmen 龍門 in northern China. Literature, too, felt the influence of Buddhism as the foreign-born missionaries and their Chinese assistants produced a growing body of skillfully translated, and retranslated, sutras and śāstras, augmented by original works of exegesis by native Buddhist scholars. The resulting corpus of Chinese Buddhist writings, which eventually came to form the Chinese Tripiṭaka,[3] gave the religion an authoritative collection of sacred texts equal to that of the native Confucian tradition, with its Five Classics and their extensive commentaries.

The large-scale literary and ritual activities of Chinese Buddhism, plus the rigors of China's northerly climate, required the monks to adopt a more sedentary way of life than had been the case in India. Mendicancy and many of the austerities that had characterized the Buddhist lifestyle in its native land were thus curtailed or modified. Residing in temples that were virtually government offices and receiving the patronage of the rulers, nobility, and wealthy merchants, the Buddhist clergy came in many ways to resemble a branch of the bureaucracy.[4] There were, of course, monks who strongly opposed this tendency and continued to observe the traditional vinaya, but they were in the minority. Most of the clergy seemed content to ally themselves with the system of state-sponsored Buddhism devoted, at least in part, to the service of the government.

Supported by the governing and mercantile classes and infused with fresh intellectual vigor from the Chinese literati (many of whom were fascinated with the philosophy of this new religion), the various schools of Buddhism achieved dazzling heights in metaphysics and the arts—and material prosperity to match—during the years of the Six Dynasties (220–589), the Sui 隋 (581–618), and the first century and a half of the Tang (618–907). The foundations of this cultural and material prosperity were weak, however, since they rested not upon any kind of genuine popular understanding and support but upon the political and economic power of the rulers.

Therefore, when in 755 the military adventurer An Lushan 安祿山 (d. 757) rebelled against the authority of the Tang court and plunged the empire into confusion, many of what had been until that time the most flourishing of the Chinese Buddhist traditions—the Tiantai 天台, Lü 律, Faxiang 法相, Huayan 華嚴, and Zhenyan 眞言 schools—entered a period of steady decline. Centered as they were in the two Tang capitals of Chang'an 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽, they inevitably shared the same fate as the ruling classes that had supported them. The clergy of these schools either struggled to continue

their activities on a much-reduced scale in the cities and provinces, or, as with the Tiantai school, withdrew to the mountain retreats associated with their founders.

However, the same circumstances that so weakened the capital-centered, state-supported sects worked to the advantage of what was at the time a lesser, newer tradition, the school known as Chan 禪. Chan, which had arisen during the sixth and seventh centuries through the activities of Indian dhyāna (meditation) masters and their Chinese disciples, was most active in the southern and other outlying regions of the Chinese empire. Distancing itself from the aristocratic and scholastic tendencies of the older, established sects, the Chan tradition proclaimed itself based on "the transmission of mind by mind," with "no dependence upon words and letters."[5] In this the Chan tradition saw itself as a return to the spirit of Śākyamuni Buddha, who had taught his disciples a practical path to liberation from suffering and the realization of nirvana.

Despite its teaching of "no dependence upon words and letters," Chan did not reject the scriptures of the Buddhist canon, but simply warned of the futility of relying on them for the attainment of emancipating insight. The sacred texts—and much more so the huge exegetical apparatus that had grown up around them in the older scholastic schools—were regarded as no more than signposts pointing the way to liberation. Valuable though they were as guides, they needed to be transcended in order for one to awaken to the true intent of Śākyamuni's teachings.

In place of scriptural study, Chan Buddhism emphasized the integration of dhyāna and the moment-to-moment activities of everyday life. In line with this practice-centered approach, the early Chan monks rejected the subsidized life of the city temples, returning to the earlier Buddhist ideal of wandering mendicancy, or, more commonly, gathered around eminent masters like Baizhang Huaihai[6] in remote monastic communities where manual labor and a self-sufficient lifestyle were part of the rule. In this they exemplified in their lives the *Lotus Sutra* teaching that all walks of life and modes of livelihood are in accord with the buddhadharma. The result was a practical, vital teaching easily able to adapt to the rapid changes taking place in Chinese society. Chan was thus far less affected by the weakening of the old order than was the established Buddhism of the cities.

Chan gradually penetrated all layers of Chinese society and spread over the entire territory of the empire, bringing to the populace a teaching that hitherto had been largely confined to the elite. In place of the academic study that had occupied so much of the time and energy of the older established schools, the masters of the Chan school substituted sermons and *mondō*s (question-and-answer exchanges) conducted in the colloquial language of

the time. This, as well as Chan's practical, work-oriented lifestyle, accorded well with the traditional outlook of the Chinese, which rejected appeals to abstract speculation and instead put its faith in human goodwill and mankind's ability to create happiness and order through its own efforts.

Although historians often regard the late Tang and Five Dynasties (907–960) as a period of social confusion and turmoil, it was also a period of positive change. A new class of bureaucrats, distinguished more by merit than by family connections, together with a new group of provincial clans, rose to positions of power in the outlying areas, taking advantage of the weaknesses of the central government and the old aristocracy that had supported it. Among these new elites the Chan monks were readily accepted, even welcomed, so that during the Five Dynasties period it was in the outlying regions that Chan activity tended to flourish. Such frontier areas included the autonomously ruled Ten States (Nantang 南唐 in modern Jiangxi, Wuyue 吳越 in Zhejiang, Minyue 閩越 in Fujian, Shu 蜀 in Sichuan, and others) and Zhenzhou 鎮州 in modern Hebei, where the Linji branch of Chan arose.

From middle Tang times on, Zhenzhou and its two neighboring domains, Youzhou 幽州 and Weizhou 魏州, were known as the "three strongholds" 三鎮 of Hebei. This region, north of the Yellow River and in the extreme northeast corner of the empire, constituted a key area in the Tang system of provincial administration. Situated as they were on the northernmost border, the "three strongholds" were the regions closest to the lands of the nomadic peoples, and thus of vital importance to the military defence of the empire as a whole.

After the rebellion of An Lushan in 755, both military and civil authority over the administrative districts forming the northeastern frontier were placed in the hands of the imperially appointed regional commissioners 節度使, who almost always concurrently held the imperial appointment of regional supervisor 觀察使. These officials were accorded practically unlimited control over the military and economic affairs of the region. As the authority of the court over the regional governments in the north grew ever more tenuous, the strength of the regional commissioners increased. Though still theoretically appointed by the central government and under its jurisdiction, the commissioners came to exercise all the powers of independent sovereigns, even that of designating their own successors.

The relative independence of these regions was important in the history of the Chan school, not least of all at the time of the great Chinese persecution of Buddhism in the year Huichang 會昌 5 (845). At that time the reigning emperor, Wuzong 武宗 (814–846), hoping to mobilize the entire strength of the empire behind his struggle with Tibet, and encouraged by Taoist advi-

sors at court, issued an edict calling for the abolition of Buddhism and the destruction of its institutions.

At precisely this time the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin[7] was staying in a Korean monastery in Shandong awaiting a ship for Japan. In his diary, the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Record of a pilgrimage to the Tang in search of the dharma), under an entry dated the third day of the eleventh month of the year Huichang 5 (845), Ennin describes the effects of this persecution:

> In the last three or four years, in accordance with imperial edicts, the prefectures and subprefectures of the land have regulated the monks and nuns, and their return to lay life has been completed. Moreover, throughout the land the Buddha Halls, monasteries, and temples have all been destroyed; throughout the land the gold on the figures of the Buddhas has been peeled off; throughout the land the bronze and iron buddhas have been smashed, weighed, and confiscated; and the prefectures and subprefectures of the land have gathered in the money and estates of the monasteries and have taken their retainers and slaves.

After describing the effects of the actions, however, Ennin adds:

> Only in the four regional commanderies north of the Yellow River—Zhen, You, Wei, and Lu—where Buddhism has always been honored, have the monasteries not been destroyed, the monks and nuns not been regulated, and Buddhism not been in the least disturbed. There have repeatedly been sent imperial commissioners to investigate and punish them, but they say, "If the emperor himself were to come to destroy [the monasteries] and burn [the scriptures] it could be done, but we are unable to do it." (REISCHAUER 1955a, 388)

Thus, for all the threats and shows of authority that accompanied Emperor Wuzong's attempt to do away with Buddhism, the edicts had no effect on the Hebei area. It was in this region that Linji lived his mature life, and in this atmosphere of political independence that he worked to propagate the teachings of Chan.

### THE LIFE OF LINJI YIXUAN

Accounts of the life of Linji Yixuan are found in many of the standard Chan biographical collections, such as the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Annals of the ancestral hall), *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era *Record of the transmission of the lamp*), *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song-dynasty *Biographies of eminent monks*), *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era *Extensive record of the transmission*), *Chuanfa zhenzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (Record of the transmission of the dharma in the true school)), and the *Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Compendium of the five lamps). However, with the possible exception

of the account in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*—which, although biographical in nature, is disappointingly terse—all of these are less concerned with the facts of Linji's life than with his sermons and mondōs, anecdotes associated with him, the lineage of the Linji school, and the transmission of its teachings and practices. Actually the only date appearing in any of the biographies is that of Linji's death, and there is some disagreement on this point, as we shall later see. If we construct a chronology of the master's life it must be a tentative one only, based for the most part upon traditional material rather than upon facts that can be substantiated with historical accuracy. Aside from the various biographical collections, the principal source for the life of Linji is the *Linji lu* itself, of which the third and last section, the "Xing lu" 行錄 ("The Record of Pilgrimages"), concludes with a brief summary of the master's life.

The fact that in the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (Recorded sayings of the ancient worthies) the same summary is preceded by the title *Linji Huizhao Chanshi taji* 臨濟慧照禪師塔記, "Memorial Tower Inscription of Linji Huizhao Chanshi" (x 68, no. 1315, 35a), has led to the traditional assumption that it was taken from an actual inscription prepared by Linji's disciples for his memorial tower. However, the summary—hereafter referred to as the Memorial Inscription—varies in a number of ways from other accounts of the master's life. It is therefore questionable that the Memorial Inscription as we have it today was actually composed by Linji's immediate disciples, and it would seem well not to place too much confidence in statements found there that are not verified elsewhere.[8]

A more reliable and certainly older source for Linji's biography is to be found in the reminiscences of earlier days that the master occasionally permitted himself during sermons and talks delivered in the latter part of his life and recorded in the *Linji lu*. These, together with the biographical account contained in the *Zutang ji*, the earliest account devoted to him, would seem to constitute the most trustworthy materials for reconstructing the story of his life.

All the sources agree that Linji's family name was Xing 邢, although they do not mention his personal name. The accounts also say that he was a native of Nanhua 南華 in Cao 曹 Prefecture (or of Caonan 曹南, as the *Zutang ji* puts it, combining the two names). This region, corresponding to modern Yanzhou 兗州 in Shandong Province, was situated just south of the Yellow River. In Linji's time it was part of the Henandao 河南道, "South of the River March." No exact date for Linji's birth is known, but from other facts we can surmise that it took place during the Yuanhe 元和 era (806–820) of the Tang, probably as early as 810, and certainly not later than 815.

The biographies provide us with no information about Linji's earliest

years. The Memorial Inscription, using the stereotyped phraseology characteristic of this style of writing, states only, "As a child he was exceptionally brilliant, and when he became older he was known for his filial piety." The *Chuandeng lu*, in the same fashion, says merely, "In his childhood he had the desire to leave the dusts of the world." Nor do we know at what age or under what circumstances Linji became a monk, for the Memorial Inscription immediately continues, "After shaving his head and receiving the full precepts, he frequented the lecture halls; he mastered the vinaya and made a thorough study of the sutras and śāstras." We may assume, however, that Linji entered the religious life at about twenty, the usual age at that time, and that for perhaps five or six years thereafter he studied the standard Buddhist texts and doctrines. In sermon 18 Linji states, "I started out devoting myself to the vinaya and also delved into the sutras and śāstras"—a passage with which the author of the Memorial Inscription obviously was familiar. How thoroughly grounded Linji was in this teaching is clear from the fact that in his sermons he frequently quotes various Buddhist texts. Furthermore, his teachings show the influence of works of the Huayan 華嚴 (Avataṃsaka) and Weishi 唯識 ("Consciousness-only"; Yogācāra) schools. In fact, from the *Zutang ji* account of his life, it would seem that he may have regarded himself as something of an expert on the doctrines of the latter school, since we are told that, on his first visit to the Chan monk Dayu,[9] "when night came he sat before Dayu talking about the *Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論 (Treatise on the stages of Yogācāra practice), speaking of Weishi thought, and raising difficult questions" (ZJ 19).

However, in sermon 18, Linji, after mentioning his early study of the scriptures, goes on to say, "But later, when I realized that they were only remedies to help the world and displays of opinion, I threw them all away, and, searching for the Way, I practiced meditation." The Memorial Inscription, paraphrasing the master's words, says of this momentous decision, "Suddenly [one day] he said with a sigh, 'These are prescriptions for helping the world, not the principle of the transmission outside the scriptures.' Then he changed his robe and traveled on a pilgrimage."

Such a sudden and dramatic shift in interest from the texts and doctrines of earlier Buddhism to the newer teachings of Chan seems to have characterized the careers of many who later became famous Chan masters. Thus we have similar accounts telling how the young Deshan Xuanjian,[10] when his interest turned to Chan, burned his collection of commentaries on the *Jingang jing* 金剛經 (Diamond Sutra), and how Xiangyan Zhixian,[11] in a similar gesture, threw away the huge mass of exegetical material on the sutras that he had painstakingly gathered together.

Leaving his birthplace in the district of Henan and traveling southward,

Linji eventually came to Jiangnan 江南, the region "South of the Yangzi" where the Chan master Huangbo Xiyun[12] was already attracting students from all over the empire. If we follow our tentative chronology, the meeting of master and disciple must have occurred between 836 and 841, when Linji was perhaps in his twenty-sixth year. Xiyun was then living at Da'an si, a temple in the capital of Hongzhou, where he had taken up his residence about 833. It was only in 842 that Xiyun met the eminent official and ardent lay Buddhist Pei Xiu,[13] then the newly appointed governor of Zhongling (present Jiangxi Province). A year or two later Pei, now Xiyun's devoted disciple, had installed the master in the temple that he had constructed for him on Mount Huangbo. From this mountain derived the name by which Xiyun was thereafter generally known and by which we shall from now on refer to him.

For the first few years after he had joined Huangbo's assembly, Linji seems to have attracted little attention. During this time, therefore, we may imagine him devoting himself diligently and wholeheartedly to meditation and other such activities as were participated in by the students surrounding Huangbo. This period of preparation, which "The Record of Pilgrimages" in the *Linji lu* specifically states to have lasted three years, was brought to a close by Linji's great enlightenment. The account of this event as given in "The Record of Pilgrimages" is repeated in most of the biographies of Linji contained in other works. Only the *Zutang ji*, of which we shall speak in a moment, offers a different version.

According to "The Record of Pilgrimages," at the suggestion of the head monk[14] of Huangbo's temple, Linji three times questioned Huangbo on the cardinal meaning of the buddhadharma and three times was struck by him. Apologizing for his inability to grasp the meaning of the master's blows, Linji prepared to leave the temple. The master then urged him to visit a monk named Dayu who, he said, would explain everything to him. Accordingly Linji went to see Dayu, and, after an exchange of a few words, attained enlightenment. Returning to Huangbo, he recounted what had taken place. In a spirited encounter with the master, Linji slapped Huangbo's face. "You lunatic, coming back here and pulling the tiger's whiskers!" cried the master. To which Linji responded with a roaring shout, which from that time on was associated with his name and style of Chan. After this he resumed his place in Huangbo's assembly.

In the *Zutang ji* version Linji went to visit Dayu, who lived in a hermitage not far away, after hearing Huangbo mention that he and Dayu had been fellow disciples under Mazu Daoyi.[15] On his first meeting with Dayu, Linji attempted to impress the old monk by discoursing all night on various Buddhist scriptures and doctrines. At dawn Dayu, who had listened in silence

throughout the night, berated the young monk and pushed him out the door. When Linji returned and reported to Huangbo on his visit, he was reprimanded for not having made better use of the opportunity. He then set off to visit Dayu again. Again he was scolded and driven out of the door, but this time he returned to Huangbo convinced that he had achieved understanding. When some ten days later he went once more to see Dayu, he anticipated the old monk's efforts to drive him away by knocking him down and beating him. Thereupon Dayu acknowledged Linji as his disciple.

Which of these versions is nearer the truth is, of course, impossible to determine at this date. The master himself in his later years, in the sermon already quoted above, recalled his period of study under Huangbo as follows:

> Still later I met a great teacher. Then, indeed, my dharma-eye became clear and for the first time I was able to understand all the old teachers of the world and to tell the true from the false. It is not that I understood from the moment I was born of my mother, but that, after exhaustive investigation and grinding practice, in one instant I knew for myself.

And in another sermon he says:

> Twenty years ago, when I was with my late master Huangbo, three times I asked him specifically about the cardinal meaning of the buddhadharma, and three times he favored me with blows from his stick. But it was as though he were patting me with a branch of mugwort.

Several anecdotes relating to Linji's life in Huangbo's community after his enlightenment are related in the succeeding portions of "The Record of Pilgrimages," and two appear in the section preceding it, entitled "Critical Examinations." These anecdotes suggest that for some years after his enlightenment Linji pursued his practice continuously under Huangbo. However, the *Zutang ji* account, which we cannot discount, tells us that after this event Linji served Dayu until the old monk's death ten years later. The probability is that during the ten years following his enlightenment Linji journeyed back and forth between Huangbo's temple and Dayu's hermitage, with occasional trips—at Huangbo's request, as suggested by the anecdotes above—to see Deshan Xuanjian in Langzhou and Guishan Lingyou[16] in Tanzhou, and to visit the monastery on Mount Jing in Hangzhou.[17]

Since it was during this period that Emperor Wuzong's great suppression of Buddhism occurred, it would be natural to suppose that Linji was affected. No account of his life, however, mentions the proscription or suggests any influence upon his activities. In view of the statements in the *Zutang ji*, we may, perhaps, surmise that, during the worst of the persecution at least, Linji

was staying in the mountain hut of his mentor, Dayu, undisturbed by the events taking place in the outside world.

The first part of "The Record of Pilgrimages" indicates that after Dayu's death Linji stayed for a time with Huangbo's community at Mount Huangbo, where Huangbo had returned when the proscription was lifted. In perhaps 849 or 850 Linji left and set out on a pilgrimage. Ten or twelve years had passed since his enlightenment, and he was now a mature man of forty.

The leave-taking between master and disciple is described in some detail in both the "The Record of Pilgrimages" section of the *Linji lu* and the *Chuandeng lu* biography. Two men, now of equal attainment, stand face to face. The older, mellowed with years, receives the blow given by the younger with a laugh in which pride and regard undoubtedly mingle. He offers his disciple mementos received from his own teacher Baizhang, material signs of the transmission of the dharma; the disciple, in the full flush of his powers and confident that one who has become the living dharma has no need of such things, orders them burned. "Take them along anyway," urges the old master, "in the future you'll cut off the tongue of every man in the world."

The *Zutang ji* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan* tell us nothing regarding Linji's subsequent pilgrimage.[18] In the *Chuandeng lu*, however, his departure from Huangbo is immediately followed by the story of his visit to Bodhidharma's memorial tower in Henan; "The Record of Pilgrimages" also records this and other incidents obviously related to the journey. This long pilgrimage, which Linji must have made on foot, was for him a period of testing his own understanding against that of other masters. The anecdotes make very clear that he reached the north certain that few men, if any, could match him, and that none could surpass him.

Linji's pilgrimage came to an end, perhaps a year later, with his arrival in Zhenzhou,[19] in the Hebei area. There, according to the Memorial Inscription, he became the master of a small temple that stood near the southeast corner of the walls of the city of Zhenzhou, the capital of Zhenzhou. Because of its location on the banks of the Hutuo 滹沱 River, the temple was called the Linji yuan 臨濟院, or "Temple Overlooking the Ford." The statements in the *Chuandeng lu* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, though more brief, are virtually the same, but both introduce one interesting fact not found in the Memorial Inscription, namely that it was at the invitation of a "man of Zhao" 趙人 that Linji settled in Zhenzhou.

Who this "man of Zhao" actually was we do not know. During the Warring States period (403–221 BCE) Zhao 趙 was the name of the entire area of which the prefectures of Zhaozhou and Zhenzhou were later a part. In view of the tendency in China to continue using old names for places to which succeeding dynasties had given new designations, it is possible that "Zhao"

may here have been used in its ancient meaning, and thus might refer to the Zhenzhou of Linji's time. If we accept this possibility, the "man of Zhao" must have been a contemporary of Linji living in the Zhenzhou district. Furthermore, whoever he was, he must have been a person of eminence, since it is unlikely that anyone but an important official would have issued such an invitation. Although the "man of Zhao" is not again referred to in the two above-mentioned biographies, or anywhere else, the first sermon in the *Linji lu* opens with the words, "The Prefectural Governor, Councilor Wang [Fuzhu Wang Changshi 府主王常侍],[20] along with the other officials, requested the master to take the high seat and address them." The second sermon, too, was given at the request of this same official, and there is a friendly conversation between him and the master recorded in the "Critical Examinations" section. Is it possible that the "man of Zhao" and the governor of the prefecture, Wang, were one and the same person? Let us see what is known of the Wang family of Zhen.

As discussed above, from middle Tang times the region of which Zhenzhou was part had constituted a virtually independent political unit. All actual power was in the hands of the Wang family, who, as with all regional commissioners in that area, wielded it much as they pleased in defiance of the orders of the central government.[21] In 834 Wang Tingcou 王庭湊 (d. 834), then regional commissioner of Chengde Prefecture, within whose jurisdiction Zhenzhou was included, was succeeded in his post by his son Wang Yuankui 王元逵 (d. 855). Wang Yuankui is said to have "reformed the ways of his father and carried out his duties to the central court with the greatest propriety" (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 245). Because of his respectful attitude, Wang was rewarded by Emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 826–840) with the gift in marriage of an imperial princess, Shouan 壽安 (*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 408). No doubt the emperor hoped in this way to regain a measure of control over the independent-minded Wang family.

The eldest son of this union, Wang Shaoding 王紹鼎 (d. 857), succeeded his father as regional commissioner in 855, only to die two years later. Shaoding was succeeded by his youngest brother, Wang Shaoyi 王紹懿, who served as regional commissioner until his death in 866, the probable year of Linji's death.

On the basis of these dates it is possible, of course, for Linji's patron to have been either Wang Yuankui or one of the two sons who succeeded him. But since only the life of the youngest son, Wang Shaoyi, spanned the length of Linji's stay in Zhenzhou, and since the statements in the text mentioning Wang Changshi all clearly refer to the same person, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was Wang Shaoyi who was the patron and friend of Linji, and who may even have been the "man of Zhao" who originally invited him

to take up residence at the temple Linji yuan.[22] But whoever he might have been, Councilor Wang was obviously of great assistance to Linji in his efforts to propagate the doctrines of Chan in Zhenzhou.

Another person of apparent importance to Linji was the monk Puhua,[23] one of Chan's fascinating eccentrics. The eighth anecdote in "The Record of Pilgrimages" mentions a prophecy made to Linji by Yangshan Huiji[24] on the occasion of Linji's taking a letter from Huangbo to Yangshan's teacher Guishan: "Later on you'll go to the north and there'll…be a man to help you."

Whether this story has any basis in fact, the man referred to has traditionally been regarded as Puhua. The Memorial Inscription states only that Puhua was already in Zhenzhou when Linji reached there, that he was of help to the master, and that he disappeared after the latter's teaching began to flourish. However, the several anecdotes centering on Puhua in the "Critical Examinations" section support the statements in the Memorial Inscription, and these statements are further substantiated by the accounts, meager though they are, under Puhua's name in other biographical collections. Though the dates and, indeed, even the historicity of a figure as shadowy as Puhua remain a matter of doubt, the anecdotes connected with him nevertheless sum up some of the important characteristics of the Hebei style of Chan, and he is therefore an important figure in the history of the Linji school.

After mentioning Puhua's assistance to Linji, the Memorial Inscription continues:

> It happened that local fighting broke out, and Linji abandoned the temple. The Grand Marshal, Mo Junhe, donated his house inside the town walls and made it into a temple. Hanging up a plaque there, inscribed with the old name "Linji," he had the master make it his residence.

Tradition has accepted this statement unconditionally, even though the facts recounted in it are not corroborated by any of the other sources for Linji's life. Recent scholarship, however, has rediscovered what seems already to have been recognized in Song times, namely that the "Grand Marshal, Mo Junhe" of the Memorial Inscription was undoubtedly the man known to history as Mo Junhe, a butcher who, according to the *Jiu Wudai shi*, saved the life of Wang Rong, the young regional commissioner of Zhenzhou. Further research has established that Mo was about twenty-six when the rescue occurred in 893. Thus Mo Junhe was born about the year that Linji died, making any connection between the two men impossible.[25]

Mo Junhe's daring exploit and subsequent rise to fame and riches made him a popular, even fabulous, hero in the region, his renown augmented

by his connection with Wang Rong, often called Zhao Wang, the "King of Zhao."[26] Although there are several possible reasons for including this statement in the Memorial Inscription, no tangible evidence exists to substantiate them. The simplest explanation, and perhaps the most likely, is that the writers of the Inscription, disregarding historical fact, inserted the statement into their summary of the founder's life with the deliberate intention of enhancing the prestige of the Linji school in Hebei through linking the master's name with that of a popular local hero, and thus, by implication, with that of Mo's powerful patron, the King of Zhao. Therefore, unless other concrete evidence appears, we must content ourselves with the probability that it was at the little temple on the river bank that the master spent the years of his sojourn in Zhenzhou, and that there he "carried on his work of conversion in Hebei" (ZJ 19).

Linji Yixuan's career as a teacher was relatively short, probably not more than ten or eleven years at the most. Twenty-two sermons attributed to this period form the body of the *Linji lu*. Though they must represent but a small portion of those the master actually gave during these years, and though they have certainly been subjected to the hands of more than one note-taking disciple and compiler, yet they provide us with an account of the man and his teaching unparalleled in Chan literature for its vividness and force. These sermons were delivered during the middle years of the master's life, while he was at the height of his powers. The touch of arrogance evident in his leave-taking of Huangbo and still apparent in his exchanges during his pilgrimage had now been replaced by an unshakable self-confidence based upon complete faith in the truth and profundity of his personal religious experience. But beneath his outspoken, abrasive, and, at times, even crude manner of expression may be sensed a compassionate urgency to convince his listeners of the necessity of their finding within themselves the "true man of no rank."

Linji's familiarity with the essentials of Mahayana and Chan is apparent on every page of the *Linji lu*, but his free and creative mind constantly illumines them with insights and invents new, if enigmatic, formulas for conveying their inner meaning. The *Zutang ji* says of him, "His demonstration of the main principle was swift, his presentation of the teaching profound; as for the innermost meaning of these, it is inexpressible and ineffable" (ZJ 19). But before whom were these sermons delivered? We have seen that on at least two occasions the governor of the prefecture and officials of his staff were present; perhaps some of the townspeople also came to listen. From time to time a traveling Chan monk, a lecture master of another school, or a pilgrim on his or her way to Mount Wutai to worship Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī[27] seems to have visited Linji's insignificant temple. And Puhua was there, dur-

ing the early years at least. But for the most part the audience must have been made up of the assembly of monks who had come to study under the master. That this group was never very large is clear from the fact that nowhere do we read, as in the case of many other famous Chan masters, of "clouds of students" or of an assembly "numbering never less than several hundreds of disciples."

Among the most prominent monks to call upon Linji was Zhaozhou Congshen,[28] who is mentioned briefly in an anecdote in the Critical Examinations section of the *Linji lu*.[29] Also mentioned are visits from Mayu,[30] Longya Judun,[31] Dajue,[32] and Xingshan Jianhong.[33] Another episode in this section speaks of the elders Heyang 河陽 and Muta 木塔; since there is no mention whatsoever of them elsewhere, we can only surmise that they were two old monks from the neighborhood with whom the master was on familiar terms.

As to whether Linji continued to have any relations with other Chan masters of his time, masters whom he had met while under Huangbo or later, the *Linji lu* is silent, except in the case of Deshan Xuanjian. Linji himself had once visited Deshan, probably on Huangbo's orders, and in the later years of his stay in Zhen he sent his own young attendant Lepu Yuan'an[34] to Hunan to observe and question Deshan. Still, the fact that from early times the names of the two masters were often linked deserves particular notice. They belonged to two different streams of teaching, Deshan being in the fifth generation of the Qingyuan 清原 line and Linji in the fifth generation of the Nanyue 南嶽 line; one lived south of the Yangzi and the other on the northern borders of the empire. Yet the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, speaking of Linji, could still say, "In showing the essentials of mind, his methods were much like those of Deshan" (T 50: 779b). Furthermore, the *Zhengfayan zang* and the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* both record a sermon by Deshan that is strikingly similar to the sermons of Linji.[35] Indeed, so close are the sermons of the two men in thought and wording that it would almost seem that one was influenced by the other. However that may be, it was certainly recognized from early times that their teachings and training methods were very much alike, and it became customary to refer to "the stick of Deshan and the shout of Linji."

As for the master's disciples, the *Linji lu* mentions only a few. There is Sansheng Huiran,[36] to whom the master is recorded as addressing his final words. The name Baoshou Yanzhao appears at the end of the text (that is, of the Memorial Inscription with which it concludes) as the "humble heir" who inscribed it.[37] Baoshou's name is followed—in most editions after an end-title—by that of Xinghua Cunjiang,[38] who signs himself as the collator of the text. A young disciple named Lepu is identified as Linji's attendant; later this

monk went to the south and became an heir of Jiashan Shanhui.[39] Dajue, who is merely a visitor in the Critical Examinations anecdote mentioned above and, in the earlier biographical works, is regarded as an heir of Huangbo, in later works is listed as one of Linji's heirs.[40] The only other name to appear in the text is that of Elder Ding (Ding Shangzuo 定上座, lit., "Ding of the Upper Seat"); who this man was we do not know, but the episode concerning him in Critical Examinations 18 is repeated in several other texts,[41] and in at least one instance Ding is recorded as having taken part with others in a discussion on Linji's "true man of no rank."[42] Among the disciples of Linji, the most important have always been regarded as Sansheng, Xinghua, and Dajue.

The *Zutang ji* discusses only three of Linji's heirs: Baoshou, Xinghua, and a certain Guanxi Zhixian.[43] The *Chuandeng lu*, on the other hand, gives the names of twenty-two heirs (T 51: 289b), including all the disciples mentioned in the *Linji lu* and the *Zutang ji* except Lepu and Ding; for sixteen of these monks the accounts are less biographies than records of *mondō*s with which their names are associated. The *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* (X 78, no. 1553, 421a) and the *Chuanfa zhenzong ji* (T 51: 754a) mention all those in the *Chuandeng lu* account, but bring the number of heirs up to twenty-four by adding Elder Ding and an unknown person by the name of Elder Huo 鬳上座. These longer lists seem somewhat contrived, and their existence can undoubtedly be attributed to the desire of later adherents of the Linji school to lend the founder as much prestige as possible. Also, with few exceptions, these men, if they did not come from the Hebei area originally, later settled in temples there. So, regardless of whether or not they were long subjected to the master's severe discipline, at least by propagating his teachings in the region north of the Yellow River they helped lay the foundations of his school of Chan.

It is unknown what brought Linji's period of teaching in Zhenzhou to a close. The biographies tell us nothing; in fact they do not even mention that he ever left Linji yuan. The Memorial Inscription says merely:

> Later the master tucked up his robes and went south to the prefecture of He. The governor of the prefecture, the Councilor Wang, extended to him the honors due a master. After staying for a short while, the master went to Xinghua temple in Daming Prefecture, where he lived in the Eastern Hall.

Again the facts recorded here present several difficulties. Before trying to resolve them, however, let us turn to the stele inscription written for Linji's heir Xinghua Cunjiang by the official Gongcheng Yi,[44] a source that appears to be of reasonable historical accuracy. According to this inscription, Cunjiang, after finishing his study under Linji, set forth (probably in late 862 or early 863) on a pilgrimage to the south. After recounting several incidents of

this pilgrimage, the inscription goes on to say that, while Cunjiang was visiting Yangshan Huiji in Zhongling,

> of a sudden he heard that Great Master Linji had accepted an invitation from Prime Minister Lord Jiang of Pu.[45] He immediately determined to attend [his former teacher] himself, and hastened to take up his staff. He overtook [Linji] at Zhongtiao, and from then on could accompany him…. As they were about to cross [the ford] at Baima they were met on the road by a special messenger sent to welcome Great Master Linji by Late Grand Marshal and President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat, Lord He.[46] With [Cunjiang] acting as reverent attendant, they pressed forward without stopping until they arrived at [Wei]fu. There they took up their residence in the temple Jiangxi chanyuan 江西禪院, of Guanyin si 觀音寺.

Returning to the difficulties presented by the Memorial Inscription, the first is the identity of "the prefecture of He" 河府. Since Linji is described as having gone south, commentators in the past—none of whom seems to have taken Cunjiang's stele inscription into consideration—believed that the prefecture referred to was Henan 河南, the region south of the Yellow River where Linji was born. However, Wang Changshi, who according to the Memorial Inscription received Linji with honor, was, as explained above, the regional commissioner of Chengde Prefecture, the area that included Zhenzhou, where Linji had up to this time been residing. To be received by this dignitary the master had no need to go south to another prefecture. Nor is the situation remedied by assuming that "the prefecture of He" refers to Hebei 河北, where Linji, living in Zhenzhou, had been all the time.

Moreover, the order of the narrative here implies that Linji met Wang Changshi only after he had been preaching in Zhenzhou for ten years or more. But from the fact that the *Linji lu* opens with Wang Changshi and his staff requesting the master to address them, it is clear that the compilers of this text believed that the master's meeting with that official had taken place soon after his arrival in Zhenzhou.

The statements in the Memorial Inscription become more acceptable, however, if read in conjunction with those of Cunjiang's stele inscription. If by "the prefecture of He" we understand the prefecture of Hezhong 河中, and if we regard as untenable the Memorial Inscription's statement that Linji was received by Wang Changshi, the problems can be resolved. On the basis of the stele inscription, and on the supposition that Prime Minister Lord Jiang of Pu represents the official Jiang Shen,[47] what took place between the time the master left Zhenzhou and the time he arrived in the city of Weifu 魏府 may be reconstructed without stretching things too far.

We know from the stele inscription that Cunjiang did not come to study with Linji until sometime in 861. It seems more than likely that he stayed

with the master for a year or more before leaving on his pilgrimage, since the relation between him and Linji was apparently an intimate one. After Cunjiang's departure Linji received an invitation from Lord Jiang, that is, Jiang Shen, who in 861 had been appointed regional commissioner of Hezhong, with his seat in Puzhou 蒲州. Thus in order to accept this invitation Linji had, of course, to journey to Puzhou, a district in the great bend of the Yellow River in what is today the southwest corner of Shansi, a considerable distance to the southwest of Zhenzhou.

We do not know when Linji set out on this journey, but we may surmise that it was sometime in 863 or 864—the spring of 864 seems likely—and journeyed south, meeting Cunjiang on the road before reaching the city of Pu itself. Whether Lord Jiang was in Pu and personally received the master, or whether he had already moved to his next assignment in Kaifeng Prefecture 開封府, Henan, is not known. It seems probable that they did not meet, for, although the master must have spent a year or more in the Pu area, there is no indication that he met Lord Jiang or settled down anywhere for any length of time. And, of course, if Lord Jiang had already gone on to another post, Linji no longer had an important official in Pu to serve as patron and protector. This may have been the reason that he, together with Cunjiang and a party, started eastward, probably in the spring or early summer of 865. Whether their goal was the city of Weifu we do not know. But that they were not far from there when the messenger from Lord He of Wei met them at what seems to have been the river crossing of Baima 白馬 is clear from the fact that a day's forced journey brought them to the city and the temple where the master was to spend his last days.

The discrepancy between the Memorial Inscription and the stele inscription regarding the location of Linji's final residence offers no difficulty. The Memorial Inscription's "Damingfu" 大名府 and the stele inscription's "Weifu" refer to the same place—Damingfu was the official designation for Weifu after the Tang dynasty, and was apparently in unofficial use from much earlier. The difference in the temple names—Xinghua si 興化寺 (Memorial Inscription) and Jiangxi chanyuan 江西禪院 (stele inscription)—is harder to account for, but may well have resulted from a simple error. The stele inscription mentions that in 875, some years after Linji's death, a splendid temple was erected for Cunjiang in Wei under the patronage of an uncle of Lord Han;[48] although the name of this temple is nowhere stated, it is usually assumed to have been Xinghua si, since in later years Cunjiang was called Xinghua Cunjiang. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that, since Linji spent his final days with Cunjiang, the name of the temple so closely associated with this disciple was confused by the writers of the Memorial Inscription with that of the temple at which the master actually stayed. Nor need the

mention of the "Eastern Hall" detain us—this was the title customarily given to the building that served as the residence of the former head of a temple after his retirement.

Neither the Memorial Inscription nor the biographies tell us of the events of the last period of Linji's life. The stele inscription for Cunjiang, however, says that after the master had settled himself in Wei a continuous stream of officials, monks, and laymen came to call upon him. But this was not for long—before a year had passed the master's life came to an end. Ma Fang,[49] describing this last period of Linji's life in his preface to the *Linji lu*, writes, "[The master] had not long sat facing the wall when the secret transmission neared its end."

Speaking of Linji's death, the Memorial Inscription says:

> Suddenly one day the master, although not ill, adjusted his robes, sat erect, and when his exchange with Sansheng was finished, quietly passed away. It was on the tenth day of the first month in the eighth year of Xiantong [18 February 867] of the Tang dynasty.

The "exchange with Sansheng" (Sansheng Huiran), which in later times was regarded as important evidence for establishing the filiation of the Linji school, is recorded at the end of the "Record of Pilgrimages," and again in the Record of Pilgrimages 21 in the *Linji lu*. It should be noted, however, that it is mentioned only in these two places. The *Zutang ji* states simply, "The master died on the tenth day of the fourth month in the seventh year of the Xiantong era (27 May 866)." The *Chuandeng lu* follows the same wording, adding only a transmission verse that the master composed before passing away. Not only do these two accounts fail to mention Sansheng, but their dates for the master's death differ by about eight months from that given in the Memorial Inscription. These facts suggest that these texts were written without any knowledge of the Memorial Inscription, or that the Memorial Inscription was composed at a later date, and perhaps by a different branch of the Linji lineage from that which provided the materials for the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu*.

Therefore, though the date given in the Memorial Inscription has traditionally been accepted for Linji's death, more sound consideration would seem to favor that recorded in the *Zutang ji* and the *Chuandeng lu*, namely, 27 May 866.

The final paragraph of the Memorial Inscription states:

> His disciples built a memorial tower for the master's body in the northwest corner of the capital of Daming Prefecture. The emperor decreed that the master be given the posthumous title Meditation Master Huizhao, and his memorial tower be called Chengling.

All the biographies agree that Linji's posthumous title was Huizhao Chanshi 慧照禪師, "Meditation Master of Illuminating Wisdom"; the *Zutang ji* and the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, however, give the name of the memorial tower, as Chengxu 澄虛, "Pure Vacuity," instead of as Chengling 澄靈, "Pure Spirit."

In conclusion, the stele inscription for Cunjiang again provides us with a few more details than are available elsewhere. After the master's death, it says, "Cunjiang carried out the mourning observances with heartfelt reverence and deep feeling. He did not deviate from the rules for constructing the tomb enclosure, and was able to complete all the rites of cremation" (this would seem to contradict the Memorial Inscription's statement that Linji's body was entombed). Later, in speaking of Cunjiang's death, the stele inscription states that his "memorial tower was erected at Xunfengli in the southern part of the Guixiang district [of Wei], next to the memorial tower of his former teacher (Linji)," a final small disagreement with the Memorial Inscription, which placed the master's tomb in the northwest of the prefecture.

Linji died probably in his early or mid-fifties, and thus did not reach the advanced age of many of the illustrious masters of his time. Nor did he leave a large body of notable disciples to disseminate his style of Chan. Among his few successors, only Xinghua Cunjiang produced a line of transmission vigorous enough to survive. Of Cunjiang's heir, Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 (860–930), third patriarch of the Linji line, nothing is recorded other than the fact that he lived at the temple Baoying yuan 寶應院 in Ruzhou 汝州, and a few *mondō*s in which he took part. Nanyuan's heir, Fengxue Yanzhao,[50] the fourth Linji patriarch, continued to live in the Yellow River region, as did his successor Shoushan Shengnian,[51] and as did Shoushan's dharma heir, Fenyang Shanzhao.[52] Fenyang's heir, Shishuang Chuyuan,[53] was the first in the line of Linji patriarchs to transmit the Linji school doctrines to Hunan in the south. Under Shishuang the Linji school achieved a position of widespread eminence and prosperity. Among his many dharma successors were Yangqi Fanghui[54] and Huanglong Huinan,[55] who became the founders, respectively, of the Yangqi and Huanglong lines, the two principal branches of the Linji school. It is through later generations of disciples in these two lineages, some of whom instructed Japanese monks in China and some of whom themselves went to Japan, that Rinzai masters in Japan today trace their lineage directly back to Linji Yixuan.

By the late tenth century Chan had divided into the so-called Five Houses 五家, five clearly differentiated schools or lineages of teaching, of which four—the Linji, Caodong 曹洞, Yunmen 雲門, and Guiyang 潙仰 schools—were already mentioned by Fayan Wenyi[56] in his *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (Treatise on the ten principles of the Chan school); somewhat later, Fayan's own distinctive teaching line was acknowledged as the fifth of

the Five Houses. During the Song dynasty the Yunmen, Guiyang, and Fayan schools were absorbed into the Linji sect; the Caodong school kept its individuality into Ming times, but only with difficulty. Then it too succumbed to the syncretic movement that produced an all-embracing Chinese Buddhism, to which the name Chan is generally given, and even at times that of Linji Chan.

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE "RECORDED SAYINGS (*YULU*)"

The *Linji lu* is a representative example of the "recorded sayings" 語錄 (C. *yulu*, J. *goroku*) genre of Chinese Buddhist literature. The "recorded sayings" genre originated within the Chan tradition, and for long was peculiar to this school. As discussed earlier, Chan stressed its own doctrine of "a separate transmission outside the scriptures" and "the transmission of mind by mind" over the elaborate exegetical works of the older schools of Buddhism. In place of stressing the scholastic study of sutras and commentaries, the earliest masters of Chan taught the integration of dhyāna and prajñā with manual work and the other activities of daily life. Teaching often took place in the context of this lifestyle, with masters using the ordinary events of everyday life as occasions to bring their students to awakening. It would be quite natural for a student to later note down the teacher's comments, the ensuing exchanges of question-and-answer, and the occasional impromptu sermon, and to circulate such informal records among the other students. It is possible that such accounts existed even for the first Chan patriarch, Bodhidharma.[57]

In time it became customary for Chan masters to hold lectures referred to as "ascending the high seat" 升座 or "going up to the dharma hall" 上堂, during which the master would sit on a wide, high chair in the temple building known as the dharma hall 法堂 and speak in direct, everyday language on the main principle of Chan to the assembled monks, nuns, and laypeople. It seems likely that this custom began around the time of the fourth Chan patriarch, Daoxin,[58] and the fifth Chan patriarch, Hongren.[59] Prior to the time of these two figures, the monks of the Chan school—if, indeed, Chan possessed enough individuality or organization at that early date to merit use of the word "school"—appear to have followed more or less itinerant lifestyles. From the early years of the seventh century, however, these wandering monks began to gather together into organized religious communities, though, needless to say, the practices of mendicancy and pilgrimage continued to be considered essential religious practices and were never entirely dispensed with. Under Daoxin and Hongren the size of these communities increased greatly, and were obliged, in order to function successfully, to

apportion tasks and lay down rules for the agricultural and other types of work. It seems reasonable to suppose, therefore, that certain times were set aside during which the master would conduct lectures for the benefit of the assembly as a whole.

As noted above, on such occasions the master not only would exchange questions and answers with individual members of the community, as had been done on a more casual basis in the past, but would also deliver fairly long sermons of a more formal nature. These sermons were often recorded, compiled, and preserved by the masters' disciples. This appears to have been the case even with early texts like the *Lengqie shizi ji* (see note 57), attributed to Daoxin and Hongren and including numerous excerpts from sermons, and the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* 大乘無生方便門 (Expedient means for attaining birthlessness in the Mahayana), recording the teachings of the Northern-school master Shenxiu[60] or his disciples. The latter text depicts the master striking a wooden block in order to make a point as he expounds in a direct, straightforward way on the basic meaning of the scriptures.

Sections of the *Lengqie shizi ji* and all of the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* are rather heterogeneous and fragmentary in their contents, and cannot be called *yulu* in the true sense of the word since they are not primarily records of sermons (although they do contain quotations from sermons). The earliest extant works to possibly merit the label *yulu* are the *Liuzu tanjing* 六僧壇經 (well known in English as *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*), recording the sermons of the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng;[61] and the *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliaoxing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脱禪門直了性壇語 (The priest of Nanyang's platform sermon on direct realization of innate nature according to the Chan doctrine of emancipation through the teaching of sudden awakening), recording those of the Sixth Patriarch's student and advocate of the Southern school of Chan, Heze Shenhui.[62]

The earliest manuscript of the *Liuzu tanjing*, that recovered from Dunhuang, bears a similarly long title: "Southern school sudden [enlightenment] doctrine, Supreme Mahayana Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra: The Platform Sutra preached by the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng, at Dafan si in Shaozhou; one fascicle; compiled by the disciple Fahai, who received both the commandment of formlessness and [permission] to spread the dharma."[63] This text contains not only the sermons preached by the Sixth Patriarch at Dafan si but also much additional material on Huineng's life and teaching. The title suggests the circumstances under which the sermons were preached and recorded, and its use of the designation "sutra," unique in Zen literature, provides an indication of the extreme reverence in which Huineng must have been held. The word in effect elevates the Sixth Patriarch to a level

equal to that of Śākyamuni Buddha and invests his words with an authority to match.

It is interesting to note that the opening lines of the text state that the Sixth Patriarch was requested to preach by a group of over ten thousand monks, nuns, and lay believers, as well as by Wei Ju[64] (the prefect of Shaozhou), his subordinate officials, and a number of Confucian scholars, and that Wei ordered a disciple named Fahai[65] to compile a record of the sermons. This is obviously in conscious imitation of the introductions to the sermons of the Buddha as recorded in the sutras, which were said to have been delivered in Rājagṛha and other cities at the request of the rulers and the four orders of believers (monks, nuns, male believers, and female believers). The same form is followed by Huangbo's *Chuanxin fayao* and the *Linji lu*.

It may seem odd that Chan monks—who tended to be less associated with civil authorities than were the representatives of the older Buddhist schools—would ally themselves in this way with government figures. It is important to note, however, that the officials who patronized masters like Huineng, Huangbo, and Linji were in all cases not the highest ministers of the central court, but lower-echelon officials in provincial administrations.

It is uncertain exactly what is meant by the term "platform" 壇 in the titles *Liuzu tanjing* and *Shenhui tanyu*, but the most likely explanation is that it refers to the raised platform-like seat or stand from which the master would deliver his sermons. In the *Lidai fabao ji* we find the statement, "The monk Shenhui of Heze si in the Eastern capital [Luoyang] would each month construct a platform 壇場 on which to deliver sermons to the people" (T 51: 185b).

Although, as we have seen, the recording and collecting of the sermons of the Chan masters had its inception during the Tang, it was not until later that these compilations came to be generally known as "recorded sayings" 語錄. Prior to this the most common name for them was "books of sayings" 語本.[66] The *Zutang ji* mentions other designations for works of this type, such as "true records" 實錄, "separate records" 別錄, "accounts of actions" 行狀, and "records of pilgrimage" 行錄. Similar terms are "record of words and actions" 言行錄 and "abbreviated biography" 略傳. In the *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the source-mirror) there is a reference to a work called the *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄 (Extensive record of Baizhang; T 48: 494c).[67] The word 語錄 came into general use as a designation for collections of sermons and records only during the early years of the Song, the first known occurrence of the word being in the title of the biography of Zhaozhou Congshen given in the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (T 50: 775c).

From that time on the records of the sermons of its masters, now generally titled "recorded sayings," became increasingly popular as the Chan

school flourished. The old Tang texts that had not borne this designation—including, of course, the *Linji lu*—were gradually recompiled and given new titles that included the term. At the same time there was an extensive compilation of recorded sayings for Song-dynasty masters, far surpassing any similar literary activity in other Buddhist traditions of the time. The compilation of these records increased still further during the Yuan 元 (1280–1368), Ming 明 (1368–1644), and Qing 清 (1644–1912) dynasties. Similarly, following the transmission to Japan of the Chinese "recorded sayings" literature during the Kamakura era (1185–1333), there began the compilation of the records of the Japanese Zen masters, a custom that is still followed in Japan today.

It should also be mentioned that during the Song dynasty the use of "recorded sayings" was not limited to the Chan tradition but was employed also by Confucians and Taoists to refer to the collected records of teacher-student dialogues and lectures delivered in colloquial language.[68]

## THE *LINJI LU* IN CHINA

The compiler of the *Linji lu* is traditionally assumed to be Linji's disciple Sansheng Huiran, since the extant texts of the *Linji lu* all contain, after the title, the notation "Compiled by his humble heir Huiran of Sansheng." Whether Huiran himself actually recorded the sermons that make up the body of the text is impossible to say. The long history of the tradition that he is connected with the work suggests, though, that he was in some way part of the process of compiling them and putting them into something like their present form.

We have no way of determining exactly what the earliest version of the *Linji lu* was like or when it was compiled. The earliest extant passages from Linji's sermons are found in the *Zutang ji*, the *Zongjing lu*, and the *Chuandeng lu*, all of which were compiled before the eleventh century. A comparison of these passages with the parallel passages in the later *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* version of the *Linji lu* reveals minor differences in the wording and the ordering of ideas, indicating that the *Linji lu* sermons have at various times undergone some editing and polishing. Given that the texts of the sermons were handed down from one generation of disciples to another, it is reasonable to assume that the wording was gradually smoothed, the progression of ideas put into better order, and slight changes and additions made from time to time, until the text arrived at the form in which we have it today.

The section on Linji in the *Zutang ji* is followed by the statement, "Other teaching devices and answers to questions by the master are recorded in

much greater depth and detail in other records." The Linji sermon in the section of the *Chuandeng lu* entitled "Zhufang guangyu" 諸方廣語 (T 51: 446c–447a), while differing slightly from the parallel passage in the *Linji lu* as we presently have it, is nearly identical to a passage from a sermon of Linji contained in the earlier *Zongjing lu* (T 48: 943c). This suggests that at the time of the compilation of the *Zutang ji* in 952 down through that of the *Chuandeng lu* in 1004 there was already a version, or versions, of the *Linji lu* circulating among members of the Chan school.

The final revision of the *Linji lu* into its presently existing form appears to have occurred sometime between the time of the *Chuandeng lu*'s compilation in 1004 and that of the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* in 1036, as the latter work contains a text of the *Linji lu* differing somewhat from the earlier versions but identical to the work as we presently have it. The compiler, the lay believer Li Zunxu,[69] was a student of Guyin Yuncong,[70] a master in the sixth generation from Linji. Li's purpose in compiling this thirty-fascicle work, complete with a preface by Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (r. 1022–1063), seems to have been to promote the lineage of Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji by recording the sermons, statements, and teaching devices of these masters in as much detail as possible. Hence the inclusion of the entire *Linji lu*.

We can only guess what text or texts Li used as the basis for his lengthy treatment of Linji. There existed at that time a work known as the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the four houses), which was probably a collection of the records of Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji.[71] That it contains the work of Huangbo, at least, is known by the fact that the Yuan edition of the *Chuandeng lu* includes part of the *Chuanxin fayao*, with the comment that it was added by a certain Nanzong Tianzhen 南宗天眞 in 1048 (T 51: 273a) and a note, probably appended by Tianzhen himself, that the *Chuanxin fayao* passage was copied from "the *Sijia yulu* and other records."

Although we have no idea when or by whom the *Sijia yulu* was compiled, and little knowledge of its contents, there does seem to have been at this time a demand for works providing more information on the lineage of Mazu, and it seems probable that both the *Sijia yulu* and the *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* were issued in answer to this need. Judging by the rapidity with which works were published at this time, we may guess that a printed edition of the *Sijia yulu* appeared shortly after its compilation.

The present texts of the *Linji lu* are based on an edition printed in 1120 by the monk Yuanjue Zongyan[72] at Mount Gu 鼓 in Fuzhou 福州 (present-day Fujian 福建). This edition is clearly stated to have been a reprint, so we know that there must have been at least one earlier edition of the work. Whether the earlier text was part of the *Sijia yulu* or whether it was an independent version of the *Linji lu*, we do not know.

This edition, like all later ones, appends the Memorial Inscription. As mentioned above, the Memorial Inscription constitutes an important source for the life of Linji, but is at the same time problematic as its statements are so often at variance with those in earlier sources. A comparison of the Inscription with earlier texts such as the *Zutang ji*, *Chuandeng lu*, and *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* suggests, as has been stated above, that the Inscription was either compiled some time after those works—that is, after 1036—or was put together by people of a different area or teaching lineage than those who compiled the earlier works, and thus was unknown to the latter. Otherwise it is difficult to imagine why they would ignore so many of the facts included in the Memorial Inscription, especially the date of the master's death, and instead recorded information that is quite different.

The supposition that the Memorial Inscription was either not in existence or not widely known prior to the time of the 1120 reprint of the *Linji lu* is further supported by the fact that the *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑, a collection of notes on Chan terms and proper names published by Muan Shanqing[73] in 1108, records under the entry for Linji (writing his name with the characters 林際) a short biography that is based entirely upon information found in the earlier sources, but that makes no mention of the data recorded in the Memorial Inscription. We may thus surmise that the Inscription was first appended to the *Linji lu* at the time of the 1120 reprint, as it is quite possible that Zongyan, the editor, knew of the Inscription while earlier editors had not. Zongyan was a native of Hebei who only later went south to Fuzhou; the Memorial Inscription may well have existed from earlier times in the Linji school in Hebei, but not yet reached the more southerly regions where the earlier sources were compiled. In that case it seems reasonable to assume that Zongyan would have brought it with him when he traveled to Fuzhou, and there appended it to his reprint of the *Linji lu* as an additional source of information on Linji.

It would also appear that the notation at the beginning of the *Linji lu*, "Compiled by his humble heir Huiran of Sansheng," as well as the one at the text's end, "Respectfully inscribed by the humble heir Yanzhao of Baoshou in Zhenzhou," were both added to the text at the time of the 1120 reprint. Although earlier works mention Huiran and a certain "Baoshou Zhao" as disciples of Linji, none of them makes any mention of them as compilers or inscribers of the *Linji lu*. Like the data recorded in the Memorial Inscription, therefore, the tradition that the *Linji lu* was compiled by Huiran and inscribed by Yanzhao could well have been part of the lore handed down in the Linji school in Hebei. Since we have no evidence to support or refute this tradition, our acceptance of it should be tempered by the understanding that it is unconfirmed by earlier sources and could be of somewhat later origin.

Such Hebei traditions may have taken shape under Linji's fourth, fifth, and sixth successors: Fengxue Yanzhao, Shoushan Shengnian, and Fenyang Shanzhao. Fenyang Shanzhao's successor, Shishuang Chuyuan, worked to spread the Linji teachings in southern China, and it is therefore not surprising that from his time onward these teachings came to be known there. Under Shishuang the Linji school achieved a position of widespread eminence and prosperity, and this in turn no doubt created an increased interest in the origin and history of the school, and, consequently, a stronger demand for information about its founder and a definitive edition of the record of his teachings.

The 1120 reprint of the *Linji lu* would have answered these demands, and Zongyan's edition did, indeed, become the definitive edition of the work. Seven years after its publication, the Song court, threatened from the north by the invasion of the Khitan armies, abandoned its capital at Kaifeng 開封 and transferred the seat of government to Hangzhou 杭州 in the south. From that time on, during the period known as the Southern Song, the center of Chinese culture shifted from the north to the region around the new capital. The Linji school, under the leadership of figures such as Yuanwu Keqin[74] and his best-known and perhaps most influential disciple Dahui Zonggao,[75] entered upon its period of greatest prosperity, centering about the so-called Five Mountains and Ten Temples of Hangzhou. The 1120 reprint of the *Linji lu* served as the bible of its teaching.

In addition to the Memorial Inscription, Zongyan's redaction of the *Linji lu* also contained the preface by Ma Fang.[76] This preface, written in elegant four-character phrases and summarizing the principal anecdotes and doctrines of the text, has been highly esteemed in China and Japan, and has been included in nearly all later editions of the *Linji lu*. In the title to the preface Ma Fang is described as:

> Scholar of the Yankang Hall; Gentleman of the Gold and Purple Rank in attendance at Imperial Banquets; Emissary in Charge of Keeping Order in Zhending Circuit; concurrently Chief Commandant of Cavalry and Infantry Forces; concurrently Administrator of Chengde Military Prefecture.

Given the imposing nature of his title, it is unfortunate that we know nothing whatsoever of his life. His preface is dated the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of the Xuanhe 宣和 era, that is, 9 September 1120, which is, in fact, what leads us to assume that this reprint of the *Linji lu* dates from that year.

The present texts of the *Linji lu* are divided into three parts. The first part is known as "Discourses" (lit., "Taking the high seat in the hall" 上堂), and consists mainly of sermons and addresses; the second part is entitled "Criti-

cal Examinations" 勘辨; and the third is called "Record of Pilgrimages" 行錄. It is known that Zongyan also collated and prepared for publication an edition of the *Yunmen guanglu*, which, like the *Linji lu* reprint of 1120, was published at Mount Gu in Fuzhou. Present texts of the *Yunmen guanglu* are divided into sections similar to those of the *Linji lu*, including collected sermons and sections entitled "Critical Examinations" and "Record of Pilgrimages." It is quite possible, therefore, that Zongyan was responsible for this type of arrangement, and that the present three-part division of the *Linji lu* dates from the time of his redaction.

Fuzhou was the center of considerable literary activity during this period. In addition to the above-mentioned printings of the *Linji lu* and *Yunmen guanglu*, two private editions of the Tripiṭaka were printed, as well as such specifically Chan works as the *Liuzu tanjing*, *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the *Anthology of essential writings on the origins of Chan*), *Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* 雪峰義存禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Xuefeng Yicun), *Xuansha Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 玄沙宗一大師廣錄 (Extensive record of Great Teacher Xuansha Zongyi), and others. In the early years of the Zhaoxing 紹興 era (1131–1162), some ten or twenty years after the *Linji lu* reprint, the first large anthology of Chan works was printed at Mount Gu. This work, the *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (Essential sayings of the ancient worthies) compiled by Sengting Shouze,[77] is no longer extant, though its contents have probably been copied into and thus preserved in various other later works. It appears to have contained the recorded sayings of twenty (or, according to some accounts, twenty-two) Chan masters. The *Linji lu* and *Yunmen guanglu* were not included in this compilation, a fact that suggests copies of these works were so readily available at the time that it was not considered necessary to reproduce them.

About a century later, in 1238, another monk of Mount Gu, Huishi Shiming,[78] compiled a second anthology containing eighty-one Chan works that had not been included in the earlier compilation. This anthology, the *Xukai guzunsu yuyao* 續開古尊宿語要 (Further essential sayings of the ancient worthies), includes the complete text of the Zongyan edition of the *Linji lu*. This was the first time that the *Linji lu* was included in one of the *guzunsu* anthologies. A copy of this work is preserved in the Dai Tōkyū Kinen Bunko 大東急記念文庫 in Tokyo, and the *Linji lu* found therein represents the oldest text of that work known to be in existence today.

In 1267, a revised and greatly enlarged edition of the *Xukai guzunsu yuyao* in forty-eight fascicles was issued, and this is the work known today as the *Guzunsu yulu*. The *Linji lu* is included in the fourth and fifth fascicles, but for some reason the text is somewhat different from that contained in the *Xukai guzunsu yuyao*. For one thing, it does not include the Ma Fang preface.

Furthermore, the Memorial Inscription is separated from the main part of the text and placed at the very end with a note (not found in the earlier version of the text) reading, "Collated and compiled by the humble heir Cunjiang of Xinghua in Daming Prefecture." In addition, there are several places in the body of the text where the narrative has been somewhat expanded.

After north China fell to the Khitan armies and the Song court moved south to Hangzhou, the Linji school in Hebei is little heard of until the time of the Mongol conquest and the establishment of the Yuan in 1206. It appears that, under the Mongol policy of tolerance towards Buddhism, the school once more began to flourish. The outstanding figure in this Linji revival in the north was Haiyun Yinjian,[79] a tenth-generation heir of Yangqi Fanghui. He enjoyed the patronage of the second, third, and fourth emperors of the new dynasty, and was invited to lecture to the fifth ruler, Kublai Khan (1214–1294), while the latter was still a boy. With the approval and support of the imperial house he became head of Linji yuan, Linji's old temple in Hebei, and worked to restore and expand the buildings and grounds. He seems to have held this position from about 1246, and in the years that followed to have trained a number of distinguished disciples.

Several decades later a new edition of the *Linji lu* appeared. The monk mainly responsible for this was Xuetang Puren,[80] who worked in cooperation with other Chan monks of the time. This new edition, entitled *Linji Huizhao Xuan Gong Dashi yulu* 臨濟慧照玄公大師語錄, contains three prefaces, the first by Linquan Conglun,[81] dated 1296; the second by Guo Tianxi,[82] dated 1298; and the third by Wufeng Puxiu,[83] undated. In this last preface, Wufeng speaks of himself as a third-generation disciple under Xuetang, so it is possible that Xuetang did not live to see the actual publication of the work, which probably took place during the Dade 大德 era (1297–1307). Conglun's preface is noteworthy because it mentions the extreme difficulty that he had in finding a copy of the *Linji lu* and the joy with which he greeted the text that finally came to his hand, indicating how scarce copies of the earlier editions had become by this time. Aside from its inclusion of these three prefaces and exclusion of the Ma Fang preface, the Xuetang edition is practically identical with the Zongyan version.

A number of subsequent editions of the *Linji lu* appeared in China, among which the most noteworthy are one published in 1607 and included as part of the extant *Sijia yulu*, and one published in the early part of the Chongzhen era (1628–1644) and included in the *Wujia yulu*. These two editions played a large part in the revival of interest in the *Linji lu* that took place in Japan during the early part of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868).

### THE *LINJI LU* IN JAPAN

No one knows exactly when the *Linji lu* was first brought to Japan. The earliest text mentioned in the literature is that referred to in the biography of Gidō Shūshin,[84] composed in diary form by his disciples. The entry in question is dated Genkō 元弘 2 (1332), when Gidō was eight years old:

> One day the master [Gidō] found a copy of the *Linji lu* in one volume among the books in his house and read it with great pleasure. It was just as though he had studied it in the past, and his parents were amazed and considered that he had a heaven-given talent…. The master's grandfather had studied Confucianism and Buddhism, concentrating particularly on Zen. Once he visited National Teacher Yura, had *sanzen*, and inquired about the Way, saying, "I would like to obtain a copy of the *Linji lu*…." National Teacher Yura accordingly gave him a copy, and this is the book that the master found.

The "National Teacher Yura" referred to here is Shinchi Kakushin,[85] a Japanese monk who journeyed to China in the mid-thirteenth century to practice Zen, and who resided at the temple Kōkoku-ji in Yura, present Wakayama Prefecture, after returning to Japan. According to the *Enmyō kokushi gyōjitsu nenpu* 圓明國師行實年譜 (Chronology of the life of National Teacher Enmyō), when Kakushin returned to Japan in 1254 he brought with him the copy of the *Linji lu* mentioned above. Since 1254 was sixteen years after the publication of Huishi's *Xukai guzunsu yuyao* and about half a century before the appearance of the next edition of the *Linji lu*, the *Linji Huizhao Xuan Gong Dashi yulu* of Xuetang Puren, we may assume that what came into Kakushin's hands was the *Linji lu* text contained in the *Xukai guzunsu yuyao* or some earlier text.

However, it is quite possible that copies of the work had already reached Japan before the time of Shinchi Kakushin's return. Dōgen Kigen[86] quotes a passage of the *Linji lu* in his *Tenzō kyōkun* 典座教訓 (1237) (Instructions to the cook), and there is a tradition that the Chinese monk Lanxi Daolong[87] lectured on the text after his arrival in 1253 at Kenchō-ji in Kamakura. No definite evidence exists, however, for the presence in Japan of any text of the *Linji lu* prior to the time of the one mentioned in the biography of Gidō Shūshin.

The first Japanese edition of the *Linji lu* was published in 1320 by a priest named Myōshū,[88] who stored the printing blocks at Shōun-an 祥雲庵, a subtemple of Kennin-ji. Myōshū's edition, a copy of which is preserved in the Seikadō 靜嘉堂 Library in Tokyo, contains the preface by Ma Fang, the body of the text, and a note by Myōshū giving the date of printing. Shōun-an was founded by Mujaku Ryōen,[89] a disciple of Yishan Yining,[90] and thus it is possible that Myōshū was a student of one of these two monks.

This period was one of great activity in the publication of Zen works. Not only were shorter works published, such as the *Chuanxin fayao* (J. *Denshin hōyō*), 1283; *Rentian yanmu* (J. *Ninden ganmoku*) 人天眼目 (The eye of humans and gods), 1303; *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu*, 1305; and *Wumen guan* (J. *Mumonkan*), 1291, but also longer texts like the *Biyan lu* (J. *Hekigan roku*), 1335; *Jingde chuandeng lu* (J. *Keitoku dentō roku*), 1348; and *Zongjing lu* (J. *Sugyō roku*), 1371. The *Linji lu* was also reprinted several times during this period, among the best-known editions being those of 1329, 1384, 1437, and 1501. All of these editions contained only the Ma Fang preface except for that of 1437, which was a copy of the Yuan-dynasty version of Xuetang Puren, with the three prefaces of Linquan Conglun, Guo Tianxi, and Wufeng Puxiu.

In the Tokugawa period a great many new editions of the *Linji lu* appeared, owing to a resurgence in Japanese interest in the text following the arrival in the early seventeenth century of the Chinese master Yinyuan Longqi[91] and other monks of the tradition that came to be known in Japan as the Ōbaku 黃檗 school, but which the Chinese monks themselves regarded as the "true lineage of Linji" 臨濟正宗. New editions were issued not only by Rinzai-school monks, but also by those of the Sōtō and Ōbaku traditions.

Among the new editions the most noteworthy was that printed in 1727 with the five-fascicle commentary *Rinzai Eshō zenji goroku soyaku* (see note 25), by the eminent Rinzai scholar-priest Mujaku Dōchū.[92] This edition corrected a number of mistakes present in the earlier editions, supplied Japanese reading marks to the text, and became the standard edition during the remainder of the Tokugawa period. The work demonstrates a truly impressive level of scholarship, limited only by the restricted understanding of Tang-dynasty colloquial Chinese at the time of Mujaku.

NOTES

1. Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 is the full name of the master with whom the *Linji lu* 臨濟錄 (LL) is concerned. Yixuan 義玄 is his religious name, which he either received from his teacher or took for himself when he became a monk. Linji 臨濟 derives from Linji yuan 臨濟院, the name of the temple where the master resided and taught during the years of his maturity. Thus, accurately rendered, the name would be "Yixuan of Linji [yuan]." In the text of the LL Linji Yixuan is invariably referred to as simply "master" 師.

2. For further information on this period in Chinese Buddhist history, see, for example, EBERHARD 1956 (110–176), ZÜRCHER 1959, WRIGHT 1959, and CHEN 1964, 1973.

3. The *Chusanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of records concerning the Tripiṭaka; T 55: 1–114), the oldest extant catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka texts, was based on an even earlier list, the *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 (Comprehensive catalogue of sutras), published in 374.

4. The character 寺, used in the Han dynasty to mean "government office," seems to

have been adopted as the designation for a Buddhist monastery or temple at the beginning of the third century CE or earlier. See ZÜRCHER 1959, 38–39.

5. Although the attribution of these phrases to Bodhidharma is erroneous, there is no question that they express the fundamental standpoint of Chan from the earliest times of the school's existence. These phrases or similar ones are found in several early Chan texts, the earliest apparently being the *Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission), attributed to Bodhidharma but dating probably from the mid-Tang. The opening line of this text reads, "The three realms arise out of the One Mind. Former buddhas and latter buddhas transmitted mind by mind; [they] did not depend upon written words" (T 48: 373b).

6. Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) was a native of what is now Fujian 福建, with the family name Wang 王. After being ordained at the age of twenty he studied the Tripiṭaka, then went to study under the Chan master Mazu Daoyi (see note 15). After succeeding to Mazu's dharma he established a monastery on Baizhang 百丈 peak of Mount Daxiong 大雄, in Hongzhou 洪州. Huaihai did much to regulate the daily life of the Chan monastery, being the first person to create a formal rule for monastic life; though the original text of this rule has been lost, its influence still lives in subsequent Zen monasticism. Manual labor was a central element of the monastic life for Huaihai, as expressed in his famous dictum, "A day of no working—a day of no eating" (see comment on page 320, below). When Huaihai grew old, his monks, fearing that the master was no longer strong enough to work, hid his garden tools. Huaihai thereupon went to his quarters and refused to eat until the tools were returned. Following his death the master was awarded the honorary names Dazhi Juezheng 大智覺證, and, in the Yuan dynasty, Hongzong Miaoxing 弘宗妙行.

7. Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), third patriarch of the Japanese Tendai 天台 school, was born in a humble family in present Tochigi Prefecture 栃木県. At fifteen he went to Mount Hiei 比叡, the Tendai headquarters northeast of Kyoto, where he became a favored disciple of Saichō 最澄 (767–822), the founder of the Japanese Tendai school. Ennin took monk's vows at twenty-one, and at twenty-three received full ordination at Tōdai-ji 東大寺 in Nara. In accordance with his teacher's dying wish Ennin worked to establish a Tendai ordination platform on Mount Hiei, finally succeeding despite opposition from the monks of Nara, where previously all Japanese monks had been ordained. Somewhat later, during a period of poor health, Ennin built a hermitage with his own hands in a remote ravine on Mount Hiei, and retired there for ten years to devote himself to Tendai meditation practices.

In 835 the Japanese court sent an embassy to China, which Ennin was ordered to accompany in the capacity of scholar-monk. After two unsuccessful attempts to get under way, the embassy set sail in 838 and reached Yangzhou 揚州 late in the summer. While the other members of the embassy proceeded to the capital, Ennin and two disciples remained in Yangzhou studying Sanskrit and esoteric Buddhism as they awaited permission to travel to Mount Tiantai 天台, where they intended to make further studies in the doctrines of their own school.

The permission never arrived, so the following year Ennin set sail for Japan with the returning embassy. Unfavorable winds drove the ships back to China, however, and when the fleet finally departed again Ennin and his disciples managed to get left behind. Making their way to the southeastern tip of the Shandong 山東 Peninsula, they took refuge in Fahua yuan 法華院, a Korean temple at Mount Chi 赤. With the help of a local official

they succeeded in procuring a travel permit for the capital, Chang'an, by way of Mount Wutai 五臺, the center of popular worship of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. When they reached the capital on 19 September 840 they were ordered by the government to reside at the temple Zisheng si 資聖寺. Ennin remained for five years, continuing his studies of Sanskrit and esoteric Buddhism. In June 845, as a result of the persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (814–846), Ennin was ordered laicized and deported. In the face of many hardships, he and his party made their way to the coast and finally to the same Korean temple on Mount Chi where they had stayed at the beginning of their journey. It was a year and a half more before they were able to board a Korean ship for Japan, which they reached on 28 October 847, bringing with them many books, mandalas, and ritual implements. The *Nittō guhō junrei kōki*, the journal that Ennin kept of his stay in China, ranks with the great travel books of all time.

In Japan, Ennin devoted himself to spreading the Tendai esoteric teachings, known as Taimitsu 台密 (in contrast to Tōmitsu 東密, the Shingon esoteric teachings). He was given the court title of Great Dharma Master Dentō 傳燈大法師 and appointed Tendai Zasu 天台座主, chief abbot of the Tendai school. He gave the bodhisattva precepts to the emperors Montoku 文德 (827–858) and Seiwa 清和 (850–880), the empresses Junna 淳和 and Gojō 五條, and members of their courts. To his many disciples he taught the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines he had studied in China, devoting himself particularly to the Godaizan Nenbutsu 五臺山念佛, a practice he had learned at Mount Wutai and that gave rise in later times to the Pure Land teachings of Mount Hiei. Ennin died on 13 February 864. In 866 the posthumous title Great Master Jikaku 慈覺大師 was bestowed upon him by imperial decree.

Ennin's writings totaled 154 volumes. The 584 Buddhist works he brought back from China, among them many Chan texts, are listed in the *Jikaku daishi shōrai mokuroku* 慈覺大師將來目錄 (Catalogue of materials brought by Jikaku Daishi); the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 (Catalogue of a pilgrimage to Tang in search of the dharma in year 5 of the Japanese Jōwa era); and the *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (Catalogue of sacred teachings newly sought in the Tang). Ennin's diary has been translated into English (Reischauer 1955).

8. On the authorship and authenticity of the Memorial Inscription, see Yanagida 1958 and 1961.

9. Dayu 大愚 (n.d.) is listed in the JC (T 51: 273c) as a disciple of Zhichang 智常 (n.d.) of the temple Guizong 歸宗 on Mount Lu 廬, Zhichang himself being an heir of Mazu Daoyi. In Linji's biography in ZJ 19, Huangbo is quoted as saying that Dayu was a fellow student under Mazu. These references, plus the statements about him in the "Record of Pilgrimages," constitute all of our information on Dayu. In the LL, Huangbo refers to Dayu as Gao'an Tantou Dayu 高安灘頭大愚, "Dayu who lives by the river in Gao'an." Gao'an was in the area of Ruizhoufu 瑞州府 of Hongzhou 洪州, in the southwestern part of present-day Nanchangxian 南昌縣, Jiangxi Province. "Tantou" 灘頭 at this time meant simply "rapids," although by the early Ming it was used as the name of a district in this area. Since Huangbo was then living at the temple Da'an si 大安寺 in Hongzhou, Dayu's hermitage was not far away.

Although Huangbo's statement in the ZJ that Dayu was a fellow student under Mazu is open to question, we cannot definitely reject it since the dates of both men are uncertain. The ZJ also states that after his enlightenment Linji served Dayu until the latter's

death, a period of about ten years. Since Huangbo was still living at the time, we may assume that Dayu died between 845 and 850.

10. Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780/82–865) was a native of Jiannan 劍南 in modern Sichuan; his family name was Zhou 周. He entered temple life as a child, and as a young monk became deeply learned in doctrine, particularly that of the *Diamond Sutra*, expounding on it so often that he became known as "Diamond Sutra Zhou." When he heard of the Southern school teaching that buddhahood can be attained by seeing into one's own nature, he headed south with his commentaries to refute the "southern devils." When he stopped at a teahouse for refreshment (Chin. 點心, "to refresh the mind"), the woman attendant saw his *Diamond Sutra* commentaries and asked, "The sutra says, 'Past mind cannot be obtained, present mind cannot be obtained, and future mind cannot be obtained.' What mind does the learned monk wish to refresh?" Xuanjian was unable to answer. Hearing from the woman the name of Longtan Chongxin 龍潭崇信 (n.d.) in Lizhou 澧州, he journeyed there to study.

One evening Xuanjian was with Longtan. "It is late," the master said. "Why don't you retire?" Xuanjian went outside, but, noticing how dark it was, turned back and told Longtan that he could not see. Longtan lit a paper torch and held it out to Xuanjian, but as Xuanjian reached for it the master blew it out. At that moment Xuanjian was deeply enlightened. He bowed to Longtan. The master asked, "What did you understand?" Xuanjian replied, "From now on I will never doubt the words of Chan masters anywhere." Afterwards Xuanjian burned his commentaries in front of the Dharma Hall, saying, "Though one masters the deepest doctrines, it is like throwing a hair into the great void. Though one succeeds in the greatest of worldly tasks, it is like flicking a drop of water into a chasm." He then bowed to Longtan and left. He lived in solitude for thirty years in a cave in Mount Dufu 獨浮, Hunan, until the governor called him to lead the monastery Gude chanyuan 古德禪院 on Mount De 德 in Langzhou 朗州. He was known for his use of the stick, and is recorded to have said, "If you can speak, thirty blows! If you can't speak, thirty blows!" Xuanjian's posthumous title was Chan Master Jianxing 見性禪師. Many of his teachings are nearly identical to those of his contemporary Linji; several examples are mentioned in the text notes.

11. Xiangyan Zhixian 香嚴智閑 (9th cent.) is said to have been born in Qingzhou 清州 in modern Shandong 山東 Province; nothing is known of his early life, but he is said to have been unusually intelligent and well-read. He studied under Guishan Lingyou (see note 16), who said to him one day, "I do not ask about your knowledge of the scriptures and other sacred writings. I ask that you speak a word about the time while you were still in your mother's womb and before you could distinguish east from west." Zhixian had no reply. After searching to no avail through the mass of sutras and commentaries he had collected, he said to himself, "A painting of food does not allay hunger," threw away all his books, and retired to the abandoned hermitage of Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (d. 775) on Mount Baiyai 白崖 in Henan 河南. One day, while clearing weeds, he happened to toss a piece of broken tile against the stem of a bamboo. At the sound of the tile striking the tree Zhixian suddenly attained enlightenment. He returned to Guishan and eventually became one of that master's heirs. He later opened a teaching hall at the temple Xiangyan si 香嚴寺 in modern Henan, where he was active in spreading the Chan teachings. His posthumous title was Great Teacher Xideng 襲燈大師.

Xiangyan Zhixian was known for his religious verse. Examples are found in several Dunhuang manuscripts, one of which, S.5558 in the British Museum, contains thirty-

three verses bearing his signature. His verses are also interspersed in his biography in ZJ 9. The JC contains his biography (T 51: 283c–284c) and a selection of his verses (T 51: 452a–c).

12. Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850) was the heir of Baizhang Huaihai. Born in Fuzhou 福州, present Fujian, he became a monk at the temple Jianfu si 建福寺 on Mount Huangbo 黃檗 while still a youth. He later made a pilgrimage to Mount Tiantai 天台, and eventually arrived in the capital, Chang'an 長安. According to the *Huangbo Xiyun Chanshi yulu* 黃檗希運禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Huangbo Xiyun), one day while Huangbo was begging in the capital he met a woman who advised him to go to the famous master Mazu Daoyi in Jiangxi 江西 (see note 15). Upon reaching there he found that Mazu had already died, so he went to Mazu's heir Baizhang and eventually succeeded to that master's dharma. The ZJ's statements on this point are contradictory, as in its biography of Linji it quotes Huangbo as stating that he and Dayu had been fellow students under Mazu, implying that he had actually studied under that master. On the other hand, the ZJ's biography of Huangbo has the woman in Chang'an advising him to go directly to Baizhang. In any event the matter is not of great importance, as all accounts agree that Huangbo did study under Baizhang and become his dharma successor. It seems probable that, after leaving Baizhang, Huangbo spent time with two other heirs of Mazu: Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835) in Chizhou 池州 and Yanguan Qi'an 鹽官齊安 (d. 842) in Hangzhou 杭州. About 833 he seems to have taken up residence at the temple Da'an si 大安寺 in the city of Hongzhou 洪州. In Hongzhou he met the eminent official and Buddhist devotee Pei Xiu (see note 13), who in 842 had been appointed governor of Zhongling 鍾陵, in present Jiangxi. Pei became Xiyun's disciple, and a year or two later built a temple for him in the mountains of Gao'anxian 高安縣, in western Hongzhou. Because of Huangbo's affection for the place where, as a young man, he had become a monk, this temple was named Hongzhou Huangboshan 洪州黃檗山; unfortunately, its exact location is no longer known. There Huangbo instructed many disciples, among them Linji. During Emperor Wuzong's proscription of Buddhism he hid in the mountains, returning to Mount Huangbo after the persecution ended. It was there that he died sometime during the Dazhong 大中 era (847–859). His posthumous title was Chan Master Duanji 斷際禪師, and his teachings are contained in the *Huangbo Duanji Chanshi chuanxin fayao* 黃蘗斷際禪師傳心法要 (usually abbreviated to *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 [Essentials of the transmission of mind-dharma]), compiled by Pei Xiu, and the *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄, by an anonymous disciple. An English translation of Huangbo's teaching is found in Blofeld 1959a.

13. Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), style Gongmei 公美, was an official and a famous lay Buddhist. He was born in Mengzhou 孟州 in Henan (other accounts say Hedong 河東, in present Shanxi). He is said to have taken his civil service degree in 823, and thereafter to have held a succession of government positions. Pei first studied Buddhism under Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), fifth patriarch of the Heze 荷澤 school of Chan and the fifth and last patriarch of the Huayan 華嚴 school. He wrote prefaces to several of Zongmi's works, and the latter reciprocated by writing one for Pei Xiu's *Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 (On giving rise to bodhicitta). On Zongmi's death, Pei composed the memorial inscription for the master. In 842 Pei was appointed governor of Zhongling 鍾陵, and in 848 acceded to the same office in the district of Wanling 宛陵, both in present Jiangxi. It was during his tenure in the former office that he met Huangbo Xiyun, became

his devoted disciple, and built for him a temple at Mount Huangbo 黃檗. Compilation of the *Chuanxin fayao* is traditionally attributed to him.

As might be expected, Pei was active on behalf of his Buddhist friends during the persecution under Emperor Wuzong. The JC biography of Huangbo's disciple Qian'qing Chu'nan 千頃楚南 (813–888) states, "When Buddhism was proscribed by Emperor Wuzong of the Tang, Chu'nan went into hiding deep in the forest. At the beginning of the Dazhong era, when the Chief Councilor Pei Xiu came to take charge of the region of Wanling, he invited Huangbo to come out of hiding in the hills, and Chu'nan followed the master" (T 51: 292b). Guishan Lingyou also received Pei's assistance. Though the official was never Guishan's disciple, they were close "dharma friends." The memorial inscription for Guishan, written by the eminent official Zheng Yu 鄭愚 (n.d.), says,

> When Emperor Wuzong demolished the temples and drove out the monks, the master (Guishan), wrapped his head with cloth and became one of the common people. His only fear was that he would stand out among the ignorant and humble men with whom he associated, and those who knew his identity admired him all the more for this. Later, when Emperor Xuanzong lifted the ban on Buddhism, the regional supervisor of Hunan, the late Chief Councilor Pei Xiu, who was an ardent follower of Buddhism, entreated the master to come out of hiding. He placed the master in his own carriage and followed in attendance on him. (QT, 820)

In 850 Pei Xiu rebuilt the memorial tower and the former temple of the Chan master Mazu, arranging for the presentation to the temple of an imperial tablet (T 51: 246c). Two years later he was appointed chief councilor to Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (r. 847–859), and served Emperor Yizong 懿宗 (r. 859–873) in the same capacity until his death in 870.

His Buddhist fervor seems to have bordered on the eccentric. He never took meat or wine; in place of official dress he wore a priest's robe, but made of silk, and with bowl in hand he went begging to the houses of the singing girls. He was, nevertheless, a writer of considerable distinction. In addition to his Buddhist works he composed a number of memorial inscriptions for eminent priests, not all of them of the Chan school, and these, together with his other writings, are collected in QT 743. His biography is found in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Older chronicles of the Tang) 177; the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer chronicles of the Tang) 182; the JC (T 51: 293a–c); and the *Jushi zhuan* 居士傳 (Biographies of lay practicers) (X 88: 208B–210C).

14. Neither the LL nor the older biographical collections name the head monk who urged Linji to question Huangbo. He is first identified as Chen Zunsu 陳尊宿 (also known as Muzhou Daozong 睦州道蹤 or Daoming 道明, whose family name was Chen) in the *Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪 (Stone Gate literary Chan), by the important Chan scholar-monk Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128; "Stone Gate" was an appellation of Huihong). Although so late an identification must be held suspect, later compilations like the BL (case 11; T 48: 151c), the CS (X 79, NO. 1560, 535c), and the WZ (X 78, NO. 1554, 581c), undoubtedly following Huihong, also refer to him thus. Muzhou studied the vinaya as a youth, then became the disciple, and eventually the heir, of Huangbo. Afterwards he lived at the temple Guanyin yuan 觀音院 in Muzhou 睦州, in present Zhejiang, then at Longxing si 龍興寺, a temple that later texts call Kaiyuan si 開元寺. There people called him Chen Puxie 陳蒲鞋 (Rush-sandal Chen) from the rush sandals he plaited and hung under the eaves of the temple to give or sell to passersby. His methods of handling such students as came to him are described as eccentric, even violent, but he appears to have

been much respected among his contemporaries. The *Muzhou yulu* 睦州語錄 (Recorded sayings of Muzhou) states that he was ninety-eight years old when he died, but does not give the date of his death. According to the Yuan-dynasty work *Shishi qigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 (An outline of research on the lineage of Śākya) (T 49: 843a.), Muzhou died during the Qianfu 乾符 era (874–879), and this dating is generally accepted.

15. Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), one of the great figures of early Chan, was a native of Hanzhou 漢州, in modern Sichuan; his surname was Ma 馬. At an early age he entered the temple Dechun si 德純寺, also in Sichuan, where he studied under Chuji 處寂 (665–732), a third-generation descendant of the Fifth Patriarch, Hongren 弘忍 (601–674). Later he went to Chuanfa yuan 傳法院 on Mount Heng 衡 in Hunan, where he met Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and became his student and later his sole heir. Thereafter he spent a considerable time wandering and staying at various temples. During the Dali 大曆 era (766–779) he went to live, on imperial order, at Kaiyuan si 開元寺, a temple in Hongzhou 洪州, in present-day Jiangxi. There his fame as a teacher spread widely.

The story of Mazu's enlightenment is one of the best known in Chan. Mazu was living in a hermitage practicing meditation throughout the day. Nanyue asked him why he was sitting in meditation. When Mazu replied, "To become a buddha," Nanyue picked up a tile and started polishing it on a stone. When Mazu asked him what he was doing, he replied that he was making it into a mirror. "How can you make a mirror by polishing a tile?" asked Mazu. "How can you become a buddha by sitting in meditation?" responded Nanyue. He further explained, "Are you practicing to be a sitting buddha? …. Meditation is not limited to sitting…. the buddha is not limited to any fixed form."

Mazu was a man of imposing appearance, said to have had a stride like a bull's, a gaze like a tiger's, a tongue that could cover his nose, and two wheel-shaped marks on the soles of his feet. One of the greatest teachers of early Chan, he was the first to employ many of the methods that later became central to Chan training, such as use of the shout, the stick, and wordless gestures. He is said to have had 139 dharma heirs; of these, the most important for later Zen history were Baizhang, the founder of the Chan monastic system; Nanquan Puyuan; and Damei Fachang 大梅法常 (752–839).

Mazu died in 788 on the anniversary of Śākyamuni's Nirvana. At his own request he was buried on Mount Shimen 石門, not far from his own temple, and a tomb was erected for him there. His funeral matched in magnificence those of the great clerics in the capital in early days, and many eminent men wrote inscriptions in his honor. Mazu's posthumous title was Chan Master Daji 大寂禪師.

16. Guishan Lingyou 溈山靈祐 (771–853) was born in Changxi 長溪 in Fuzhou, and his surname was Zhao 趙. He became a monk at the age of fifteen, and thereafter studied the vinaya and Hinayana doctrines under the precept master Fachang 法常 (n.d.) at Longxing si 龍興寺 in Hangzhou 杭州. At twenty-three he made a pilgrimage to Mount Baizhang 百丈 in Jiangxi and there joined the assembly under Baizhang Huaihai, where Huangbo Xiyun was then a member. Lingyou served as the head cook for many years and later became Baizhang's dharma heir. Later, at the beginning of the Yuanhe 元和 era (806–820), Baizhang had to choose a suitable leader for a new monastery to be established on Mount Gui 溈 in Tanzhou 潭州. Putting a jug on the floor, he asked, "If you can't call this a jug, then what do you call it?" The head monk answered, "It can't be called a wooden sandal." Lingyou's response was to kick over the jug and walk away; it was he who was named head of the new monastery.

When Lingyou arrived at Mount Gui he built a hut and continued his practice; after seven or eight years students started gathering around him and eventually numbered about 1,500. Lingyou produced forty-one dharma heirs, including Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883), the cofounder with Lingyou of the Guiyang 潙仰 lineage of Chan Buddhism, known for its use of the so-called circle-figures 圓相. Soon after Lingyou's death he was given the posthumous title Chan Master Dayuan 大圓禪師 by Emperor Xuanzong.

Guishan was known for his mild and kindly nature. His relation with his heir Yangshan, resembling that of father and son, is famous in Chan and formed the basis for the characteristic style of the Guiyang school. A number of conversations between master and disciple are recorded in the "Record of Pilgrimages" section of the LL.

17. Mount Jing 徑 is located in Zhejiang and forms the northeastern peak of Mount Tianmu 天目. A temple was first built there by Daoqin 道欽 (715–793) of the Niutou (Oxhead) 牛頭 school. After the establishment of the Southern Song capital at Lin'an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou) in 1127, this temple, Nengren xingsheng wanshou chansi 能仁興聖萬壽禪寺, became very famous, numbering among its eminent abbots Dahui Zonggao (see note 75, below), Xutang Zhiyu 虛堂智愚 (1185–1269), and Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1177–1249). It is not clear who the master of Mount Jing was at the time of Linji's visit to the temple. See pages 40–41, above, and page 310, below.

18. The "Zhending shifang Linji Huizhao Xuangong dazongshi daoxing beiming" 眞定十方臨濟慧照玄公大宗師道行碑銘, a memorial inscription carved on a stele erected during the Yuan dynasty, gives the date of Linji's journey to the north as Dazhong 大中 8 (854). The inscription is given in full in the Shaku Sōen 釋宗演 reprint edition of the *Kōtei Rinzai roku* 校訂臨濟錄 (Revised edition of the *Record of Linji*), edited by the scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠, appendix 2, 1–4. The Qing-dynasty work *Zongtong biannian* 宗統編年 states that Linji reached Zhenzhou in Dazhong 3 (849) (X 86, NO. 1600, 168B). Given the late origin of these works, it is likely that such dates are simply conjecture.

19. The Zhenzhou 鎮州 of Linji's time was northeast of the city of Shijiazhuang 石家莊 in central Hebei 河北. In the Warring States era (403–221 BCE) this district was part of a region called Zhao 趙; during the Han dynasty (206 BCE–25 CE) it was renamed Zhending 眞定, and after that was variously referred to as Changshan 常山, Hengshan 恒山, or Hengzhou 恒州. The name was officially designated as Zhenzhou in 820. It was one of the four prefectures 州 of which Chengdefu 成德府, also known as Hebei, was composed (the others were Zhao 趙, Ji 冀, and Shen 深). In the Later Tang 後唐 (923–934) of the Five Dynasties period, the region was designated as the Beidu 北都 (Northern Capital) and called Zhendingfu 眞定府, the name used from the Song dynasty on. During the middle and later years of the Tang, as the control of the central court over the regional governments became increasingly tenuous, the local administrator of Chengdefu, known as the regional commissioner 節度使, came to have almost complete control over the area (see also note 21).

20. "Fuzhu" 府主, here translated as "governor" (HUCKER 1985 has "commandery governor" [2047]–Ed.), was a title for the chief administrator of a superior prefecture 府, in this case Chengdefu 成德府. The title, an informal rather than official one, was used by the subordinates of such an administrator to refer to their officer-in-chief (see *Morohashi* 4, NO. 9283. 45). The title "changshi" 常侍 may be translated as "councilor" (HUCKER 1985 has "attendant-in-ordinary" [262]–Ed.), and is an abbreviation of the longer title 散騎常侍,

an honorary title conferring rank but exacting no specific duties. Several members of the Wang family were recipients of this title.

21. The Wang 王 family had held the office of military commissioner 節度使 of Chengdefu for several generations. Their power was consolidated by the rebellion of Wang Chengzong 王承宗 (d. 820) against the throne in 809. A year later, with no decisive victory in sight for the imperial armies, Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820), yielding to his ministers' advice, halted the war and reinstated Chengzong to all of his former offices. The power of the Wang family in the Hebei area went unchallenged for nearly a century (see FEIFEL 1961, 115–155).

22. From Song times on, Linji's patron Wang has been mistakenly identified with a certain Wang Jingchu 王敬初 (n. d.). This error appears to have its origins in the ZH, compiled in 1183. Part of ZH 8 is devoted to a lay disciple of Guishan Lingyou referred to as Xiangzhou Changshi Wang Gongjing[chu] 襄州常侍王公敬[初] (X 79, NO. 1557, 78B–C). One of the three episodes in this section is identical with episode 12 in the Critical Examinations section of the LL, the episode in which Councilor Wang appears. Its inclusion indicates that the compiler believed the Councilor Wang of the LL to be the same person as Guishan's disciple Wang. According to ZJ 19 and the JC (T 51: 286a), the latter Wang lived in Xiangzhou 襄州, Hubei 湖北, and was the author of a stone inscription in the founder's hall of the temple Yanqing si 延慶寺. There is no evidence to indicate that he was ever regional commissioner of Chengdefu or had any relationship with Linji.

23. Zhenzhou Puhua 鎮州普化 (d. 860), was a disciple of Panshan Baoji 盤山寶積 (n. d.) of Youzhou 幽州; Baoji, in turn, was an heir of Mazu. Very little is known of his life. The biographical accounts found in ZJ 17, the JC (T 51: 280b–c), and the SG (T 50: 837b) consist of little more than the anecdotes featuring Puhua in the Critical Examinations section of the LL. In Japan, Puhua (Jap. Fuke) is honored as the patriarch of the Fuke school 普化宗, a subordinate and now defunct order of the Zen school. Its adherents (known as *komusō* 虛無僧) led itinerant lives and played bamboo flutes called *shakuhachi* 尺八, the music of which was considered an aid to enlightenment. Japanese tradition holds that the school was founded after Puhua's death by his lay disciple Zhang Bai 張伯 (n.d.) of Henan. The Fuke school was introduced to Japan by the Japanese Zen monk Shinchi Kakushin (see note 85) on his return from China in 1254.

24. Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883) was a direct heir of Guishan Lingyou and the cofounder with him of the Guiyang school of Chan. He was raised in Huaihua 懷化 in Shaozhou 韶州, in present Guangdong 廣東; his family name was She 葉. He became a monk at the age of seventeen after demonstrating his determination to his parents by cutting off two of his fingers. He studied the vinaya at Nanhua si 南華寺, then set out on a pilgrimage that took him to several of the greatest masters of his time. Under Danyuan Yingzhen 耽源應眞 (n.d.), who lived in Jizhou 吉州 in modern Jiangxi, he had his first awakening. Danyuan is said to have transmitted to Huiji the teachings regarding the use of ninety-six (or -seven) circle-figures 圓相, which he himself had received from his teacher Nanyang Huizhong, an heir of the Sixth Patriarch. Later, Huiji wandered for a time, then came to Guishan Lingyou, who was living in Tanzhou, Hunan. He remained with Guishan for fifteen years and eventually succeeded to his dharma. Subsequently he lived at Yangshan in Yuanzhou 袁州 in Jiangxi, where he instructed many disciples in Guishan's style of Chan and in Danyuan's circle teachings, thus laying the foundations for the Guiyang school. His posthumous title was Great Teacher Zhitong 智通大師.

The record of Yangshan's teachings is included in the *Wujia yulu* 五家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the five houses), under the title *Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 仰山慧寂禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Yangshan Huiji; T 47: 582a–588a). The principal source for his biography is the stele inscription for Yangshan composed by Lu Xisheng 陸希聲 (n.d.) in QT 813.

25. The identity of Mo Junhe 默(墨)君和 is discussed by Mujaku Dōchū in his *Rinzai Eshō zenji goroku soyaku* 臨濟慧照禪師語錄疏瀹 (Commentary on the *Record of Zen master Rinzai Eshō*), an unpublished manuscript dated 1726. Dōchū quotes the section of the *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Older chronicles of the Five Dynasties) that deals with the rescue of Wang Rong 王鎔 (874–921) by Mo (see below), including the commentary and a quotation from the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive record of the Taiping era) 192, which, in turn, quotes from the *Liushi ermu ji* 劉氏耳目記 (Record of things seen and heard by Mr. Liu), a no-longer extant popular historical text. Dōchū, however, did not compare Linji's dates with those for Wang Rong and, by intimation, for Mo Junhe, but, after proving the historicity of Mo, was content to accept the Memorial Inscription at face value. In 1953 Yanagida Seizan, while examining Dōchū's commentary, cross-checked with the *Jiu Wudai shi* and the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror to aid government), a reliable Song historical work, and established Mo's age as twenty-six or -seven when the 893 rescue took place.

The story of Wang Rong and Mo Junhe, while unrelated to Linji, is sufficiently interesting as background material on the period to warrant retelling here. Wang Rong was the grandson of Wang Shaoyi, who, as noted above, was regional commissioner of Zhenzhou in Linji's day. Wang Rong was only ten years old when, upon the death of his father, he succeeded to the latter's position. Shortly thereafter he chanced to see a youth whose skin was black as iron and whose eyes and eyebrows slanted sharply upward. On inquiry he found the youth's name to be Mo 墨 ("Ink-stick") and his occupation that of a butcher. "How do I happen to have such a black Indian in my country!" he exclaimed. He dubbed the youth Mo Kunlun 墨崑崙, "Ink-stick Black-man," and bestowed a black robe upon him.

In 892 Zhenzhou was attacked by the forces of Bingzhou 幷州, its neighbor to the west. With the help of Li Kuangwei 李匡威 (d. 893), regional commissioner of Youzhou 幽州, northeast of Zhenzhou, Wang Rong's troops were victorious the following year. In the meantime, however, Li, having lost Youzhou to his younger brother while assisting Wang, secretly plotted to kill the young sovereign and seize Zhenzhou for himself. In 893 Li used a ruse to induce Wang, then seventeen, to offer him the prefectures of Zhen 鎮, Zhao 趙, Jin 晉, and Ji 冀. The two, accompanied by Li's soldiers, rode side by side into the inner city to arrange for the transfer of powers, when suddenly a great storm broke. As they entered the eastern gate of the prefectural headquarters, Li's soldier accomplices quickly shut it so as to cut off Wang's escape. At that moment the butcher Mo leapt through a breach in the wall, knocked down Li's soldiers, and lifted the young Wang onto his own horse. Then, with Wang on his back, he jumped onto the roof of the headquarters building. When the people of Zhenzhou realized that their beloved young ruler was safe, they turned on Li and killed him and his accomplices. Wang later rewarded Mo with a thousand pieces of gold, a mansion in the city, a large farm estate, and immunity from punishment for ten capital offenses. He also petitioned the throne to award Mo the title of Guanglu Dafu 光祿大夫 (Gentleman of the Banquet Hall). For forty years thereafter Mo enjoyed wealth and high position. In the region of Zhenzhou, those who had dark-

skinned children considered themselves fortunate, for they hoped their children would be like Mo Junhe.

26. Wang Rong is not accorded the title Zhao Wang 趙王 in the Chinese histories. The JC, however, lists among the disciples of Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897) the names Zhenzhou Zhaowang 鎮州趙王 and Youzhou Yanwang 幽州燕王 (T 51: 281c. 27). The former name refers to Wang Rong, the latter, in all probability, to Li Kuangwei, the ruler of Youzhou who later attempted to assassinate the young Wang Rong, though we have no firm proof of this. Both men, under these titles, are mentioned several times, separately and together, as the "two kings" in the *Zhaozhou Zhenji Chanshi yulu* 趙州眞際禪師語録 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Zhaozhou Zhenji) (e.g., X 68, NO. 1315, 76b).

27. The city of Zhenzhou 鎮州 lay on the main road to Mount Wutai 五臺, in northern Shanxi, where the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was believed to reside. From early times this has been a famous place of pilgrimage. In the spring of 849 the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin (see note 7) passed through Zhen on his way to Mount Wutai, reaching the mountain just a week later (REISCHAUER 1955a, 214–266). For a description of Mount Wutai in modern times, see BLOFELD 1959B, 85–103.

28. Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897) was an heir of Nanquan Puyuan. He is thought to have been a native of Hexiang 赫鄉 in Caozhou 曹州, Shandong Province, with the family name He 郝. He entered a temple near his home as a young boy, and at eighteen visited Nanquan, who was living in Chizhou 池州 in Anhui 安徽 Province. There Congshen remained for forty years, until Nanquan's death in 835. Now in his late fifties, Congshen set out on a long pilgrimage, during the course of which he visited most of the important Chan masters of the time; he vowed, it is said that "I will ask even a child of seven to teach me if his understanding is greater than mine, and I will teach even a man of one hundred if my understanding is greater than his." He is said to have been in his eighties when he was invited to live at Guanyin yuan 觀音院, a temple situated to the east of the prefectural capital of Zhaozhou. There the master instructed numerous disciples in his characteristic style of Chan, stressing penetrating statements rather than use of the shout or the stick—Zhaozhou's lips, it was said, sparkled light. Many of his words and actions later became the basis of famous koans. Zhaozhou died at the advanced age of one hundred and twenty, leaving a number of eminent heirs. His posthumous title, Chan Master Zhenji 眞際禪師, was bestowed upon him by imperial decree.

29. It is interesting to note that this same anecdote is found in the *Zhaozhou lu*, with the rather important difference that the roles of the two men are reversed.

30. Little is known of Mayu 麻谷, who lived at Mount Mayu in Puzhou 浦州 in the southern part of modern Shanxi. He is identified by certain old commentators as Baoche 寶徹 (n.d.), the first abbot of the monastery at Mount Mayu and one of Mazu Daoyi's heirs. However, Baoche was considerably older than Linji, so other commentators suggest that the Mayu mentioned in the LL is Baoche's disciple, who was presumably the second abbot of Mayu. In the LL Mayu appears twice, but it is clear that these are merely two accounts of the same incident.

31. Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (835–923) was in the sixth generation of the Qingyuan 清原 line and a direct heir of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869), one of the founders of the Caodong 曹洞 (Jap. Sōtō) school. Judun was from Nancheng 南城 in Fuzhou 撫州 in present-day Jiangxi. After having his head shaved at the age of fourteen he visited many teachers. Finally he came to Dongshan and remained with him for eight years. One

day he asked the master, "What is the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the West?" Liangjie answered, "I will tell you when the Dong River runs uphill." At these words Judun was enlightened. He departed again on pilgrimage; among the masters he met were Linji and Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學 (n.d.), with whom he had the exchanges recorded in Critical Examinations 22 of the LL. These exchanges appear also in case 20 of the BL, where the roles of Linji and Cuiwei are reversed. (For Cuiwei, see page 309, below.)

At the invitation of Ma 馬, the ruler of Hunan, Judun eventually settled at the temple Miaoji chanyuan 妙濟禪院 on Mount Longya 龍牙 in Hunan. There he spent the remainder of his long life teaching; the assembly under him, it was said, never numbered less than 500. His posthumous title was Chan Master Zhengkong 證空禪師. Longya was noted for his religious poetry, and a collection of ninety-five poems entitled *Tanzhou Longyashan Dun Chanshi song* 潭州龍牙山遁禪師頌 (Poems of Chan Master Longya Judun), with a preface by Nanyue Qiji 南嶽齊己 (861–933?), is preserved in the *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Poems of the Chan patriarchs) (X 66, NO. 1298, 726C–729A). Eighteen poems from this collection appear in the JC (T 51: 452C–453B). The Dunhuang manuscript Stein 2165 also contains some of this master's verses, indicating that they circulated widely during Tang times.

32. Dajue 大覺 (n.d.) is known only by this name, which derives from the fact he is recorded to have lived at the temple Dajue si 大覺寺 in the province of Wei 魏, in southeastern Hebei. He is regarded as an heir of Linji by the TG and by editions of the JC dating from the Yuan, whereas the Song edition of the JC, and works depending on it, list him as an heir of Huangbo.

33. Xingshan Jianhong 杏山鑑[鑒]洪 (n.d.) of the Qingyuan line was a direct disciple of Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟 (782–841?) and thus a fellow student of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869). Nothing is known of Jianhong beyond the fact that he lived on Mount Xing 杏 in Zhuozhou 涿州, in the northern part of Hebei. The section devoted to him in the JC (T 51: 323B), records only the anecdote given in Critical Examinations 13. However, since, in the section on Linji in the JC, where this anecdote is also recounted, Linji's companion is identified as Ven. Mukou 木口和尚, it seems probable that Mukou and Xingshan are the same person. This would seem to be true also for the Ven. Mukou mentioned in the section on Shishi Shandao 石室善道 in ZJ 5.

34. Lepu 樂普 is the common designation for Yuan'an 元安 (834–898). A native of Linyou 麟遊, his family name was Dan 淡. He became a monk at the age of twenty and studied under Cuiwei Wuxue and Linji, serving as the latter's attendant. Later he went to Jiashan Shanhui (see note 39) and eventually became his dharma successor. Upon leaving Jiashan he first dwelt at Mount Lepu 樂普 (also written 洛浦 and 落浦) in Lizhou 澧州, then at Suxi 蘇谿 in Langzhou 朗州. Renowned as a teacher, Lepu is said to have attracted students from everywhere in China.

35. The *Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye) is a collection of koans and dialogues compiled between 1147 and 1150 by Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163); the sermon referred to is in fascicle 2 (X 67, NO. 1309, 574B–C). The *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要 was compiled in 1183 by Huiweng Wuming 晦翁悟明 (n.d.), three generations after Dahui in the same line; the sermon is found in ZH 20 (X 79: 173A).

36. Little is known of Sansheng Huiran 三聖慧然 (n.d.) other than that he was a disciple of Linji and later lived at Sansheng yuan 三聖院 in Zhenzhou. The JC (T 51: 294C–295A) devotes a section to him consisting only of anecdotes and dialogues. These indicate that

after Linji's death Sansheng went south, where he had interviews with Deshan Xuanjian, Xiangyan Zhixian, and Yangshan Huiji, and others. Several interviews between Sansheng and Ven. Cen 岑和尙 (n.d.), a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan, are recorded in the section on Cen in ZJ 17, and one between Sansheng and Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908), a disciple of Deshan, is the subject of BL case 49 (T 48: 184c).

37. The identity of Baoshou Yanzhao 保壽延沼 (n.d.), the "humble heir Yanzhao of Baoshou in Zhenzhou" 住鎮州保壽嗣法小師延沼, is uncertain. Though from the wording he would seem to be a direct disciple of Linji, nowhere in any of the lists of Linji's heirs is there mention of this name. However, ZJ 20 and the JC (T 51: 294c) have short sections comprised of anecdotes on a Baoshou Zhao 寶壽沼 (n.d.) of Zhenzhou, whom they regard as one of Linji's heirs. Both record a conversation between Baoshou Zhao and Zhaozhou Congshen, and the ZJ records one between him and Linji's disciple Sansheng. The fact that both this figure and the author of the Memorial Inscription have surnames pronounced "Bao" (though the characters are different) has from olden times led them to be considered as the same person.

38. Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (830–888) was the second patriarch of the Linji school. According to the stele inscription written for him by Gongcheng Yi 公乘億 (see note 44), Cunjiang was a native of Youzhou 幽州 in Hebei with the surname Kong 孔. He is believed to have descended from Confucius, as his ancestors originally lived in Lu 魯, the birthplace of Confucius. Cunjiang entered temple life at seven, and, at twenty-one, was among the first group of monks to take the precepts on the ordination platform built by Zhang Yunshen 張允伸 in the city of Youzhou. When Zhang constructed another platform at the temple Yunju si 雲居寺 (Shijing si 石經寺) in Zhuozhou in 855, Cunjiang was invited to become the precept master 律師. In 861 Cunjiang visited Linji in Zhenzhou and remained with the master for probably a year or more. He then left on an extended pilgrimage to the south, visiting, perhaps at Linji's suggestion, Yangshan Huiji. Hearing that Linji was leaving Zhenshou, Cunjiang returned to the north, joined Linji and accompanied him to Guanyin si in the city of Wei. He remained until the master's death. Following this, Cunjiang refused requests from friends to return to Yunju si, remaining instead in Wei, where the governor, Han Gong 韓公, held him in high esteem and built a splendid temple for him. There Cunjiang remained until his death in 888. Cunjiang is regarded in Chan tradition as the editor of the LL, and perhaps also the compiler of the "Xing lu" 行錄 (Record of Pilgrimages) section of the work.

39. Jiashan Shanhui 夾山善會 (805–881) was born in Xianting 峴亭 in Guangzhou 廣州; his surname was Liao 廖. While still a child he became a monk on Mount Longya 龍牙, in modern Hunan. Later he went to Jiangling 江陵 in modern Hubei, took the precepts, and became a lecture master 座主. One night when Shanhui was lecturing in Jingkou 京口, where he had subsequently gone to live, a monk asked, "What is the dharmakāya?" Shanhui answered, "The dharmakāya is without form." "What is the dharma eye?" the monk then asked. Shanhui said, "The dharma eye is flawless. Before the eyes there are no dharmas. Though the meaning exists before the eyes, it cannot be reached by the eyes or ears." At this point the visiting monk laughed. When Shanhui asked why he had laughed, the monk, Daowu Yuanzhi 道吾圓智 (769–835), suggested that he go to Huating 華亭 to see Chuanzi Decheng 船子德誠 (n.d.), a monk who was at that time working as a ferryman. Decheng, Daowu said, "hasn't a tile to cover his head above, nor a gimlet point of earth to stand on below." Shanhui went straightaway to Huating and found Decheng in his boat on the river. In the subsequent encounter Shanhui thoroughly penetrated

Decheng's dharma. Decheng told him to avoid crowded cities, live in the mountains, and concentrate on finding a successor to keep the dharma alive. He then tipped over his boat and was never seen again. Shanhui lived in seclusion for over thirty years. In 870 he and the assembly that had gathered around him built a monastery, Lingquan yuan 靈泉院, on Mount Jia 夾山.

40. Song editions of the JC and dependent works like the *Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集 (Precious flowers of the lamp transmission) and *Da guangming zang* 大光明藏 (Treasury of great light) list Dajue as a fellow disciple with Linji under Huangbo Xiyun. He is identified as a disciple of Linji in TG 12, in the section on Dajue (X 78, NO. 1553, 475A), which records the same anecdote about him as is given in Critical Examinations 16. Editions of the JC dating from the Yuan follow this view (see T 51: 295a).

41. E.g., TG 13 (X 78, NO. 1553, 483A); and ZH 10 (X 79, NO. 1557, 97A). The TG, on the evidence of Critical Examinations 18, regards Elder Ding 定上座 as a disciple of Linji, a view repeated in the ZH and the WH. The word 上座 ("elder"; Skr., "thera" or "sthavira"), which originally designated the leader of a group of monks, came to be used, as here, simply as a title of respect between one monk and another. As a koan, this incident appears as case 32 of the BL.

42. See BL 32 (T 48: 171b–c).

43. Guanxi Zhixian 灌溪志閑 (d. 895) was a disciple of Linji during the master's later years.

44. Gongcheng Yi 公乘億 (n.d.) received his government service degree in 871, and later served on the staff of Le Yanzhen 樂彥禎 (d. 888), the regional commissioner of Weibo 魏博 (Weizhou 魏州). His style was Shoushan 壽山. He is noted for his literary works—his poetry is found in QT 22 and his prose in QT 813. For his stele inscription, the *Weizhou gu chan dade Jiang gong tabei* 魏州故禪大德獎公塔碑 (Memorial inscription for the monk [Xinghua Cun]jiang of Weizhou), see QT 813.

45. Puxiang Jiang Gong 蒲相蔣公. Though the stele inscription for Xinghua Cunjiang provides no further information on this person, it is possible that he was Jiang Shen 蔣伸 (d. ca. 867), a high official, scholar, and member of the Hanlin Academy. Jiang Shen was the second son of Jiang Yi 蔣乂 (747–821), a distinguished minister during the reigns of the emperors Dezong 德宗 (779–805) and Xianzong 憲宗 (806–820). After passing the civil service examination, Jiang Shen was rapidly promoted to successively more important offices. He was appointed to the Hanlin Academy in 855 and became Vice-Minister of the Army 兵部侍郎 the following year. He also served as President of the Ministry of Justice 刑部尚書 and National Historian 國史. In 861, without relinquishing his posts in the central government, he assumed the position of regional commissioner of Hezhong 河中, with his seat of government at Puzhou 蒲州. After that he moved to Xuanbu 宣部 in Kaifengfu 開封府, Henan. In 866 he was appointed Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent 太子太博.

46. "Lord He" refers to Xian Taiwei Zhong[shu]ling He Gong 先太尉中[書]令何公 (d. 866), *idem* He Hongjing 何弘敬, whose real name was Chongshun 重順. His family originated in Lingzhou 靈州, Shanxi 陝西, but his grandfather moved to Weizhou, where he and his son became powerful military officers. Chongshun himself became regional commissioner of Weizhou in 840, and in 843 received the name of Hongjing 弘敬 from Emperor Wuzong. Later he refused to obey the orders of the court and, backed by his own army, assumed independent control of his area. Emperor Xuanzong took a tempo-

rizing attitude toward him, however, honoring him with several official titles, including that of President of the Imperial Grand Secretariat 兼中書令. His son succeeded him, but was killed in 870. Thus over a period of forty years three generations of the family controlled Weizhou.

47. See note 45.

48. Han Yunzhong 韓允忠 (814–874) was born in Weizhou; his original name was Junxiong 君雄. He achieved military distinction under He Hongjing, the regional commissioner of Weizhou, to whom he is said to have been related, and, on the death of He's son in 870, was chosen deputy regional commissioner of that prefecture. Emperor Yizong bestowed the name Yunzhong upon him; the succeeding emperor, Xizong 僖宗 (862–888), honored him with a number of titles. His son Jian 簡 (d. 881) succeeded him.

49. Ma Fang 馬防 was a Song-dynasty imperial court official about whom nothing is known. His preface to the LL, dated 9 September 1120, is written in elegant four-character phrases summarizing the principal anecdotes and doctrines of the text. It is highly esteemed in China and Japan and has been included in almost every edition of the work.

50. Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973) was a native of Zhejiang 浙江 Province; his family name was Liu 劉. After failing to pass the civil examinations he became a monk, studying the *Lotus Sutra* and Tiantai meditation before practicing Chan under Xuefeng Yicun, Jingqing Daofu 鏡清道怤 (868–937), and others before joining the assembly under Nanyuan Huiyong. The biographies describe Fengxue as proud of his understanding, and in need of Nanyuan's strict training to realize the limitations of his earlier awakenings. Nanyuan's sole dharma successor, Fengxue, subsequently settled in Ruzhou 汝州, where he practiced alone for ten years at the abandoned temple Fengxue si 風穴寺, from which he derived his name. Eventually students gathered under him, and in 951 he relocated to Guanghui si 廣慧寺, a temple built for him by the local prefect. One day, at the age of seventy-eight, Fengxue addressed the following verse to the assembly before passing away seated in the full lotus posture:

> Truth, availing itself of the flow of time / Must of necessity save all beings.
> Remote from it though they who long for it may be / Step by step they will approach it.
> In years to come, should there be an old man / Whose feelings resemble mine,
> Day after day the incense smoke will rise / Night after night the lighted lamp will burn. (ZD, 271; X 68, NO. 1315, 45A)

51. Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–995) was a native of Laizhou 萊州 in present Shandong; his family name was Di 狄. He trained under Fengxue Yanzhao. It is recorded that Fengxue once lamented to Shengnian that Linji's dharma would end with him (Fengxue). When Shengnian inquired whether there were none among his students who were worthy, Fengxue replied that, although many were intelligent, none had realized self-nature. Shengnian urged him to inquire further. When Fengxue next addressed the monks in the hall, he stated, "The World-Honored One looked upon the assembly with his lotus-blue eyes. At just that moment, what was he preaching? If you say he was preaching through nonpreaching, you bury the World-Honored One. So tell me, what was he preaching?" Shengnian shook his sleeves and walked out. Fengxue put down his staff and returned to his quarters. When his attendant later asked, "Why didn't Shengnian answer you?" he responded, "Because he understood." Shengnian succeeded to Fengxue's dharma and later lived quietly on Mount Shou 首 in Ruzhou, maintaining Linji's dharma

during the turbulent period at the end of the Tang dynasty. Subsequently he served as abbot of the temples Guangjiao chanyuan 廣教禪院 and Baoying chanyuan 寶應禪院.

52. Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024) was a native of Taiyuan 太原, in present Shanxi 山西; his family name was Yu 俞. Shanzhao is said to have visited seventy-one teachers (many of them of the Caodong school) before coming to Shoushan Shengnian, whose successor he became. He later resided at the temple Taizi yuan 太子院 on Mount Fenyang 汾陽. The *Xu chuandeng lu* 續傳燈錄 (Further transmission of the lamp) reports that near the end of his life he was visited three times by a messenger from the governor with an invitation to become abbot of an important temple. Each time the master refused. On his fourth visit the messenger reported that he had been severely punished because of the master's refusals on the three previous occasions, and that another refusal would result in his death. Fenyang said, "Old age and sickness have prevented my leaving the mountain, but if I do go I would like to choose the time. We needn't go together." "If only you accept, you may go whenever you wish," replied the messenger. The master ordered a farewell meal and put on his traveling clothes. "I'm going ahead," he said to his monks. "Who can come with me?" A monk came forward and said, "I can." "How far can you walk in a day?" the master asked. "Fifty *li*," replied the monk. "You can't come with me," said Shanzhao. Another monk came forward, saying he could walk seventy *li* in a day. "You can't come with me either," said the master. Finally the master's attendant came forward and said, "I'll accompany you wherever you go." "You can come with me," said Shanzhao. Then, turning to the messenger and saying, "I'm going ahead," he put down his chopsticks and died.

Fenyang's wide-ranging studies during his time as a training monk were put to use in his teaching methods. He was, for example, the first Linji master to use the Five Ranks 五位 system of the Caodong school. He was also instrumental in introducing the koan as a method of instruction in Chan, combining old stories from the sutras, Chan masters, and other sources with verse commentaries 頌. This method eventually led to the writing of such great koan collections as the BL and the WG.

53. Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (986–1039) was a native of Quanzhou 全州, in present Guangxi 廣西, with the family name Li 李. He commonly appears in koans under the name of Ciming 慈明. He became a monk at age twenty-two and joined the assembly under Fenyang Shanzhao. Fenyang treated him with great severity, not allowing Chuyuan into his room for instruction and showering him with abuse whenever they met. After two years of such treatment Chuyuan complained to the master, but Fenyang glared at him and retorted, "Idiot! Do you take me for a peddler?" and started to drive him away with a stick. When Chuyuan again tried to speak the master covered his mouth, at which Chuyuan attained a deep understanding. Chuyuan remained with Fenyang for another seven years and succeeded to his dharma. Later he served as abbot of several temples in the south, spreading Linji's teachings in that area. One of these temples was Shishuang si 石霜寺 in Tanzhou 潭州, from which he derived his name. Chuyuan died at the age of fifty-three, but despite the comparative brevity of his life he was of great importance for the Linji lineage, leaving over fifty dharma heirs, the most important historically being Yangqi Fanghui and Huanglong Huinan (see following notes).

54. Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 (992–1049) was a native of Yichunxian 宜春縣 in Yuanzhou 袁州; his family name was Leng 冷. After becoming a monk he traveled widely in search of a teacher, finally remaining under Shishuang Chuyuan and succeeding to his dharma. He later taught at the temple Putong chanyuan 普通禪院 on Mount Yangqi 楊

岐 in Yuanzhou, then moved to Haihui si 海會寺 on Mount Yungai 雲蓋 in Tanzhou 潭州. His vigorous style of teaching is preserved in the lineage named after him, which continues till this day and to which all present-day Japanese Rinzai masters belong.

55. Huanglong Huinan 黃龍慧南 (1002–1069) was a native of Xinzhou 信州; his family name was Zhang 章. He received dharma transmission from a Yunmen master named Huaicheng 懷澄 (n.d.), but resumed training at another monastery upon hearing criticism of Huaicheng's understanding; when the master died and Shishuang Chuyuan became the new abbot, Huinan studied under him and attained enlightenment at the age of thirty-five. After succeeding to Shishuang's dharma he left on an extended pilgrimage, residing at many temples and even undergoing imprisonment for a time because of a fire at the temple Guizong si 歸宗寺. He eventually settled on Mount Huanglong 黃龍 and there taught the distinctive style of koan-centered Chan that became known as the Huanglong line. Although this lineage lasted only about 150 years, it was historically significant as the first of the Chan lineages to be transmitted to Japan, by the Japanese Tendai priest Myōan Yōsai (Eisai) 明庵榮西 (1141–1215).

56. Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958) was a native of Zhejiang 浙江; his family name was Lu 魯. He was ordained at the age of seven and excelled in the Confucian classics and Buddhist sutras, particularly the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. His first Chan master was Changqing Huileng 長慶慧稜 (854–932), a disciple of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峯義存 (822–908). Later, while taking shelter at the monastery of Luohan Guichen 羅漢桂琛 (869–928), he was asked by the master where he was going. "I'm on pilgrimage," replied Fayan. "What's the use of pilgrimage?" Luohan asked. "I don't know," answered Fayan. "Not knowing is closest!" responded Luohan. Fayan stayed with Luohan and eventually succeeded to his dharma. After a period of wandering, he was invited to live at the temple Chongshou yuan 崇壽院; later, under the patronage of Li Jing 李璟 (916–961), the self-styled "Lord of Jiangnan" 江南國主, he resided first at Bao'en chanyuan 報恩禪院 and then at Qingliang yuan 清涼院 in Jinling 金陵, where, as a popular teacher in the lineage of Deshan Xuanjian, he never had less than a thousand students. He is recognized as the founder of the Fayan 法眼 school of Chan.

57. The XG, in its section on Bodhidharma, after quoting the complete text of the *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (Discourse on the two entrances and the four practices), states, "By this teaching Bodhidharma converted the land of Wei. Those who understood the truth followed it and attained awakening. His words and instructions were recorded and the rolls spread abroad in the world" (T 50: 551c). One of the earliest extant works on Chan history, the *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the masters and disciples of the Laṅka school), compiled in 720–730 by Jingjue 淨覺 (683–760?) and found at Dunhuang, reports in its section on Bodhidharma:

> These four practices were explained by Bodhidharma personally. As for other matters, the disciple Tanlin 曇林 recorded the master's words and sermons. These were collected in one volume, entitled *Damo lun* 達磨論 (Discourses of Bodhidharma). For the sake of those who practiced meditation, Master Bodhidharma also explained the cardinal meaning of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*. This one roll contained twelve or thirteen sheets and was also called *Damo lun*. These two works were completely harmonious in style and principle. They circulated freely in the world. (T 85: 1285b)

The above two works indicate that some kind of collection of Bodhidharma's words did exist at an early time. However, the fact that such works as the *Erru sixing lun*, attributed, correctly or incorrectly, to Bodhidharma, are all written in the literary

style rather than the spoken language means that they cannot correctly be classified as "recorded sayings." On the other hand, the text of the collection of questions and answers appended to the Dunhuang *Erru sixing lun* contain many passages in the spoken language of the time, and may therefore be regarded as a very early example of "recorded sayings." Whether or not it is composed of Bodhidharma's actual words is, of course, another matter.

58. Daoxin 道信 (580–651) is said to have been a native of Henei 河內 in Henan with the surname Sima 司馬, to have left home at the age of seven, and, at fourteen, to have become a disciple of the Third Patriarch, Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606?), from whom he received transmission after nine years. He later lived in Jizhou 吉州, where he is said to have saved the city during a rebel seige by telling the populace to recite the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*. In 624, after a period of wandering (some records have him studying at Dalin si 大林寺 on Mount Lu 廬), Daoxin went to Huangmeixian 黃梅縣 in Qizhou 蘄州, Hubei, and there resided on Mount Potou 破頭. He attracted numerous followers, over five hundred according to some of the biographies, the first time in China that such a large group had assembled for the purpose of Chan study under a single teacher. It is said that he never left the mountain for the remaining thirty years of his life. Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 627–649) summoned Daoxin to the capital several times, but he refused to leave his mountain retreat though threatened with death for his disobedience. Later Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 763–779) bestowed upon him the posthumous title of Chan Master Dayi 大醫禪師.

59. Hongren 弘忍 (601–674) was born in Huangmei 黃梅 in Qizhou 蘄州, Hubei; his surname was Zhou 周. It is said that the Fourth Patriarch, Daoxin, was once traveling through the Zhou family's neighborhood and noticed Hongren, then a boy of six or seven, and, recognizing the child's unusual nature, requested his parents to allow him to become a monk. Said to have been quiet and unusually diligent in both work and meditation, Hongren studied under Daoxin and eventually succeeded to his dharma. He spent the rest of his life on Mount Huangmei 黃梅, where Daoxin had lived before him, and, it is said, had over seven hundred monks studying under him at the temple Dongshan si 東山寺. Among the most famous were Shenxiu and Huineng (see notes 60 and 61, below). Emperor Daizong bestowed upon him the posthumous title of Chan Master Daman 大滿禪師.

60. Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), also called Daoxiu 道秀, was a native of Weishixian 尉氏縣 in present Henan, with the family name Li 李. At the age of twenty he received the precepts at the temple Tiangong si 天宮寺 in Luoyang. He appears to have been scholarly by nature—even while making a deep study of the Tripiṭaka, he continued the study of Confucianism and Taoism begun in his youth. He was nearly fifty when he first visited Hongren, with whom he remained for six years. Even after departing from Mount Huangmei following the completion of his practice under Hongren, he subjected himself to rigorous self-discipline for another fifteen or sixteen years.

In the Yifeng 儀鳳 era (676–678) Shenxiu registered as a member of the community at the Tiantai temple Yuquan si 玉泉寺 on Mount Dangyang 當陽 in Jingzhou 荊州. To the east of the temple he built himself a hermitage and there continued his ascetic practices. He appears to have been a gifted teacher; gradually students sought him out, and in 700, at the age of ninety-four, he was summoned to the capital by Empress Wu 武后 (625–705) and asked to preach before the court. He spent the remaining six years of his life in Luoyang. Soon after his death at the age of 101 he received the posthumous title

Chan Master Datong 大通禪師. This was the first time that the title 禪師 (Chan master, meditation master), had ever been conferred. Shenxiu left a number of distinguished disciples, who promulgated the teachings of their master in and around the two capitals of Luoyang and Chang'an, at first with great success. Later, however, their lineage—known as the Northern school—came under attack by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (see note 62, below), principally because of its doctrine of "gradual enlightenment" 漸悟, which Shenhui contrasted to the "sudden enlightenment" 頓悟 advocated by the Southern school of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. Shenxiu was the author of the *Da Huayan jing shu* 大華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*) and the *Miaoli yuancheng guan* 妙理圓成觀 (Contemplation of the mysterious principle and the perfectly accomplished), both of which are no longer extant. The *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on contemplating mind) is attributed to him, as are parts of the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men*, which gives expression to the philosophical views of the Northern school.

61. Huineng 慧能 (638–713) is considered the predecessor of the so-called "Patriarch Chan" 祖師禪 that developed during the Tang dynasty. The information on Huineng contained in the traditional Chan biographies is often contradictory, and much of it appears to have no historical foundation. The sketch of his life that follows is based upon as reliable information as is available, along with the best known of the legendary material.

Huineng's family name was Lu 盧; his forebears were native to Fanyang 范陽 in modern Hebei. After his father, a minor official, was banished to the south, the family lived in Xinzhou 新州 in present Guangdong. His father died while Huineng was only three, leaving the boy under the care of his mother; as he grew older he sold firewood to help support her. One day as he entered the city with his firewood he heard someone reciting a sutra and was deeply struck by the line, "Give rise to the mind that does not abide in anything." Hearing that the text was the *Diamond Sutra*, and that the reciter had received it from the Chan master Hongren, Huineng headed north to Hongren's monastery on Mount Huangmei. Upon meeting him, Hongren commented, "A barbarian from the south can never become a buddha." Huineng responded, "There is no north and south in buddha-nature." Hongren, sensing his ability, directed him to start work as a lay laborer 行者 threshing rice for the monastery.

One day Hongren asked the monks to write verses expressing their understanding so that he might choose a worthy successor. Shenxiu, the head monk, posted his verse at midnight on a wall: "The body is the Bodhi tree / The mind is like a clear mirror's stand / At all times strive to polish it / And let no dust collect." Huineng heard another monk reciting Shenxiu's verses and, recognizing their inadequacy, had someone post the following verse: "Originally there is no tree of enlightenment / Nor is there a stand with a clear mirror / From the beginning not a single thing exists / Where is there for dust to collect?" Hongren, seeing the profound insight of these verses but fearful that Huineng might be hurt by jealous supporters of Shenxiu, withheld his praise. At midnight, however, he summoned the layman, handed him the robe and bowl symbolizing transmission of the patriarchate, and ordered him to flee south. There for some sixteen years Huineng led a secluded life in the mountains. In 676 Huineng went to the temple Faxing si 法性寺 in Guangzhou 廣州, where he met Dharma Master Yinzong 印宗法師 (627–713), who shaved Huineng's head and gave him the full precepts. The following year he went to stay at Baolin si 寶林寺, a temple in the mountains at Caoxi 曹溪. Soon after this the local prefect, Wei Ju (see note 64), invited Huineng to preach at the temple Dafan si 大梵寺 in the city of Shaozhou 韶州, modern Canton. In time the master's fame spread to

the imperial court, and in 705 he was summoned to Luoyang by Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (656–710). The master refused on the plea of ill health, and spent the rest of his life at Baolin si and Dafan si. The posthumous title Chan Master Dajian (Great Mirror) 大鑑禪師 was conferred upon him by Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820). The lists of the master's ten great heirs given in the early editions of the *Platform Sutra*, curiously enough, do not mention Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi, the disciples who gave rise to the later Five Houses of Chan.

62. Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) was born in Xiangyang 襄陽, in present Hubei; his surname was Gao 高, or, according to some texts, Wan 萬. He studied Confucianism and Taoism as a youth but decided to become a monk after reading about Buddhism in the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Chronicles of the Later Han). He first studied for three years under Shenxiu in Jingzhou; after Shenxiu's departure for the capital in 701, he went south to Caoxi and trained under Huineng for the remainder of the latter's life. In 720 Shenhui moved, on imperial order, to the temple Longxing si 龍興寺 in Nanyang, in modern Henan, where he had close contacts with several distinguished scholar-officials, among them the great poet Wang Wei 王維 (699–759). From 730 Shenhui engaged in public debates over the course of several years with Chongyuan 崇遠 (n.d.), a monk of the Northern school, at the temple Dayun si 大雲寺 in Huatai 滑臺, present Hebei. Shenhui criticized the "gradual" teachings of the Northern school and vigorously upheld the Southern school's "sudden" teachings.

In 745, having been invited by Song Ding 宋鼎 (n.d.), the vice-minister of the army, to take up residence at the temple Heze si 荷澤寺 in Luoyang, Shenhui was afforded the opportunity of spreading his views in the capital. Shortly after this, however, on the basis of false evidence, he was removed from his position by the censor Lu Yi 盧奕 (n.d.), an ardent adherent of the Northern school, and sent to Yiyang 弋陽 in Raozhou 饒州, in present Jiangxi. Later, during the An Lushan rebellion in 755, the central government found itself in serious financial straits. Shenhui, who at that time was residing at Kaiyuan si 開元寺 in Jingzhou, advised the government to establish ordination platforms and sell ordination certificates. This method of fundraising was so successful that, in appreciation, the government called Shenhui back to his former temple Heze si in Luoyang, from where he was summoned to the court by Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762). Under imperial patronage Shenhui spent the rest of his life championing the cause of the Southern school. By imperial order his tomb was constructed at Longmen 龍門, and the temple Baoying si 寶應寺 was established there in his honor. In 770 Emperor Daizong conferred upon him the title of Great Teacher Bore (Prajñā) 般若大師, and presented to his tomb a plaque bearing the inscription 眞宗般若傳法之堂, "Hall of the prajñā dharma transmission of the true school." In 796 Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805) granted Shenhui the posthumous title of Seventh Patriarch.

Shenhui had many disciples, both lay and ordained. His school of Chan, which even in his time appears to have been known as the Southern school, was first called the Heze 荷澤 school by Guifeng Zongmi, the fifth and last patriarch of the school. In the past the only known work by Shenhui was the *Xianzong ji (Dunwu wusheng bore song)* 顯宗記(頓悟無生般若頌) (Verses on sudden awakening to the wisdom of no-birth), but several additional records were discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts, including the *Nanyang heshang wenda zazheng yi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義 (The priest of Nanyang's question-and-answer examination of various points of doctrine); the *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliaoxing tanyu*, mentioned in the text above; and the *Puti-*

*damo nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達磨南宗定是非論 (Treatise establishing the true and false according to the Southern school of Bodhidharma), recording the debates with Chongyuan at Dayun si, and edited by Shenhui's lay disciple Dugu Pei 獨孤沛.

63. 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖慧能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經兼受無相戒弘法弟子法界集記.

64. Wei Ju 韋璩 (also 葦據 or 韋據; n.d.). The *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Chronicles of the dharma treasure), in stating that Wei Ju wrote a memorial inscription for Huineng, gives his title as "Assistant in the Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices" 大常寺丞 (T 51: 182c). The *Heze Shenhui Chanshi yulu* 荷澤神會禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Heze Shenhui), while agreeing that Wei wrote the Memorial Inscription, gives him the title "Assistant in the Imperial Household Service Department" 殿中丞 (SUZUKI AND KŌDA 1934, 63). However, the *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通誌 (Comprehensive gazetteer of Guangdong) states that Wei Ju became prefect of Shaozhou 韶州 in 713, the year of Huineng's death. This suggests that at the time Wei invited Huineng to speak at Dafan si he was a minor official, but that when the *Platform Sutra* was actually compiled—that is, sometime after the master's death in 713—he had been elevated to the post of prefect, and hence was given this title throughout the text.

65. Nothing is known of Fahai 法海 (n.d.) other than what is contained in the concluding section of the Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, where it is written, "This *Platform Sutra* was compiled by the head monk Fahai, who, on his death, entrusted it to his fellow student Daocan 道璨.... This priest was originally a native of Qujiangxian 曲江縣 in Shaozhou." (T 48: 345b). Presumably the "priest" referred to here is Fahai; at least the writer of Fahai's biography in the JC seems to have thought so. Other biographical information on Fahai, such as that in the QT 915 or the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sutra*, is of no value as history, although a preface by Fahai is appended to the latter (T 48: 362b). Fahai may have been the monk Zhihai 智海 (n.d.), a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch (T 51: 182c).

66. For example, ZJ 15, in the section on Dong si 東寺 (n.d.), states, "After his master Daji (Mazu Daoyi) died, [Dongsi] constantly worried lest men who had an interest in such matters and recorded Daji's *yuben* 語本 would not be able to cast off the unessentials and grasp the master's meaning." Again, in the memorial tower inscription for Baizhang Huaihai composed by Chen Xu 陳詡 (n.d.) in QT 446 we find, "[Baizhang's] disciples Shenxing 神行 (n.d.) and Fanyun 梵雲 (n.d.) gathered together his subtle words and compiled them into a book of sayings (*yuben*)."

67. This work is probably identical with the *Baizhangshan heshang yaojue* 百丈山和尚要訣 (Essential secrets of the priest of Mount Baizhang), one of the works on the lists of books reported to have been brought back to Japan from Tang China by the Japanese monks Ennin and Enchin 圓珍 (814–891). Another work on these lists is the *Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (Oral teachings of Ven. Nanyang Zhong). None of the books on the lists, however, contained the term *yulu* in their title.

68. Among such works may be mentioned the *Yichuan xiansheng yu* 伊川先生語 (Sayings of Master Yichuan), about Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107); the *Shangcai yulu* 上蔡語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shangcai), about Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050–1103); and the *Zhu Zi yulu* 朱子語錄 (Recorded sayings of Zhu Zi), about Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).

69. Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (d. 1038) was originally named Li Xu 李勗, but upon receiving an imperial princess for his wife he was given by Emperor Zhenzong 眞宗 (r. 997–1022) the

epithet "Zun" 遵, meaning "obedient," to be added to his personal name. He held a series of posts in the provincial administration and was an enthusiastic supporter of Linji Chan, being a disciple of Guyin Yuncong (see following note) and a friend of Shishuang Chuyuan (see note 53).

70. Guyin Yuncong 谷隱蘊聰 (965–1032) was a dharma heir of Shoushan Shengnian (see note 51, above). After a period of travel, Guyin took up residence at the temple Taipingxingguo chanyuan 太平興國禪院 at Mount Guyin 谷隱 in present Hubei. His disciples included a number of prominent officials, among them Li Zunxu, who composed a memorial inscription for Guyin, found in TG 17.

71. The existing *Sijia yulu* records the sayings of Mazu, Baizhang, Huangbo, and Linji, but was compiled in the late Ming and may have no connection with the earlier work of the same name.

72. Yuanjue Zongyan 圓覺宗演 (n.d.) was a native of Enzhou 恩州 in Hebei; his lay name was Cui 崔. After becoming a monk he studied Chan under Yuanfeng Qingman 元豐清滿. He resided at Mount Xuefeng 雪峰 in Fuzhou, but also lectured at the court. He received the title Chan Master Yuanjue 圓覺禪師 from Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125).

73. Little is known of Muan Shanqing 睦庵善卿. The *Zuting shiyuan* was completed in 1108.

74. Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135) was born in Pengzhou 彭州 in present Sichuan; his family name was Luo 駱. It is said that as a child he could memorize a thousand-character passage in a single day. He became a monk in his early teens after reading Buddhist texts at a temple and feeling a sudden affinity with the teachings. After studying the precepts and scriptures he suffered a grave illness, thus realizing the futility of attempting to resolve samsara through words. He visited several masters and was praised everywhere as a great vessel of the dharma. He finally came to Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?–1104) of the Yangqi line of Linji Chan. When Fayan refused to sanction his understanding Yuanwu left in anger, upon which Fayan called after him, "Remember me when you are ill with fever!" Soon afterwards, at the monastery on Mount Jin 金, he did, in fact, become gravely ill, and, upon recovery, returned to study under Fayan. After years of training he became Fayan's heir. In 1102, owing to the illness of his mother, he returned to Sichuan. There he assumed the abbacy of the temple Zhaojue si 昭覺寺 at the invitation of the prefect of Chengdu 成都. After eight years he was asked to become priest of Lingquan yuan 靈泉院 on Mount Jia 夾, and it was there that he gave his famous lectures on the *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古, a collection of verse commentaries on koans by Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052) of the Yunmen school. Yuanwu's lectures were later published as the *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (Blue cliff record), which became one of the most important texts for Linji school koan study.

Yuanwu was very successful as a teacher, numbering among his students not only monks but also lay practicers, some of them high government officials. He was granted the title Chan Master Foguo 佛果禪師 by Emperor Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1125), and by imperial command resided at several temples in the north and (following relocation of the capital to the city of Hangzhou in 1127) in the south. The title Chan Master Yuanwu 圜悟禪師, by which he has been generally known ever since, was conferred upon him by Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162). In 1130 Yuanwu returned to the temple Zhaojue si, and there, in 1135, died in the sitting posture after writing his farewell poem. The two most important of his sixteen dharma heirs were Dahui Zonggao (see following note)

and Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (1077–1136), whose line includes all Japanese Rinzai Zen masters.

75. Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) was born in Xuancheng 宣城 in present-day Anwei; his family name was Xi 奚. He left home at the age of sixteen and entered Huiyun si 慧雲寺, a temple on Mount Dong 東, where he was ordained the following year. From early on, after reading the *Yunmen guanglu* 雲門廣錄 (Extensive record of Yunmen), he felt a special sense of relationship with Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949). During an extensive pilgrimage Dahui studied under some of the important Caodong masters of his time, and, later, under Zhantang Wenzhun 湛堂文準 (1061–1115) of the Huanglong line of Linji Chan. Following Wenzhun's death, Dahui, on Wenzhun's deathbed advice, joined the assembly under Yuanwu Keqin at the temple Tianning Wanshou si 天寧萬壽寺 in the capital, Bianliang 汴梁, in modern Kaifeng. One day during a lecture Yuanwu said, "A monk asked Yunmen, 'What is the place from which all Buddhas come?' Yunmen replied, 'East Mountain walks on the water.' But if I were asked the same question I would simply say, 'A fragrant breeze comes from the south, and in the palace a refreshing coolness stirs." At these words Dahui was greatly enlightened. Dahui eventually became Yuanwu's dharma-heir and succeeded him as master of the monastery. His renown soon spread as far as the capital; in 1126 he was given a purple robe and an honorary name, Fori 佛日, by Lü Shun 呂舜 (n.d.), Minister of the Right.

When the Northern Song dynasty fell to the invading Jurchens in 1127, Dahui fled south and lived for a time with his teacher Yuanwu, then residing at the temple Zhenru yuan 眞如院 on Mount Yunju 雲居. Following Yuanwu's return to Sichuan in 1130, Dahui built a hermitage on the mountain where a Yunmen temple had formerly stood, and soon attracted a large following. He later moved to Yunmen an 雲門庵 in modern Fujian. In 1137, at the invitation of the prime minister, Zhang Jun 張浚 (a former student of Yuanwu), he went to Mount Jing 徑 near the city of Hangzhou 杭州. The assembly under him there is said to have numbered over two thousand. In 1141 Dahui was laicized for advocating armed resistance against the Jurchen invaders of the Northern Song. He retired to Hengyang 衡陽 in modern Hunan and there wrote his *Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye). In 1150 he moved to Meiyang 梅陽 in modern Guangdong, then in the midst of a plague that eventually took the lives of half of his students. He devoted himself to helping the populace, remaining even after he was officially pardoned in 1155, until in 1158 he returned to Mount Jing on imperial command. There he soon attracted an assembly of about 1,700 students and received the patronage of Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–1189). He died in 1163, leaving ninety-four Dharma heirs. He was granted the posthumous title Chan Master Pujue 普覺禪師.

Two of the best-known aspects of Dahui's teaching are his opposition to what he called the "silent-illumination false Chan" 默照邪禪 of the Caodong school, and his promotion of "koan-introspecting Chan" 看話禪, which from his time on came to characterize the practice of the Linji school. His ongoing debate with the eminent Caodong master Hongzhi Zhengjue 宏智正覺 (1091–1157) on the subject of silent illumination versus koan work is famous in Zen circles.

76. See note 49, above.

77. Of Sengting Shouze 僧挺守賾 nothing is known.

78. Of Huishi Shiming 晦室師明 nothing is known.

79. Haiyun Yinjian 海雲印簡 (1202–1257) was a native of Ningyuan 寧遠 in present Shanxi; his family name was Song 宋. He was ordained under Zhongguan Zhao 中觀

沼 and received the full precepts at the age of eleven. Yinjian was still thirteen when Chinggis Khan's armies conquered large parts of northern China. At the age of eighteen Yinjian accompanied Zhongguan north with the Mongol army. After Zhongguan's death the following year Yinjian set off for Yanjing 燕京 (present-day Beijing). He is said to have attained enlightenment on the way when he took refuge from a rainstorm under a cliff and saw a flash of lightning. Upon arriving in Yanjing, Yinjian went to the temple Daqing si 大慶寺 to meet Zhonghe Zhang 中和璋, a sixteenth-generation heir of Linji. Zhonghe accepted him as a student and in time designated him a dharma successor. Later, under the patronage of the Yuan court, Yinjian was appointed priest to a number of temples, including Zhonghe's temple Daqing si.

80. Xuetang Puren 雪堂普仁 was a thirteenth-generation heir of Fenyang Shanzhao (see note 52).

81. Linquan Conglun 林泉從倫 (n.d.) was a dharma heir of Wansong Xingxiu 萬松行秀 (1166–1246), the master at the temple Bao'en si 寶恩寺 in Yanjing 燕京 (present-day Beijing), and served as Wansong's successor at Bao'en si upon the latter's death. In 1268 he was invited to the court to lecture on Buddhism. A famous leader of the Caodong school, Linquan was the compiler of the koan commentaries *Konggu ji* 空谷集 (Empty valley anthology) and *Xutang ji* 虛堂集 (Empty hall anthology).

82. Guo Tianxi 郭天錫 was a well-known writer and painter of the period who, at least at the time he wrote his preface, held a government post. The information in his preface indicates that he lived from 1286 to 1341, though there is reason to doubt these dates.

83. Of Wufeng Puxiu 五峯普秀 nothing is known.

84. Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388), also known as Kūge Dōjin 空華道人, was a native of Nagaoka 長岡 in Tosa 土佐, present-day Kōchi Prefecture 高知県. A member of the Taira 平 family, he was ordained at fourteen, receiving the precepts on Mount Hiei 比叡 near present-day Kyoto. At seventeen he entered the temple Rinsen-ji 臨川寺 in the western outskirts of the city to study under the Zen master Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351). After completing his training he attempted to visit China, but was prevented from going by illness. Following further training under Ryūzan Tokken 龍山德見 (1284–1358) of Kennin-ji 建仁寺, he resided for over twenty years at Enpuku-ji 圓福寺, Zenpuku-ji 禪福寺, and Hōon-ji 報恩寺, all temples in Kamakura 鎌倉, which had been the capital of the shogunate during the Kamakura period (1185–1333). He was invited by the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義滿 (1358–1408), to return to Kyoto, where he served as the chief abbot of such important temples as Kennin-ji and Nanzen-ji 南禪寺. Shūshin collected and classified several thousand poems by Song- and Yuan-dynasty Chan monks, which he compiled in a ten-fascicle work called the *Jōwa ruishu soon renpōshū* 貞和類聚祖苑聯芳集 (Jōwa-era collection of verse from the ancestral garden). He also wrote much poetry of his own, and is one of the most famous figures of the Five Mountains 五山 literary movement. His biography, the *Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū* 空華日用工夫略集 (Short collection of Kūge's daily thoughts), was compiled by Gidō's successors on the basis of the diaries that the master kept throughout his life.

85. Shinchi Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298) was a native of Shinshū 信州 (present Nagano Prefecture); his family name was Tsunezumi 常澄. He entered the temple at eighteen, and at twenty-nine received the full precepts at Tōdai-ji 東大寺 in the ancient capital of Nara. He then studied esoteric Buddhism on Mount Kōya 高野, headquarters of the Japanese Shingon 眞言 school, where he also met the Rinzai Zen master Taikō

Gyōyū 退耕行勇 (1163–1241). He practiced Zen under Gyōyū from 1239 to 1241 at Kongō-zanmai-in 金剛三昧院 on Mount Kōya and Jufuku-ji 壽福寺 in Kamakura. He took the bodhisattva precepts under Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (see note 86) at Gokuraku-ji 極樂寺 in Fukakusa 深草, then studied under several other Zen masters before embarking for China in 1249. After finding that Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1177–1249), the master he had hoped to study under, was no longer alive, Kakushin set out on a pilgrimage, visiting various important Buddhist centers until a fellow Japanese monk named Genshin 源信 directed him to Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (J., Mumon Ekai; 1183–1260), master of the temple Huguo Renwang si 護國仁王寺, near the city of Hangzhou 杭州 in present-day Zhejiang. In a well-known story, Kakushin, when asked by Wumen, "My place has no gate; how did you get in?" answered, "I entered from no-gate (*wumen*)." After a mere six months Kakushin received dharma transmission from Wumen, along with the gifts of a robe, a portrait of Wumen, and the *Wumen guan* 無門關 (Jap., *Mumonkan*), a collection of koans compiled by Wumen that has remained a central text in Japanese Rinzai koan study.

Following his return to Japan in 1254 Kakushin first resided on Mount Kōya, then became abbot of the temple Saihō-ji 西方寺 (later called Kōkoku-ji 興國寺) in Yura 由良, in the province of Kii 紀伊, present Wakayama Prefecture 和歌山県. There he remained until his death in 1298, interrupted only by short intervals to serve, by imperial invitation, as the abbot of the Zen temples Zenrin-ji 禪林寺 and Myōkō-ji 妙光寺 in Kyoto. He often lectured before the emperors Kameyama 龜山 (r. 1259–1274) and Go-Uda 後宇多 (r. 1274–1287). During his lifetime Kakushin received from Kameyama the honorary title Zen Master Hattō 法燈禪師, and following his death he was designated National Teacher Hottō Enmyō 法燈圓明國師 by Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐 (r. 1319–1339). Kakushin's lineage, the Hottō 法燈 (or Hattō) line of Rinzai Zen, continued for a number of generations and included the important Japanese master Bassui Tokushō 拔隊得勝 (1327–1387). Kakushin is also regarded as the founder of the Japanese Fuke school 普化宗, a tradition of largely lay practicers who wandered about the country playing the *shakuhachi* 尺八, a bamboo flute whose music was regarded as an aid to enlightenment.

86. Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253) was born in Kyoto to an aristocratic family. Both of his parents having died when he was still a child, Dōgen left home at the age of twelve and became a monk on Mount Hiei the following year. Later he turned his attention to the Zen school, and became a disciple of the Rinzai master Myōzen 明全 (1184–1225), the successor of Myōan Yōsai (Eisai) 明菴榮西 (1141–1215) at Kennin-ji in Kyoto. In 1223 Dōgen, together with Myōzen, traveled to China. After some wanderings Dōgen became a student under the Caodong master Changweng Rujing 長翁如淨 (J., Chōō Nyojō; 1163–1228) on Mount Tiantong 天童 in present-day Zhejiang. After receiving dharma transmission from Rujing he returned to Japan in 1227 and resided for a time at Kennin-ji. In 1229 he moved to the temple An'yō-in 安養院 in Fukakusa 深草, south of Kyoto, and in 1233 to Kannondōri-in Kōshō-ji 觀音導利院興聖寺 in Yamashiro 山城. In 1243, after ten years at Kōshō-ji, Dōgen moved north to the province of Echizen 越前, present Fukui Prefecture 福井県, where he built the great temple Eihei-ji 永平寺. There he worked to spread the teachings of Zen and to train students according to his understanding of what he had learned under his teacher in China. He was a prolific writer; among his most important works are the *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye), *Eihei kōroku* 永平廣錄 (Comprehensive records of Eihei), and *Eihei shingi* 永平清規 (Monastic regulations of Eihei). He is honored as the founder of the Japanese

Sōtō school, and was posthumously granted the titles National Teacher Busshō Dentō 佛性傳東國師 and Great Teacher Shōyō 承陽大師.

87. Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (J., Rankei Dōryū; 1213–1278), a native of the Sichuan region of China, entered temple life at the age of thirteen. He studied under the masters Wuzhun Shifan 無準師範 (1177–1249), Chijue Daochong 痴絶道冲 (1169–1250), and others, and succeeded to the dharma of Wuming Huixing 無明慧性 (1162–1237). In 1246 he and several of his disciples came to Japan, first to the southern island of Kyūshū and later, at the invitation of the regent Hōjō Tokiyori 北條時賴 (1227–1263), to the city of Kamakura, the capital of the shogunate. There in 1253 he was named founding priest of Kenchō-ji 建長寺, Japan's first true Rinzai Zen monastery. Later Lanxi moved to Kyoto and was appointed abbot of Kennin-ji 建仁寺, Yōsai's part-Zen, part-Tendai temple that Lanxi succeeded in turning into a center of pure Zen training. He subsequently returned to Kamakura and served again as the abbot of Kenchō-ji and other temples. Following his death he was granted the posthumous title Zen Master Daikaku 大覺禪師, the first time anyone in Japan had received the "meditation master" (*zenji* 禪師) title.

88. Myōshū 妙秀 (n.d.). Almost nothing is known of this figure.

89. Mujaku Ryōen 無著良緣 (n.d.) practiced Zen under Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (see following note) at the temple Nanzen-ji 南禪寺 in Kyoto. After receiving dharma transmission from Yishan he traveled to China and there remained for twenty years studying under Gulin Qingmao 古林清茂 (1262–1329), Yishan Liaowan 一山了萬 (d. 1312), and Qingzhuo Zhengcheng 清拙正澄 (1274–1339). When Zhengcheng went to Japan and was named abbot of the temple Kenchō-ji, Mujaku entered Kenchō-ji and was appointed head monk. Subsequently he was called to Kyoto and appointed abbot of Saizen-ji 西禪寺. It is not known at what period of his life he established Shōun-an at Kennin-ji.

90. Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (J., Issan Ichinei; 1247–1317) was a native of Taizhou 臺州 in present-day Zhejiang, with the family name Hu 胡. Yining entered the temple Hongfu si 鴻福寺 while still a child and, following full ordination at Puguang si 普光寺, studied the teachings of the Vinaya and Tiantai schools. Turning to Chan, he trained under a number of masters and became the dharma heir of Wanji Xingmi 頑極行彌. After serving as abbot at several temples in China he was given the honorary title of Great Teacher Miaoci Hongji 妙慈弘濟大師 by the Yuan emperor Chengzong 成宗 (r. 1294–1307).

In 1299, at the order of the Yuan court, he came to Japan as part of a delegation to discuss peace negotiations between China and Japan. Although the delegation was at first detained by the Kamakura regent Hōjō Sadatoki 北條貞時 (1271–1311) on suspicion of spying, Yining was ultimately shown great favor by Sadatoki, who allowed him to reside at the Kamakura Zen temples Kenchō-ji 建長寺, Engaku-ji 圓覺寺, and Jōchi-ji 淨智寺. In 1313 he was invited by Emperor Go-Uda 後宇多 (r. 1274–1287) to become abbot of Nanzen-ji 南禪寺 in Kyoto, where he served as a popular teacher of students both lay and ordained until his death in 1317.

91. Yinyuan Longqi 隱元隆琦 (J., Ingen Ryūki; 1592–1673) was a native of Fuqing 福清 in present-day Fujian; his family name was Lin 林. In his early life he was a farmer, but began spiritual training at age twenty-three following a religious experience one night while sitting under a tree. At twenty-nine he became a monk at the temple Huangbo Wanfu si 黃檗萬福寺, then studied under a number of masters before receiving the "mind-seal" 心印 from Miyun Yuanwu 密雲圓悟 (1566–1642). When Miyun's student Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (1593–1661) assumed the abbacy of Huangbo Wanfu si, Yinyuan became head monk under him and later was named Feiyin's dharma successor. Yinyuan

subsequently served as abbot of several temples, including Wanfu si, where he oversaw the final stages of restoration. In 1654 he departed for Japan, landing in Nagasaki 長崎 on the island of Kyūshū. There he became abbot of Kōfuku-ji 興福寺, and the following year of nearby Sōfuku-ji 崇福寺 as well, serving both positions simultaneously. Later the same year he was named abbot of Fumon-ji 普門寺 in present-day Osaka. In 1661, with the support of the shogunate, construction began on a temple in Uji 宇治, just south of Kyoto, to serve as a base for Yinyuan's efforts to spread the teachings of Ming-dynasty Chan. Yinyuan gave to the new institution the temple-name Manpuku-ji 萬福寺 and the mountain-name Ōbaku-san 黃檗山, in honor of the community he had left behind in China. Manpuku-ji was designed according to contemporary Chinese temple architecture, and its rule followed the monastic code of its namesake in China. In 1664 Yinyuan, already advanced in age, retired in favor of his disciple Muan Xingtao 木菴性瑫 (J., Mokuan Shōtō; 1611–1684), but continued to actively participate in temple affairs from his hermitage, Shōin-dō 松隱堂, on the grounds of Manpuku-ji.

92. Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744) was a native of the Tanba 但馬 area, in present-day Hyōgo Prefecture 兵庫県. Placed in a local temple at the age of seven, at age nine he was taken to Kyoto to live at Ryūge-in 龍華院, a subtemple of Myōshin-ji 妙心寺, where he was raised by the priest Jikuin Somon 竺印祖門. From the age of seventeen he embarked on an extended pilgrimage during which he studied under various masters. Upon Jikuin's death in 1678, Mujaku, then twenty-five, assumed the priesthood of Ryūge-in. In 1707, after further Zen studies, he became the thirty-fourth abbot of Myōshin-ji at the age of fifty-five. Mujaku spent much of his time lecturing on Buddhist texts and did a vast amount of critical scholarly work, leaving at his death a body of writings said to number 661 volumes (*kan* 卷). His commentaries on the LL, the BL, and other major Zen works are regarded as his most important contributions, along with two dictionaries of Zen technical terms, the *Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋 (Notes on Zen implements) and the *Kattō gosen* 葛藤語箋 (Notes on Zen terminology).

# *Commentary*

鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄

住三聖嗣法小師慧然集

*The Recorded Sayings of Linji Huizhao Chanshi of Zhenzhou*

Compiled by his humble heir Huiran of Sansheng

DISCOURSES 上堂

I

府主王常侍、與諸官請師升座。師上堂云、山僧今日事不獲已、曲順人情、方登此座。若約祖宗門下、稱揚大事、直是開口不得、無爾措足處。山僧此日以常侍堅請、那隱綱宗。

The Prefectural Governor, Councilor Wang, along with the other officials, requested the master to address them. The master took the high seat in the Dharma Hall and said:

"Today, I, this mountain monk, having no choice in the matter, have perforce yielded to customary etiquette and taken this seat. If I were to demonstrate the Great Matter in strict keeping with the teaching of the ancestral school, I simply couldn't open my mouth and there wouldn't be any place for you to find footing. But since I've been so earnestly entreated today by the councilor, why should I conceal the essential doctrine of our school?

I

**Huizhao Chanshi** 慧照禪師, "Meditation Master of Illuminating Wisdom," is the imperially conferred posthumous title of the master usually known as Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄. The name Linji derives from Linji yuan 臨濟院, the master's temple on the Hutuo 滹沱 River in Zhenzhou 鎮州, an area in the central part of the present Hebei 河北 region. See the Introduction for additional biographical material; also ZD, 154–157.

**Huiran of Sansheng**. See page 100, n. 36.

**Prefectural Governor, Councilor Wang,** Fuzhu Wang Changshi 府主王常侍. See the Introduction, page 96, n. 20 for a discussion of his titles.

**To address** is a free translation of either 升座 or 上堂, both of which are terms meaning "to take the high seat in the hall";

see Introduction, page 79, for a further discussion of these terms. In the LL the terms are used interchangeably.

**Mountain monk** translates 山僧, a deprecatory term used by Chan monks to refer to themselves. Originally it appears to have signified monks who lived alone in the mountains, and not in communities. Early usages occur in the *Zhao lun* 肇論 (The treatises of Zhao), by Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), an eminent Chinese disciple of Kumārajīva (T 45: 155a; 155c), and in the section on Xuangao 玄高 (402–444) in the GZ (T 50: 397a). Later usages seem to refer also to monks lacking official ordination certificates. The section on Tanqian 曇遷 (542–607) in the XG contains the following passage:

> In the spring of [Kaihuang 開皇] 10 [590], the emperor [Wen 文帝] journeyed to Jinyang 晉陽 and commanded Jian to attend upon him…. The emperor said [to Tanqian], "Your disciple's journey has brought him here, and he has been informed that there are a great many self-ordained monks 私度山僧 who are requesting government licenses. I am desirous of granting certificates to them. What do you think of this? (T 50: 572c–573a)

As early as the early eighth century, however, "mountain monk" was being used by Chan monks as a self-deprecatory term, as seen in several poems of that period, e.g., the *Zhengdao ge* 證道歌 (Song of enlightenment; T 48: 396c), attributed to Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (663–713), a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch. The usage also appears in the *Guishan jingce* 溈山警策 (Guishan's admonitions) and in the section on Sikongshan Benjing 司空山本淨 (667–761) in the JC (see T 51: 242c; 243a).

**Customary etiquette** translates 人情, the usual meaning of which is "human feeling, sentiment, kindness," but which as an ancient colloquial expression meant "traditional custom" or "gifts given as an expression of goodwill" (see *Tongsu bian* 通俗編 9:180). In Tang colloquial language this term was often used as a verb.

**Great Matter** translates 大事, an important Buddhist term that derives from the following passage in the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra*: "All the buddhas, the world-honored ones, appear in the world only for one great matter 大事, one great cause" (T 9: 7a). In time, the term came to mean the fundamental truth of Buddhism, the teaching by which sentient beings are brought to salvation.

**Ancestral school** 祖宗 is the term used by Chan adherents to designate their tradition, since they regarded its distinctive feature to be its transmission of the ineffable buddha-mind from master to disciple through a long and unbroken lineage. According to tradition, this wordless transmission first took place when Śākyamuni held up a golden flower and his disciple Mahākāśyapa smiled in understanding. This incident, as related in WG case 6, is as follows:

> One day at the Vulture Peak Śākyamuni stood in front of the assembly and simply held up a flower. No one reacted except Mahākāśyapa, who smiled. At this the Buddha said, "I possess the Treasury of the True Dharma Eye, the Ineffable Mind of Nirvana, the True Form of the Formless, the Subtle Dharma Gate that does not depend on words and letters but is a special transmission outside the teachings. This I entrust to Mahākāśyapa." (T 48: 293c)

From Mahākāśyapa, the first Indian patriarch of Chan in the traditional lineage, the transmission continued from master to disciple until it reached Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch. From Bodhidharma, who is also regarded as the first patriarch in the Chinese line, the transmission was handed down to Bodhidharma's Chinese disciple Huike 慧可 (487–593) and through him down to

還有作家戰將、直下展陣開旗麼。對衆證據看。僧問、如何是佛法大意。師便喝。僧禮拜。師云、這箇師僧、卻堪持論。

Now, is there any adept warrior who forthwith can array his battle line and unfurl his banners here before me? Let him try proving himself before the assembly!"

A monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?" The master gave a shout. The monk bowed low.

"As an opponent in argument this young reverend is rather good," said the master.

Huineng 慧能 (638–713), the sixth Chinese patriarch. Though the traditional patriarchate as such ended with Huineng, the transmission continued from that master to his immediate heirs, and from them down to and beyond Linji's generation.

Though the transmission lines of successive Chinese masters had been established earlier, the BZ, compiled in 801 by Huiju 慧炬 (n.d.), was the first work in which the transmission was extended back through a lineage of Indian patriarchs to Śākyamuni himself (for more information on the patriarchal legend in Chan see, e.g., YANAGIDA 1967; YAMPOLSKY 1967; DUMOULIN 1988, 1990; MCRAE 1986, 2003).

**Essential doctrine** translates 綱宗, a term that might be more literally rendered as "main cord of our school." In Chan special emphasis is laid upon the 綱 (literally, the large rope that controls a net) since Chan sees itself as handling the "main cord" of the all-embracing net of Buddhist teaching, in which beings are caught and brought to salvation. In the section of ZJ 19 devoted to Linji we find, "Virtuous monks, for your sakes I have laid bare the cord of the doctrine 綱宗 in a few words." In Chan literature the term 提綱, "to lift up the cord," regularly refers to explaining the fundamental principle of Chan. Thus in the *Muzhou yulu* we find, "Someone asked, 'What is the cardinal meaning of the buddhadharma? I beg the master to explain 提綱.' Muzhou replied, 'Bring it to me and I will explain it 提綱 for you'" (X 68: 36a).

For further information on Muzhou, see Introduction, note 14.

**Adept** translates 作家, which, in the sense of "well-skilled," is a term almost exclusive to Chan. "Warrior" 戰將 as a metaphor for a Chan monk might reflect the dominant role of the military in Hebei during Linji's time.

**Let him try proving himself before the assembly.** The Chinese, 對衆證據看, should, according to Mujaku Dōchū, be read in Japanese as *shū ni taishite shōko seyo, min*, meaning, "Let him prove himself to the assembly and I will judge him." However, in the colloquial language of the Tang, 看 at the end of a sentence indicates that the sentence is in the imperative and thus means "do…," "let… do…," or "try to do…," depending upon the context. The complete form of this expression is usually 試…看. The following examples are from the *Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Anthology of Bai Juyi):

碧氈帳下紅爐畔、試爲來嘗一盞看 "Close to the glowing brazier under the blue woolen curtains / Please come and drink a cup of wine with me" (58, 招客, "Inviting a guest")

唯求造化力、試爲駐春看 "I'll just ask the

問、師唱誰家曲、宗風嗣阿誰。師云、我在黃檗處、三度發問、三度被打。僧擬議。師便喝、隨後打云、不可向虛空裏釘橛去也。

A monk asked, "Master, of what house is the tune you sing? To whose style of Chan do you succeed?"

The master said, "When I was staying with Huangbo I questioned him three times and was hit three times."

The monk hesitated. The master gave a shout and then struck him, saying, "You can't drive a stake into the empty sky."

power of creation / To halt for me the passing of spring (65, 寄李相公, "Visiting Councilor Li")

It should be noted, however, that occasionally this expression did not indicate the imperative but merely meant "try to…," as in:

偶因群動息、試撥一聲看 "Now that all stirrings have come to rest / I'll try plucking a tune" (55, 松下琴贈客, "Playing a lute for a guest under the pines")

**Buddhadharma** is a term that has a wide range of meanings, but in the present text it signifies the basic teaching or doctrine of Buddhism. The question asked here by the monk, "What is the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?", was one frequently used to open Chan dialogues. The answers of a number of famous Chan masters are recorded in the *Chanlin leiju* 禪林類聚 (Classified anthology of the Chan forest), fascicle 4 (X 67: 26c–28a).

**Gave a shout.** In Chan the function of the shout 喝 is to indicate a state beyond discrimination or words. Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) appears to have been the first master to purposely use the shout in this manner. The JC mentions that one day Mazu shouted at his disciple Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) during an exchange. Huaihai later said in a lecture, "The buddhadharma is no small matter. My teacher Mazu once shouted at me, and for three days afterwards I was deaf and blind" (T 51: 249c).

Huaihai transmitted the use of the shout to his own heir Huangbo Xiyun 黃蘗希運 (d. 850?), and Huangbo then transmitted it to Linji. From then on it became one of the defining characteristics of this lineage of Chan. Linji used it on many occasions; that he did not always employ it with the same intent is clear from his categorization of its use into four different types (see page 308, below). Today it is still among the important teaching devices used by Japanese Zen masters.

At first the characters 叱 or 咄 were used to indicate the shout, but soon its definitive form 喝 (C., *he*, J., *katsu*) came into use. This character is often translated to represent the actual sound of the shout (e.g., "He shouted, '*He*!'"), but the character simply means "to shout."

**Young reverend** 師僧 has here a certain sarcastic overtone that should not be overlooked.

**Of what house is the tune you sing** translates 誰家曲. The Chinese philologist Zhang Xiang, in dealing with the Tang colloquial compound 誰家, regards the character 家 as a mere suffix (ZHANG 1955, 348–350). In the present case, however, this compound cannot be considered a colloquialism. It is far more likely that

the visiting monk, in asking Linji to what school of Chan he belonged, drew his metaphor from the concept of transmission as it existed in the Chinese world of music. The schools of Chinese zither 琴 music had long been known as "houses" 家. During the Tang dynasty there were three representative houses, known as the Dongjia 董家, the Shenjia 沈家, and the Zhujia 祝家 (see the *Qin ji* 琴集 [Anthology of Qin music], as quoted in *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 [Anthology of *yuefu* songs] 59, by Guo Maoqing 郭茂清 of the Song dynasty; and in *Qin shi* 琴史 [History of zither music] 4, by Zhu Zhangwen 朱長文 [1041–1100]).

Referring to a Chan lineage as a "house" was not, of course, original with this particular monk. The *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the masters and disciples of the Laṅkā school) has the following passage in its section on the Chan master Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), the traditional founder of the Northern school of Chan:

> Empress Zetian Dasheng [Empress Wu of Tang, r. 685–704] questioned Chan Master Shenxiu, "Of what house 誰家 is the dharma that has been transmitted to you?"[The master] replied, "I have received the teaching of Dongshan 東山 of Qizhou 蘄州 [the Fifth Patriarch, Hongren 弘忍 (601–674)]." "Upon what scriptural authority does it depend?" asked the empress. The master said, "It depends upon the samādhi of one practice set forth in the *Wenshu shuo bore jing* 文殊說般若經 [Perfection of wisdom sutra as preached by Mañjuśrī; Skr., *Saptaśatikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*]." The empress said, "When we speak of the practice of the Way, none surpasses the teaching of Dongshan." (T 85: 1290b)

Over one hundred years later, Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of both the Huayan 華嚴 school and Chan's Heze 荷澤 school, described the Seven Houses 七家 of Chan and their respective teachings in fascicle 3 of his *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Large commentary on the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*).

And finally, considerably after Linji's time, perhaps during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there took place the definitive division of Chan into what were termed the Five Houses 五家, or five major teaching lines. See, for example, Dumoulin, 211–242).

**Huangbo.** See Introduction, note 12.

**I questioned him….** This episode is described in detail at the beginning of the "Record of Pilgimages" section (see pages 312–317, below), where, however, the account differs considerably from that found in the biography of Linji as recorded in the ZJ.

**Hesitate** 擬議. In colloquial Chinese 擬 means "to wish to…," "to be about to…," "to get ready to…," and is the equivalent of 欲 in classical Chinese. The compound 擬欲 is sometimes found in colloquial Tang Chinese.

**And then struck him** translates 隨後打, which is traditionally interpreted by Japanese commentators to mean "hit him on the back." Research on the colloquial language of the Tang, however, indicates that 隨後 is an expression meaning "immediately after."

**You can't drive a stake into the empty sky** 不可向虛空裏釘橛去也. This exchange is identical to one in the JC between two contemporaries of Linji: Ezhou Zhuyushan 鄂州茱萸山 (n.d.), a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835), and Ven. Kuan 觀 (n.d.), a disciple of Xuefeng Yicun 雪峯義存 (822–908).

> Ven. Kuan asked, "What about the Way?" Master Zhuyushan replied, "Don't drive a stake into the empty sky." "'The empty sky'—just this is a stake," returned Ven. Kuan. Whereupon the master struck him. (T 51: 278b)

有座主問、三乘十二分教、豈不是明佛性。師云、荒草不曾鋤。

A lecture master asked, "The Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of teachings make the buddha-nature quite clear, do they not?"

"This weed patch has never been spaded," said Linji.

**Lecture master** (lit., "master of the lecture seat" 座主) was a term used by Chan people to refer to teachers of other schools who devoted themselves largely to giving lectures on the Buddhist scriptures. Sometimes the word has a derogatory tone, implying a person who is good at "book learning" only.

**The Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of teachings** 三乘十二分教 refers to the totality of the Buddhist scriptures, with an emphasis on their role as repositories of doctrinal theory, specifically in terms of the use they were put to in Buddhist schools other than Chan.

In other words, what the lecture master is saying is that the scriptures, upon which other schools depend, must of their very nature reveal the ultimate truths of Buddhism, since they are the record of words spoken by the Buddha himself. How, then, can Chan neglect the sutras and take the position that these truths lie outside the written word?

"**Three Vehicles**" 三乘 (Skr., triyāna) refers to the several paths by which Buddhist salvation is reached and, by extension, to the persons seeking salvation by these several means. The noun "yāna" lends itself to two interpretations: "that along which one goes," i.e., "path"; and "that by means of which one goes," i.e., "vehicle." While the former meaning appears to have been the one originally intended, there can be little doubt that quite early the latter interpretation became the preferred one even in India, since in both Chinese and Tibetan the term "yāna" is rendered by words meaning "vehicle." The three yāna are as follows:

1. *Śrāvaka*, lit., "listener." This word was apparently misunderstood from even before the time of its entry into China. From India (one can only surmise) the word must have passed through a language in which the verb follows its object, and thus have been translated that way into Chinese, since the order of the characters in the Chinese version, 聲聞, violates the normal syntax of Chinese. The śrāvaka is one who achieves enlightenment and consequent salvation by hearing and contemplating the words of a buddha. This and the following are considered Hinayana vehicles.
2. *Pratyekabuddha*, lit., "individually awakened," or "awakened for oneself alone." This word, too, seems to have been misunderstood from before the time of its entry into China, since the original translation was 緣覺, "awakened through causality." That is, at some point it appears that the "pratyeka" of this word became confused with the "pratītya" of "pratītya-samutpāda," "dependent origination," so that the idea arose that a pratyekabuddha achieves enlightenment by realizing the truth of dependent origination. The Tang-dynasty translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), with his excellent knowledge of Sanskrit, realized that 緣覺 was a mistranslation and consistently rendered the word as 獨覺, "individually enlightened." The term 緣覺 was, however, too firmly entrenched to be replaced. Subsequently Chinese Buddhist scholarship combined Xuanzang's erudition with the piety of his predecessors and held that pratyekabuddhas are those who, in buddha-less ages, achieve enlightenment through their own efforts by observing the work-

ings of cause and effect. The Chinese often skirt the question of the meaning of this term through the device of phonetic transcription, writing the word 辟支佛. The śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha both contemplate Hinayana doctrinal propositions, and through this process they become arhats.

3. Bodhisattva: The original meaning of this word is obscure, and seems to have presented some difficulty to the Chinese since they seldom translate it, preferring the phonetic transcription 菩提薩埵 (usually abbreviated 菩薩). The bodhisattva is a being on the way to buddhahood, a goal achieved through transcendent wisdom and infinite compassion toward all sentient beings.

**Twelve divisions of the scriptures** 十二分教 (outside of Chan usually 十二部經) translates the Sanskrit terms "dvādaśāṅga-buddha-vacana" (or "-pravacana"), "twelve-limbed buddha-discourses," and "dvādaśāṅga-buddha-śāsana," "twelve-limbed buddha-teaching." These refer to a division by form and content of the portion of the Buddhist scriptures purporting to be the word of the Buddha himself. The names of the twelve "limbs" as given below are represented by the (a) Sanskrit word, (b) Chinese transcription, (c) Chinese translation or translations, and (d) English definition or explanation.

1. a. *Sūtra*: In non-Buddhist Sanskrit a sūtra is a manual of aphorisms on any of a variety of subjects, aphorisms allegedly hanging together like threads ("thread" being the literal meaning of the word). In Buddhist Sanskrit the word refers to statements of doctrine in prose ascribed to the Buddha himself. There is reason to believe that the Buddhist term may be unrelated to the non-Buddhist term, and instead be simply a mis-Sanskritization of the Pāli word "sutta," which has the same meaning, and whose proper Sanskrit equivalent may be "sūkta," "Well said."
   b. 修多羅
   c. 經: This is the usual Chinese translation of the word, and the best adapted. First, 經 also has the literal meaning of "thread," and second, the cardinal Chinese classics are also called 經, with the specific meaning of "warp," as opposed to the apocryphal classics, which are called 緯, "woof."
   契經: The traditional interpretation of the first character is that it refers to the accordance of the sutras with truth, and also that their content is accommodated to the understanding of the Buddha's listeners.
   法本, "Dharma-base," "root of the dharma."
   d. See 1. a.
2. a. *Geya*: "That which is to be sung"
   b. 祇夜
   c. 應頌: "Corresponding hymn"
   重頌經: "Repetitive hymn"
   d. A verse repetition of the points made in a preceding prose section in a sutra.
3. a. *Vyākaraṇa*: "Discrimination, detailed description, manifestation, revelation"
   b. 和伽羅那
   c. 授記: "The conferring of a record"
   授決: "The conferring of a decision"
   記莂: The original meaning is obscure.
   d. A prophesy addressed by the Buddha to his disciples, specifically the announcement to specific disciples that they will eventually attain buddhahood.
4. a. *Gāthā*: "Song"
   b. 伽陀
   c. 頌
   不重頌: "nonrepetitive hymn"
   d. A poetic passage that makes an independent point, and does not merely repeat something that has already been said in prose.
5. a. *Udāna*: "(Joyous) exhalation"
   b. 優陀那
   c. 自說: "Self-proclaimed"
   無問自說: "Self-proclaimed without (prior) interrogation"
   d. Statements made by the Buddha of his

own volition and without any prompting from his listeners in the form of questions.

6. a. *Nidāna*: "Band, bond, (hence) primary cause"
   b. 尼陀那
   c. 因緣: "Dependence and connection, (hence) cause and condition"
      緣起: "Emergence in connection with"
   d. An explanation by the Buddha regarding previous circumstances as a result of which a certain situation has arisen at the time of his speaking.
7. a. *Avadāna*: "Great or glorious act (of legendary proportions)"
   b. 阿波陀那
   c. 譬喻: "Parable"
      解語: "Explanatory saying"
   d. Explanation of a doctrine by parables.
8. a. *Itivṛttaka*: "Occurrence, event"
   b. 伊帝曰多伽
   c. 本事: "Former matter"
      如是語: A saying that begins with the words, "(It was) like this."
   d. A recitation by the Buddha of any previous event other than one of his own previous incarnations. The story told usually contains a lesson or moral.
9. a. *Jātaka*: "Birth stories"
   b. 闍陀伽
   c. 生: "Birth"
      本生: "Former birth"
   d. A story of the form assumed by the Buddha in a former incarnation.
10. a. *Vaipulya*: "Breadth"
    b. 毘佛略
    c. 方等: "Equal in (all) directions"
       方廣: "Broad in (all) directions"
    d. The Mahayana scriptures.
11. a. *Adbhuta-dharma*: "Wondrous matters"
    b. *Afoutuodamo*: 阿浮陀達磨
    c. 未曾有法: "Unprecedented dharmas" (a common but mistaken translation, based on the almost ubiquitous confusion between "adbhuta" and "abhūta")
       希法: "Rare dharmas"
    d. Stories of miraculous deeds achieved by the Buddha and his disciples.
12. a. *Upadeśa*: "Instruction"
    b. 優波提舍
    c. 論議: "Discussion"
       義: "Meaning, significance, principle, doctrine, instruction"
    d. An exposition of doctrine based on theory.

**Buddha-nature** 佛性 translates the Sanskrit "buddhatā" or "buddhatva." Buddha-nature is that nature inherent in all sentient beings by virtue of which they have the capacity to attain enlightenment, and thus to attain buddhahood.

In China the concept of buddha-nature was first advanced by the monk Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–434), one of the top disciples of the great translator Kumārajīva (350–ca. 409). At the time Daosheng's idea was condemned as heretical, since it recognized the potential for buddhahood even in icchantikas (beings traditionally regarded in Buddhism as having no seeds of enlightenment). However, some twenty years later, after the complete *Nirvana Sutra* had been translated into Chinese, the scripture was found to substantiate Daosheng's view (see CHEN 1964, 112–116). Most Mahayana schools accept the doctrine of buddha-nature; the Chan schools have always considered it basic to their teachings.

**Weed patch** might have been Linji's metaphor for the "twelve divisions of the scriptures," for the cluttered minds of those who concern themselves primarily with "written words" (in this case the lecture master), or, in a different sense, for the buddha-nature itself. Japanese commentators on the LL—no Chinese commentaries exist—suggest several possibilities, but consistently avoid committing themselves to a firm definition of either this expression or Linji's enigmatic statement as a whole.

In this connection, there is an interesting dialogue in the traditional biography of the master Yunyan Tansheng 雲巖曇晟

主云、佛豈賺人也。師云、佛在什麼處。主無語。師云、對常侍前、擬瞞老僧。速退速退。妨他別人請問。復云、此日法筵、爲一大事故。更有問話者麼。速致問來。爾纔開口、早勿交涉也。

"Surely the Buddha would not have deceived people!" said the lecture master.

"Where is the Buddha?" asked Linji. The lecture master had no reply.

"You thought you'd make a fool of me in front of the councilor," said the master. "Get out, get out! You're keeping the others from asking questions."

The master continued, "Today's dharma assembly is concerned with the Great Matter. Does anyone else have a question? If so, let him ask now! But the instant you open your mouth you're already way off.

(782?–841), teacher of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869), one of the founders of the Chinese Caodong 曹洞 school. According to ZJ 5:

> A monk asked Shitou [Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790)], "What is the cardinal meaning of the patriarchs?" Shitou said, "Right in front of me is a stretch of weeds that I've never hoed in the past thirty years." Later someone mentioned this remark to the master [Yunyan]. The master said, "The ox doesn't eat the weeds along the edge of its pen."

**You're keeping the others from asking questions** translates 妨他別人請問. In the colloquial language of the Tang and Song, the glyph 他 was generally used to represent the third person pronoun (see ZHOU 1959 3:113–115). However, as in this case, it was also used as a particle having no specific meaning. Rhythmically, this sentence is constructed of the following three disyllables: 妨他＋別人＋請問. Accordingly, 他 serves as a suffix of the preceding verb 妨.

Other examples of this usage are 從他 and 任他, both of which mean "even though…" or "however… may…" (see also comment on page 294, below, where the expression 知他 is discussed). The expression 請問 has, in non-Chan usage, the meaning of "I beg to ask." While Chan also uses the word in this sense, too, it also employs it as an abbreviation of the phrase 請益問答, which literally means, "request-benefit question-and-answer." These terms refer to the exchange of question and answer that customarily took place after a Chan master had concluded his sermon. At that time both his disciples and any visiting monks were free to question him in order to deepen or confirm their own understanding, as well as to test that of the master.

**Dharma assembly** translates 法筵, with 筵 originally indicating a mat woven of thin bamboo strips, but later coming to mean "banquet" or "gathering." A dharma assembly was a gathering held for the purpose of hearing a discourse on Buddhist doctrine. The term was already used in the early Tang; the section on (Shi) Huize (釋)慧曀 (580–656) in XG 5 has the statement 武德年內釋侶云繁、屢建法筵, "During the Wude 武德 era (618–626) monks gathered [around him] in swarms; then he frequently held dharma assemblies 法筵." (T 50: 440c)

**You're way off** translates 勿交涉, which is unusual in using 勿 to replace the negative 沒, though 沒 is the character usually

何以如此。不見釋尊云、法離文字、不屬因不在緣故。爲爾信不及、所以今日葛藤。恐滯常侍與諸官員、昧他佛性。不如且退。喝一喝云、少信根人、終無了日。久立珍重。

"Why is this? Don't you know that Venerable Śākyamuni said, 'Dharma is separate from words, because it is neither subject to causation nor dependent upon conditions'? Your faith is insufficient, therefore we have bandied words today. I fear I am obstructing the councilor and his staff, thereby obscuring the buddha-nature. I had better withdraw."

The master shouted and then said, "For those whose root of faith is weak the final day will never come. You have been standing a long time. Take care of yourselves."

used in Tang works written in the colloquial language. In the Tang the two characters were identical in pronunciation and meaning. See page 251, where the same word is written 沒交涉.

**Dharma is separate from words… upon conditions.** What appears here as a single quotation is actually taken from two different sutras. The first clause, "Dharma is separate from words" 法離文字, is from the *Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* as translated by Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅, 394–468):

> Mahāmati, if it is said that the Tathāgata expounds a dharma that falls into words, that is an erroneous statement, for dharma is separate from words. Wherefore is it, Mahāmati, that we buddhas and all the bodhisattvas utter not a single word, answer not a single word? Why is this so? Because dharma is separate from words. (T 16: 506c)

The second clause, "because it is neither subject to causation nor dependent upon conditions" 不屬因不在緣故, is an out-of-context, hence slightly distorted, quotation from the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, Kumārajīva's translation of the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> Dharma is without names for it is cut off from words. Dharma is without that which is spoken about, for it is separate from apprehending and observing. Dharma is without form for it is like empty space. Dharma is without sophistries for it is fundamentally void. Dharma is without that which belongs to self for it is separate from that which belongs to self. Dharma is without discrimination for it is separate from all consciousness. Dharma is without that to which it can be compared for it has no counterpart. Dharma is not subject to causation for it is not dependent upon conditions. (T 14: 540a)

While Linji's words "Śākyamuni said" are, in a general way, applicable to both clauses in that both are found in the sutras, the latter is actually a statement made by Vimalakīrti to Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and repeated by the latter to the Buddha.

**Bandied words** translates 葛藤, literally "creepers and vines," suggesting things that wrap around one and obstruct one's freedom. The term is used metaphorically to signify complications and difficulties. In a general Buddhist context the word stands for the afflicting passions (Skr., kleśa) and the delusive concepts that arise from them; also for a too-strict adherence to the written word.

In Chan, however, it is generally used to mean "words" or "verbiage," with an undertone of disparagement. The word

can function as a noun or as a verb. In the *Muzhou yulu* we find, "[Muzhou] further said 'Come here, come here, and I'll bandy words with you'" (X 68: 35b). "He [then] said, 'You can't understand even these words 這葛藤尚不會得'" (X 68: 37a). Here, as in the present instance in the LL text, it would seem that 葛藤 was employed in the late Tang as a deprecatory slang expression for the Chan dialogues usually referred to by their Japanese name of *mondō* 問答.

During the Song dynasty the term acquired an additional, favorable meaning as a synonym for verbal expedients (such as koans) that help lead the student to enlightenment. Thus BL 12 has the following remark: "Why are there so many entangling koans 葛藤公案? Let him who is furnished with an eye [to see] try to explain [them]" (T 48: 152c).

But that the derogatory meaning early attached to the word still remained is clearly indicated by the term 葛藤禪, "wordy Chan" or "word-entangled Chan." The *Dahui wuku* 大慧武庫, a work comprising various talks given by Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), says:

> Old man Yunju [Xiao]shun always abused Chan Master Tianyi Yihuai for displaying wordy Chan 葛藤. One day, on hearing that Yihuai had died, Shun, in the Dharma Hall, made a proper salutation with his palms pressed together, then said, "How I rejoice to hear that the main pillar of wordy Chan has fallen down!" (T 47: 943c)

(Yunju Xiaoshun 雲居曉舜 [n.d.] and Tianyi Yihuai 天衣義懷 [993–1064] were both in the fifth generation of the Yunmen 雲門 line; Tianyi was an heir of Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 [980–1052]).

**Faith** 信, in the form of the term "root of faith" 信根 (Skr., śraddāindriya), has from the earliest days of Buddhism been considered one of the qualities essential for attaining awakening. It was placed first among the five "spiritual roots" or agents 五根, Skr., "pañcendriyāni" (there is also another group of pañcendriyāni, comprising the five organs of sense: eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body). Śākyamuni spoke many times about the "five spiritual roots," as in the following quotation, taken from one of his sermons in the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Saṃyukta Āgama* [Miscellaneous discourses of the Buddha]):

> At that time the World-Honored One said to all the bhikkus: "There are five roots: the root of faith 信, the root of endeavor 精進, the root of mindfulness 念, the root of samādhi 定, and the root of prajñā 慧. What is the root of faith? I say to you that when, in the place of the Tathāgata, a holy disciple arouses the mind of faith, the root of which is immovable, so that no deva, māra, śramaṅa, brahmin, or anything in the world can destroy it, this is the root of faith." (T 2: 183c–184a)

The same term is found in the *Zhufa wuxing jing* 諸法無行經 (Kumārajīva's translation of the *Mahāyāna Sarvadharmapravṛtti-nirdeśa*):

> Buddha addressed Mañjuśrī, "When the practicer has faith that all dharmas fundamentally are not produced, because from the beginning they have always been as they are, this is what is called the root of faith." (T 15: 754b)

The term appears in many Chan texts. For instance, Zihu Lizong 子湖利蹤 (800–880), a disciple of Nanquan and a contemporary of Linji, is recorded in GY 12 as saying,

> [All beings] that transmigrate through the six ways of existence, from gods and humans down to the minutest forms of life, [all] are never in the slightest discord with the tathatā. Do you have faith in this? Can you accept this? Generally speaking, he who would make a pilgrimage must be endowed with a great root of faith and become a resolute man. (X 68: 75a)

**Take care of yourselves** translates 珍重, a set phrase used to conclude a lecture or sermon; it means little more than "good-

II

師、因一日到河府。府主王常侍、請師升座。時麻谷出問、大悲千手眼、那箇是正眼。師云、大悲千手眼、那箇是正眼、速道速道。麻谷拽師下座、麻谷卻坐。師近前云、不審。麻谷擬議。師亦拽麻谷下座、師卻坐。麻谷便出去。師便下座。

One day Linji went to He Prefecture. The governor, Councilor Wang, requested the master to take the high seat. At that time Mayu came forward and asked, "The Great Compassionate One has a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. Which is the true eye?"

The master said, "The Great Compassionate One has a thousand hands and a thousand eyes. Which is the true eye? Speak, speak!"

Mayu pulled the master down off the high seat and sat on it himself. Coming up to him, the master said, "How do you do?" Mayu hesitated. The master, in his turn, pulled Mayu down off the high seat and sat upon it himself. Mayu went out. The master stepped down.

bye." Zanning 贊寧 (921–1002), the great scholar-monk and compiler of the SG, writes in another of his works, the *Dasong sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (Song-dynasty compendium of monastic history):

> What is meant by saying 珍重 when one is about to take one's leave? When our meeting comes to an end and our feelings have been mutually communicated, we bid farewell to one another with this word. It is like saying, "Take good and tender care of yourself," or "Please be indulgent to yourself." (T 54: 239a)

II

**He Prefecture** 河府 is an abbreviation of Hebeifu 河北府, also known as Chengdefu 成德府, which occupied the area northeast of present Shijiazhuang 石家莊. Tradition regards "He Prefecture" as referring to Henanfu 河南府, lit., "South-of-the-River Prefecture," but this interpretation is untenable for several reasons:

a. The TG 10 recension of the LL text reads, "When the master went to Heyangfu 河陽府" (X 78: 467a). 陽, used in reference to a river, indicates its northern side, so that Heyang 河陽 and Hebei 河北 refer to the same place.
b. The LL text in the GY has this exchange beginning with the words "One day the master went to Hebeifu" (X 68: 23b).
c. The reference to Wang Changshi, which follows immediately, leaves no doubt that the place in question was north of the Yellow River, since the area under the control of the Wang family did not extend south of it.
d. In the Tang, the place name Henanfu referred to a specific area south of the Yellow River, viz., the area surrounding Luoyang 洛陽, in other words, the Henan 河南 and Shandong 山東 provinces of today. It is extremely unlikely that Linji ever set foot in this area.

**Mayu** 麻谷; see page 99, note 30.

**The Great Compassionate One** translates 大悲, which in turn translates the Sanskrit "Mahākaruṇa." "The Great Compassionate One" is a reference to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (C., Guanshiyin 觀世音), whose name is usually abbreviated in East Asia to Guanyin 觀音 (J., Kannon)

III

上堂。云、赤肉團上有一無位眞人、常從汝等諸人面門出入。未證據者看看。時有僧出問、如何是無位眞人。

The master, taking the high seat in the hall, said, "On your lump of red flesh is a true man without rank who is always going in and out of the face of every one of you. Those who have not yet confirmed this, look, look!"

A monk came forward and asked, "What about the true man without rank?"

and whose primary attribute is, as his (or her) name indicates, compassion.

The cult of Guanyin steadily increased from the time of the Six Dynasties; the object of worship in the esoteric schools of Buddhism was frequently the type of image indicated in the text, in which the bodhisattva possessed many arms—symbolically representing a thousand—and an eye in the palm of each hand.

**How do you do** translates 不審, a customary, somewhat perfunctory greeting among Chinese Buddhist monks of the time. Originally the expression meant "I do not know for certain." The above-quoted *Dasong sengshi lue* has the following comment on this expression:

> When monks meet they bow, bringing the palms of their hands together, and say 不審. What does this mean? It is a threefold act of obeisance. (The bowing and the joining of the palms are [acts of] the body. The greeting itself is [an act of] speech. As for thought, if there were not reverence in the mind, how could body and mouth move?) This is called "inquiry" 問訊. Thus, an inferior who wishes to inquire about a superior will say, "I am not well informed 不審, but have you any illnesses or troubles? Is your daily life proceeding well?" Or again, a superior who wishes to show solicitude for an inferior will say, "I am not well informed, but are you free from illnesses or troubles? Can you acquire alms with ease? In your dwelling place are you without evil companions? And on water or land, are you unbothered by noxious insects?" Later, men reduced such inquiries to 不審 alone. (T 54: 239a)

III

**Lump of red flesh** translates 赤肉團上, which refers to either the physical heart or the physical body. These words begin two of the major variant forms of this, one of Linji's most famous sermons. The texts with the same expression are the TG, compiled by Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (d. 1038) (X 78: 466a); the GY (X 68: 23b); and the section of the Yuan edition of the JC devoted to Linji (T 51: 300a). The Song edition of the latter work varies slightly, reading 肉團心上, "on the flesh-lump heart," as does the *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 2 (Chrestomathy from the ancestral garden; X 64: 339c).

The expression undoubtedly derives from the following passage in the *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the *Anthology of essential writings on the origins of Chan*), a work by the Chan and Huayan master Guifeng Zongmi:

> Regarding the word 心, in short there are four kinds. The Sanskrit word for each is different and the translation of each is also different. First, 紇利陀那 [the Chinese transliteration of Skr., "hṛdāya"], which is called "the flesh-lump heart" 肉團心. This is the heart which is one of the five organs within the body. (T 48: 401c)

On the basis of these texts, the "lump of red flesh" has traditionally been interpreted to mean the physical heart.

A somewhat different version of this sermon from that in the LL is found in ZJ 19, and in abbreviated form in the ZL of Yanshou 延壽 (904–975) (T 48: 943c), as well as in fascicle 28 of both the Song and Yuan editions of the JC. These texts read:

> I say to you that in your body-field of the five skandhas 五陰身田內 is a true man without rank revealing himself splendidly and not separated from yourself by so much as the width of a hair. Why don't you recognize him? (T 51: 447a)

The latter three texts end here. The ZJ continues, completing the sermon with some further variations from the LL text (see following two notes). Obviously the texts having 赤肉團上 and those having 五陰身田內 represent two different traditions.

**True man without rank** translates 無位眞人, a term coined by Linji that is one of the key expressions in his presentation of Chan. "True man" 眞人 was originally a term for the ideal, perfected adept of Taoism. The best-known, and perhaps earliest, appearance of the term is in the "Dazongshi" 大宗師 chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, where the characteristics of the classic Taoist "true man" are described in detail (see, e.g., LEGGE 1891, 256–258; WATSON 1968, 77–91; PALMER and BREUILLY 1996, 47–58). In Buddhist works from the Later Han on, the term was used to designate fully enlightened disciples of the Buddha, i.e., completed arhats (see the *Jiashe jie jing* 迦葉結經 [Sutra of Kāśyapa], translated by An Shigao 安世高 [n.d.; T 49: 4b–7a] and the *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 [Middle-length record of the Buddha's former deeds], translated by Tanguo 曇果 [n.d.] and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 [n.d.; T 4: 156a–163c]). Later, "true man" 眞人 was also applied to bodhisattvas.

**Face** is an abbreviated form of the text's "face-gate" 面門, an exclusively Buddhist term that originally meant "mouth." The Northern *Nirvana Sutra* 大般涅槃經, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* as translated by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433?), contains the following passage:

> At that time, from the Tathāgata's mouth 面門 streamed forth a five-colored radiance. This radiance shone upon everyone in the great assembly. [So brilliant was it that] the brightness of everyone's body was not visible. After this miraculous manifestation was completed, the radiance reentered his mouth. (T 12: 371b)

The same expression in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, translated by Śikṣānanda (Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) and others under the title *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of buddha), also specifically refers to the mouth:

> At that time the World-Honored One, knowing what was in the minds of the bodhisattvas, from between the rows of teeth in his mouth 面門, emitted rays of light as numerous as buddha-lands, as numerous as grains of dust. (T 10: 269b–c)

Later the term acquired the more general meaning of "face," with particular reference to the sense organs, a meaning that it seems to have here. It is possible, however, that in Linji's time the word was used for the face itself, since we find the master saying later in the text, "Don't have the seal of sanction stamped haphazardly upon your face 面門 by any old teacher from anywhere" (see page 194).

The source of the specific phrase in our text is a passage from the long poem *Xinwang ming* 心王銘 (Verses on the Mind King), attributed to Fu Dashi 傅大士, a famous sixth-century lay Buddhist (for his biography, see page 142, below). The poem, having referred to the Mind King, who, for all his importance, is not evident to the senses, goes on to say:

> The salt put in water / The glue put in paint—

師下禪床、把住云、道道。其僧擬議。師托開云、無位眞人是什麼乾屎橛。便歸方丈。

The master got down from his seat, seized the monk, and cried, "Speak, speak!"

The monk faltered. Shoving him away, the master said, "The true man without rank—what kind of dried piece of shit is he!" Then he returned to his quarters.

Certainly these are present / But we cannot see their form.
The Mind King is also thus / Abiding within the body,
Going in and out the [gate of the] face / In response to things, according to their feelings.
Freely and without hindrance / All his undertakings are accomplished.
(T 51: 456c–457a)

**Dried piece of shit**. *Editor's note:* In the original translation Sasaki renders the Chinese, 乾屎橛, as "shit-wiping stick," saying that the term literally means a "cleaning-off-dung-stick," a smooth stick of bamboo used in place of toilet paper, with 乾 being the verb "to clean." However, Sasaki's chief researcher for Tang-dynasty slang, Iriya Yoshitaka, subsequently came to believe that the correct interpretation is "stick-shaped piece of dung" (Iriya 1989, 21). A similar usage is found in the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (Record of Chan Master Dahui Pujue), where the two characters 屎橛 form a noun-compound: "I say to [such stupid monks], 'You're biting on the dung-sticks of others. You're not even good dogs!'" (T 47: 872a). The YK has, "[A monk asked,] 'What is Śākya's body?' The master (Yunmen) said, 'A dung-wiper!'" (T 47: 550b). In the ZJ 19 the passage parallel to that in the LL reads, "What kind of filthy thing is he?" 是什麼不淨之物.

Sasaki's other collaborator, Yanagida Seizan, interprets the term to mean "useless dung stick," explaining that 乾 does not have its usual meaning of "dry," but is synonymous with the homophonous 閑, "useless" (Yanagida 1977, 52). Regardless of the details of the interpretation, the intention is obviously the same.

**Quarters** translates 方丈, a term originally signifying a room that was one 丈 (ten Chinese feet) square in size, said to be the size of the room in which Vimalakīrti, through his supernatural powers, entertained a host of tens of thousands of bodhisattvas and disciples of the Buddha, as described in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*. The earliest description of this room in a Chan context is in the "Chanmen guishi" 禪門規式 (Regulations of the Chan school), a section of the biography of Baizhang Huaihai in the JC:

> One who has already become a master in converting [men] lives in the 方丈. This is just like the room of Jingming [Vimalakīrti]; it is not a personal sleeping room. (T 51: 251a)

Later the 方丈 became the living quarters or "study" of the master in charge of a Chan monastery. Here he received his private guests, personally instructed individual disciples, and at times gave informal talks to his monks.

IV

上堂。有僧出禮拜。師便喝。僧云、老和尚莫探頭好。師云、爾道落在什麼處。僧便喝。又有僧問、如何是佛法大意。師便喝。僧禮拜。師云、爾道好喝也無。僧云、草賊大敗。

The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk came forward and bowed. The master gave a shout.

"Venerable priest," said the monk, "you'd better not try to spy on me."

"Tell me what you've arrived upon," the master said. The monk shouted.

Another monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?" The master shouted. The monk bowed.

"Do you say that was a good shout?" asked the master.

"The bandit in the grass has met complete defeat," returned the monk.

IV

**Venerable Priest** translates 老和尚, a respectful title meaning "aged priest," used for old and venerated monks. In the present context, however, there is a feeling of mock deference. In China the shorter form 和尚 was originally used by a disciple when addressing his master, a usage still current in Japanese Zen. Ultimately the term came to mean merely "Buddhist priest." The etymology of the term is uncertain, but it seems to derive from a Khotanese corruption of the Sanskrit "upādhyāya," "teacher" (lit., "he under whom one goes over [one's lessons]"). For a detailed explanation of the derivation of the word, see the *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典, 1:754a–b and 1:227c.

**You'd better not try to spy on me** translates 莫探頭好, a manner of expression that demonstrates the monk's self-assurance: 探頭 is a rude term meaning, literally, "to poke the head out, or peer, through a curtain in order to spy on someone." The colloquial construction 莫….好 is the equivalent of the English "you had better not…." It is found again on page 297, below.

**Tell me what you've arrived upon** translates 爾道落在什麼處, where 落在, "to fall into, to settle or arrive at," should be considered a compound verb, with 在 having prepositional value. In the *Lotus Sutra* there are a number of similar compounds, such as 沒在, "to drown in, sink into"; 墮在, "to fall into"; 住在, "to live in"; etc. A main verb + 在, however, does not invariably form a compound.

**Do you say that was a good shout** translates 爾道好喝也無, the ending of which, 也無, is an interrogative particle that, like 麼, indicates simply that the sentence is a question, and is used only in direct narrative, where it governs the entire sentence. Thus the traditional interpretation of 爾道…也無 as "tell me whether… or not" is erroneous. The Japanese reading should therefore be simply *ya*, and not *ya… mata ina ya* ("is… or is not"), as Dōchū has it. The compound has the following orthographical variants: 也不, 也否, 也未, 也摩, 以無, 以下, and 以否. In the last three cases 以 may be replaced by its homophones 已 or (less frequently) 與.

**The bandit in the grass has met complete defeat.** As the power of the Tang court declined and conditions became increasingly chaotic, bands of outlaws and peasant insurrectionists appeared in

師云、過在什麼處。僧云、再犯不容。師便喝。是日兩堂首座相見、同時下喝。僧問師、還有賓主也無。師云、賓主歷然。師云、大衆、要會臨濟賓主句、問取堂中二首座。便下座。

"What's my offense?" asked the master.

"It won't be pardoned a second time," replied the monk. The master gave a shout.

That same day the head monks of the two halls had met and simultaneously given shouts. A monk asked the master, "Was there a guest and a host?"

"Guest and host were obvious," replied the master. He continued, "If you of the assembly want to understand the 'guest and host' that I speak of, ask the two head monks of the halls."

Then the master stepped down.

many parts of the empire. The expression "outlaw in the weeds" or "grass bandit" 草賊 was the official as well as the general name for these "local rebels." The following excerpt from the section on Emperor Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–88), in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Older chronicles of the Tang) 19, though relating events somewhat later than the time of Linji, indicates that these "local rebels" were a continuing problem to the throne:

> In the fourth year of Qianfu 乾符 [877], the local rebels were extremely aggressive in Henan and Shannan…. According to recent reports from various districts, the number of these rebels has become considerable in such areas as Jiangxi, Huainan, Song, Po, Cao, and Ying. Some of them have attacked the capitals of counties and prefectures, and some have plundered towns and villages. (*Ershisi shi* 二十四史 4, Taipei reprint, 3139b)

Not only the single term "grass bandit" 草賊, however, but the entire phrase "the bandit in the grass has met complete defeat" 草賊大敗 was evidently in use among Chan people in the south prior to Linji's time, for we find it already in the *Pang Jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Record of Layman Pang; x 69: 131b). This suggests that the phrase may have originated in the Yangzi Valley, where the rebels appear to have been especially active, and to have been introduced to the north by traveling monks such as appear in this episode. Later, it is found in the records of many Chan masters. Less literally, the expression here might be interpreted, "Old hand though you are, you've now been completely defeated."

**Head monks of the two halls.** The exact shape of the meditation hall in Linji's day is unknown, but apparently a sacred image stood in the middle, dividing the hall into an "upper hall" and a "lower hall" (these two terms appear in episode 6 of the "Record of Pilgrimages," page 322, below). The monks were thus divided into two groups: those who sat in the hall toward which the image faced, and those who sat in the hall behind it. Each division of the hall was under the charge of a senior monk, sometimes designated by the title 首座, lit., "head-seat," as here; 上座, lit., "upper seat"; or 第一座, lit., "first seat."

**Was there a guest and a host** translates 還有賓主也無, an example of the construction in which 還 appears at the beginning of an interrogative sentence; generally

還 in such cases does not have its usual meaning of "still," "yet," or "even," but simply serves to emphasize the interrogation.

The phrase "guest and host" 賓主 is frequently found in reverse order, 主賓. The present exchange is the only occasion in the LL where we find the master using the form 賓主; in a later sermon, when he twice describes the four aspects of the host-guest relationship, Linji also uses the term 主客.

One of the characteristics of Linji's teaching method was to set forth a doctrine in a grouped series of short cryptic statements. By the end of the tenth century these statements had been reduced to fixed formulas with specific titles, such as the "Four Shouts" 四喝, "Three Statements" 三句, "Fourfold Relation of Guest and Host" 四賓主, etc. The reduction of these statements to named formulas, embodying doctrines of a somewhat different character from what appears to have been Linji's original intention, is attributed to Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 (860–930), Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 (896–973), and Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–995), the third, fourth, and fifth patriarchs, respectively, of the Linji school (see Introduction, notes 50 and 51).

The anecdote concerning the two head monks first appears in Yuanjue Zongyan's version of the LL text, compiled ca. 1120 (see Introduction, pages 83–85, above). The corresponding section in the earlier TG (compiled 1056; X 78: 466a) contains the exchanges with the first two monks (complete except for the master's shout at the end of the second exchange), but lacks the first part of the following exchange regarding the "head monks of the two halls." Both texts become identical again with 師云, 大衆 "Then he continued, 'If the assembly…'," and remain so to the end of the episode, except that the TG has 二禪客 "two visiting Chan monks" for the LL text's 二首座 "two head monks," thus making the master's final remark refer to the two men who had earlier questioned him, not to monks in his own group. (The account of this episode contained in the *Shoushan Nian heshang yulu* 首山念和尚語錄, the recorded sayings of Shoushan Shengnian, the fifth patriarch of the Linji school, in GY 8 [X 68: 49b], agrees with that in the TG.)

It is possible that Linji did conclude the exchange with the two visiting monks in the way described in the TG, thus, perhaps, indicating his appreciation of their understanding despite the rudeness they showed by advising the assembly to consult with them "in the hall" on Linji's expression "guest and host." If so, however, we must ask why the lines in the LL text as it now stands were later interpolated. There seems to be no ready answer. Or we may surmise that the final line in the TG—and the *Shoushan yulu*—though an early insertion in the text, was added after the fixed formula "Fourfold Relation of Guest and Host" had been devised so that the formula might be authenticated by putting the words 賓主 in the mouth of the master himself. Then later, when the Zongyan edition of the LL was compiled, the introductory lines on the "monks of the two halls" were inserted for the purpose of clarifying the earlier interpolation that later generations had found ambiguous. Thus the entire exchange regarding the two head monks as it appears in the LL would have to be considered spurious.

Curiously enough, in the LL section of the GY the term 賓主 is found in two passages, one of which is obviously an expanded rewriting of the TG version (X 68: 23b), and the other of which is obviously an expansion of the version found in the LL (X 68: 24c). At least it is clear that from earliest times there was no definitive version of this episode.

**Assembly** translates 大衆, a term that can also be rendered simply as "monks," a

V

上堂。僧問、如何是佛法大意。師豎起拂子。僧便喝。師便打。

The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?"

The master raised his whisk. The monk shouted. The master struck him.

Chinese translation of the Sanskrit word "mahāsaṅgha," which means "great gathering" or "great council." In China the term came to be used for: a) the totality of the Buddhist monastic community, or b) the monastic community of a specific place, usually in contrast to the master or head of that particular community. As Linji uses it, the term refers primarily to his own body of student-monks, but undoubtedly includes such persons as pilgrim monks and laymen gathered to listen to his sermon.

**Ask** translates 問取, an example of 取 used as a suffix after a verb. This usage was peculiar to the colloquial language of the Tang and Song. See Zhang 1955, 500–501.

V

**Whisk** translates the compound 拂子, which is in turn the Chinese translation of "vyajana," a Sanskrit word that means "fan," "brush," or "whisk." The vyajana was produced in ancient India from the white tail hairs of yaks, oxen, or horses. These hairs were tied together, fastened to a handle, and used for shooing away troublesome insects.

It is said that for a time Śākyamuni Buddha allowed all of his monks to use such whisks, but later decided to limit their use to the elder monks in charge of groups, with the white-haired whisks becoming an insignia of authority. The body of ordinary monks was allowed only whisks made of dyed yarn, rags, grasses, or other such materials. The "white whisk" 白拂, made from the long tail-hair of the cāmara (a white Himalayan yak), was especially valued. References to it are found scattered throughout the sutras, and sometimes we read of its being held by the attendants of a mahārāja, as in the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9: 16c). Many figures in the sculpture of India and Central Asia are represented with this whisk in their hands.

In the Chinese Chan tradition, and also in the Japanese Zen tradition, the whisk is still carried as a symbol of authority by the abbot of a monastery when he approaches the altar or takes the high seat to present a sermon. In the past, senior monks would also carry white whisks when preaching to the assembly in place of the abbot; such occasions were therefore known as "holding the whisk" 秉拂.

Another term for the whisk in Chan is the "stag's tail" 鹿尾. The term derives from the fact that in former times hairs taken from the tail of a stag were occasionally used in place of those from a yak's tail, with the implication that, since the stag was the leader of the deer herd, his tail symbolized authority. See the *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 5:4673.

In the esoteric Zhenyan 眞言 (J., Shingon) school of Buddhism, the white whisk is considered to be, in addition to its function as a symbol of authority, a protection against calamity and evil.

又僧問、如何是佛法大意。師亦豎起拂子。僧便喝。師亦喝。僧擬議。師便打。師乃云、大衆、夫爲法者、不避喪身失命。我二十年、在黃檗先師處、三度問佛法的的大意、三度蒙他賜杖。如蒿枝拂著相似。如今更思得一頓棒喫。誰人爲我行得。時有僧出衆云、某甲行得。師拈棒與他。其僧擬接。師便打。

Another monk asked, "What about the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?"

Again the master raised his whisk.

The monk shouted. The master also shouted.

The monk faltered; the master struck him.

Then the master said, "You of the assembly, those who live for dharma do not shrink from losing their bodies or sacrificing their very lives. Twenty years ago, when I was with my late master Huangbo, three times I asked him specifically about the cardinal meaning of the buddhadharma, and three times he favored me with blows from his stick. But it was as though he were patting me with a branch of mugwort. How I would like now to taste another dose of the stick! Who can give it to me?"

A monk stepped forward and said, "I can." The master held out his stick to him. The monk tried to take it; the master struck him.

**Twenty years ago, when I was with my late master Huangbo**. *Editor's note*: Scholars disagree regarding the meaning of this line. In her original translation, Sasaki rendered the original Chinese, 二十年、在黃檗先師處, as "Twenty years I was at my late master Huang-po's place," signifying that Linji studied with Huangbo for a period of twenty years—a view followed by Iriya 1989 (23–24). Yanagida, however, interprets the line to mean, as rendered in the present translation, "twenty years ago" (1977, 71). Yanagida notes that the words "twenty years" 二十年 are missing in the versions of this sermon in the SJ and the Song and Yuan editions of the JC. The "twenty-year period" interpretation emerged in the Song dynasty, Yanagida believes, with the following passage in the *Foguo Keqin Chanshi xinyao* 佛果克勤禪師心要 (Essentials of Chan Master Foguo Keqin):

> [Nanyue Huai]rang spent eight years under Caoxi [the Sixth Patriarch]. Mazu studied under Guanyin [Nanyue Huairang]; Deshan studied under Longtan; Yangshan studied under Dayuan [Guishan Lingyou]; and Linji studied under Duanji [Huangbo Xiyun]. All of these remained for a period of not less than twenty years. (x 69: 456c)

Mujaku Dōchū, too, argues for the "twenty years ago" interpretation in fascicle 1 of his *Rinzai Eshō zenji goroku soyaku*.

**It was as if he were patting me with a branch of mugwort** translates 如蒿枝拂著相似, meaning, of course, that Linji felt no pain and was grateful for the beatings from Huangbo. Although the corresponding passage in the biography of Linji appearing in the Yuan version of the JC has this exact same expression, the Song version has the variant 一似等閑, "It was just as if nothing at all had happened."

The mugwort is a herbal plant of the

**VI**

上堂。僧問、如何是劍刃上事。師云、禍事、禍事。僧擬議。
師便打。

The master took the high seat in the hall. A monk asked, "What about the matter of the sword blade?"
"Heavens, heavens!" cried the master.
The monk hesitated; the master struck him.

artemisia family, and possesses a strong and quite distinct aroma. On the fifth day of the fifth lunar month it was used ceremonially to avert or exorcise evil spirits. The Japanese Sōtō monk Bannan Eishu 萬安英種 (1591–1654), in his *Bannan shō* 萬安鈔 (a commentary on the LL published in 1632), stated that it was a Chinese custom, Taoist in origin, to pat little children on the head with a branch of mugwort as a charm against evil influences. Modern commentators, by and large, follow this interpretation, but no factual evidence appears to exist in support of Bannan's statement.

**Dose** translates 一頓, a term that was used in several different ways. Among its possible meanings were "one time," "one interval," or, in colloquial speech, "one meal." It could also refer to a single beating, or to a series of blows of unspecified number. Old commentators defined it to mean twenty blows of the stick, but there is no evidence in support of this view. The "Xingfa zhi" 刑法志 (Treatise on the penal code) in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer chronicles of the Tang) 56, explains the term in the following way:

> In former times, under a different decree, when a man was to be punished by beating, he was to suffer an unlimited number of blows. In the first year of the Baoying 寶應 era [762; the first year of the reign of Emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779)], it was decreed, "In general, when a beating 一頓 is prescribed, the number of blows shall be limited to forty. When it is specified that the beating shall be administered with a 'heavy staff' or a 'painful rod', the number of blows shall be limited to sixty."

**I** (in "I can") translates 某甲, which originally meant "a certain person" or "a Mr. So-and-so," and was generally used in the colloquial language of the Tang as the first person singular pronoun. Occasionally we find 某乙 substituting for 某甲. In the Dunhuang manuscripts, 某 is often replaced by the homophonous character 厶, and we find such usages as 厶甲 or 厶乙.

**VI**

**The matter of the sword blade** refers to a sword raised above the head and poised to strike, a metaphor for the wisdom that cuts through and annihilates all thought and discrimination. In the biography of Yangshan Huiji, in ZJ 18, 9, is the following anecdote:

> Someone asked: "Can the dharmakāya explain the dharma?" The master [Yangshan] said, "I cannot explain it, but there's someone who can." "Where is the one who can explain?" the questioner asked. The master thereupon thrust forward a [wooden] pillow. Later, a monk brought this up with Guishan. Guishan said, "[Hui]ji uses a sharp blade!"

For "dharmakāya," see page 160, below.

**Heavens, heavens** translates 禍事, a slang expression denoting surprise, fear, or alarm. It is also found in the DB, 39: 項羽連聲唱禍事, "Xiang Yu cried out repeatedly,

問、祇如石室行者、踏碓忘卻移腳、向什麼處去。師云、沒溺深泉。

Someone asked, "The lay worker Shishi in treading the pestle shaft of the rice mortar would forget he was moving his feet; where did he go?"

"Drowned in a deep spring!" the master replied.

'Watch out!" The same text also has: 須達撫掌驚嗟, 唱言禍事, 大怪出也 "Xuda clapped his hands and cried out in alarm, 'Good Heavens! An extraordinary thing has happened!'" The expression is also found in the *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Outlaws of the marsh), *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Records of a pilgrimage to the West), and other Ming novels.

**Someone asked.** In the original Chinese, the conjunction 祇如 (with its alternate, 只如) resembles the English "for instance," "as regards," "as in the case of." The adverbs 祇 and 只 emphasize 如. Less emphatic is the similar 且如, "for instance," "as for," "supposing that."

**The lay worker Shishi** translates 石室行者 (Shishi Xingzhe), another name for Shandao 善道. Shandao was a ninth-century monk in the Qingyuan line of Chan and an heir of the master Changzi Kuang 長髭曠 (n.d.).

According to his biography in ZJ 5 (15–16), during the proscription of Buddhism of 843 to 845 Shandao lived in a stone grotto in the Yu 攸 district of Tanzhou 潭州, in present Hunan. There he took off his monk's robes and assumed the dress of a "lay worker" 行者, a layman who lives in a temple and engages in menial work but does not shave his head. After the proscription was lifted, elder monks gathered around Shandao. He did not resume wearing his robes, however, spending his days instead treading the pestle shaft of the rice mortar to provide food for his students.

Yangshan Huiji visited Shandao; so also did Mukou 木口 (otherwise known as Xingshan Jianhong 杏山鑑洪 [n.d.]; see Introduction, page 100, note 33; for Xingshan's visit to Linji, see page 302). Shandao's biography is also found in the JC (T 51: 316a–b). The present anecdote is not found in Shishi Xingzhe's biographies.

The term "lay worker" is also associated with Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch, who, when he was at the Fifth Patriarch's monastery working in the rice-threshing shed, was known as Lu Xingzhe 盧行者, "the lay worker Lu"; he is regarded as the first lay worker in Chan.

**Forget** translates 忘卻, an example of a construction widely used in Tang colloquial language in which 卻 was attached to a verb. Generally 卻 either intensified the verb that it suffixed or indicated perfected action.

**Drowned in a deep spring** translates 沒溺深泉, which is probably Linji's metaphorical description of Shishi's state of mindlessness, already intimated by the words "he would forget that he was moving his feet" 忘卻移腳. Commentators disagree as to whether this remark was intended as appreciation or as criticism. If we assume the latter, the meaning would be that, though Shishi had attained the state of no-mind, he was unable to pull himself out of it.

Yuanwu Keqin quotes this entire anecdote, including Linji's comment, in his commentary to the verse section of case 34 in the BL, but substitutes the expression "deep pit" 深坑 for "deep spring" 深泉 (T 48: 175b). In this case Linji's remark

師乃云、但有來者、不虧欠伊。總識伊來處。若與麼來、恰似失卻。不與麼來、無繩自縛。一切時中、莫亂斟酌。會與不會、都來是錯。分明與麼道。一任天下人貶剝。久立珍重。

Then he continued, "Whoever comes to me, I do not fail him; I know exactly where he comes from. Should he come in a particular way, it's just as if he'd lost [himself]. Should he not come in a particular way, he'd have bound himself without a rope. Never ever engage in random speculation—whether you understand or don't understand, either way you're mistaken. I say this straight out. Anyone in the world is free to denounce me as he will. You have been standing a long time. Take care of yourselves."

is clearly taken in a derogatory sense. The *Da guangming zang* 大光明藏 (Treasury of great light) of Baotan 寶曇 (1265), refers this anecdote to the Sixth Patriarch and also substitutes "deep pit" for "deep spring" (X 79: 675c).

**Whoever** translates 但有. The character 但 in the Tang and Song usually had one of three distinct meanings: "only"; "if"; or "whatever… may," "whoever… may," "whenever… may," or "however… may." It did not ordinarily mean "but" or "nevertheless," as it did in later times. When 但 formed a compound with 有, as in the present instance, it generally meant "all," or "every" (analogous compounds are 所有, 諸有, and 應有).

**I know exactly where he comes from.** That is, "I shall be able to judge his true character and the depth of his understanding." When a monk came to a master for instruction, usually the first question the master put to him was, "Where do you come from?" The question had two meanings: a) what place—town or district—do you come from?; b) what degree of understanding have you reached now?

**In a particular way** translates 與麼, a Tang colloquial term meaning "thus," "like this," "like that," "in this (or that) manner." Sometimes 與 was replaced by its homophones 異 or 伊, and 麼 by its homophones 摩 and 沒. In the latter case, 麼 (or 摩 or 沒) did not form an interrogative expression, but was a mere adverbial suffix. In non-Buddhist books of the Tang and the Song there are few appearances of 與麼 and its variants, though on rare occasions we find its synonym 恁麼. More prevalent in non-Buddhist Song literature were 恁的 and 恁地, or simply 恁. There are two orthographical variants for 與麼: 熠沒 and 潛麼. An example of the former is found in the DB, 88, and there are several examples of the latter in the *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄, the recorded sayings of Chan Master Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052), e.g., T 47: 683a; 686b; and 686c. See also page 206, below.

與麼, along with its negative 不與麼, shows the Chan masters' penchant for giving metaphysical content to simple everyday words. (Another good example is 遮箇 [or 這箇], a demonstrative meaning "this" that was early used to indicate absolute reality.) Chan masters from late Tang times handled 與麼 and 不與麼 as affirmative and negative compounds and attributed profound meanings to them, a tendency reflected in the traditional Japanese Zen reading *fuyomo ni kitareba* (followed by Dōchū) for the negative form of the expression (see the note "should he not come in a particular way," below).

Although we have adopted a relatively

straightforward reading of 不與麼, the metaphysical overtones of this and the affirmative 與麼 in the present context should not be overlooked. The Japanese Sōtō monk Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253) devoted the entire ninth fascicle of his great work *Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 to elucidating the metaphysics of these two terms, there written in the variant forms 恁麼 and 不恁麼 (T 82: 124a–127a). Also, in the section on Zhaozhou Congshen in ZJ 18 we find:

> [A monk] asked: "Do you associate with the man who comes thus [與麼]?" The master said, "I do." "Do you associate with the man who does not come thus [不與麼]?" The master said, "I do." The monk asked: "To be sure, you are free to associate with the man who comes thus, but how do you associate with the man who does not come thus?" The master said: "Stop, stop! No need to speak. My dharma is wonderful and difficult to conceive of."

**Lost** translates 失卻, another example of the "verb + suffix 卻" form (see page 138, above). Normally 失 is a transitive verb with an expressed object; the lack of such an object here suggests that among Chan people the phrase was so well understood as to make an expressed object unnecessary. The following passages taken from eleventh-century Chan literature convey approximately the same meaning as Linji's statement, i.e., that the man of true attainment looks as if he were a fool:

> 直饒救得眼睛, 當下失卻鼻孔: Though you could save the pupil of your eye, at that moment you will have lost your nostrils (T 47: 856a).
>
> 贏得頂上笠, 失卻腳下鞋: He has gained a straw hat on the top of his head, but lost the straw sandals under his feet (BL, case 4; T 48: 143b).

**Should he not come in a particular way** translates 不與麼來, which is read by Dōchū as *fuyomo ni kitareba*, following the traditional reading of 不與麼 as the compound *fuyomo*. The construction cannot be read as a compound, however, since the negative 不 cannot be directly attached to the adverbial compound 與麼; instead, it must be read with the principal verb of the phrase of the sentence in which it appears. Thus Dōchū's *fuyomo ni kitareba* must be discarded for *yomo ni kitarazareba*.

**Never** translates 莫, read in Japanese by Dōchū as *nashi* (a simple negative). However, the negative imperative seems better to fulfil Linji's intention in view of the categorical tone of the sentence.

**Either way you're mistaken** translates 都來是錯, an example of a grammatical construction in which 來 serves as an adverbial suffix. Though widely used in the Tang and for some time later, this construction has been lost in modern Chinese. Other examples are 適來, "just now," 夜來, "last night," 春來, "last spring" or "this spring," and 今來, "nowadays."

VII

上堂。云、一人在孤峯頂上、無出身之路。一人在十字街頭、亦無向背。那箇在前、那箇在後。不作維摩詰、不作傅大士。珍重。

The master took the high seat in the hall and said, "One person is on top of a solitary peak and has no path by which to leave. One person is at the busy crossroads and has neither front nor back. Which is ahead, which is behind? Don't make the one out to be Vimalakīrti and the other to be Fu Dashi. Take care of yourselves."

## VII

**One person is on top of a solitary peak** describes someone who has reached the ultimate stage of practice, the realm of suchness, in which all discrimination has been cut off. Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771–853), in speaking of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780/82–865), said, "In the future, this fellow will bind together a grass hut on the summit of a solitary peak and scold the Buddha and abuse the patriarchs" (BL case 4; T 48: 143b).

**Path by which to leave** translates 出身之路, an expression that was ordinarily used to mean passing the civil service examination and qualifying for a post in the government. In the Chan tradition it was employed as a metaphor for breaking through the ultimate stage of practice and entering the state of enlightenment where even practice is left behind, and differentiation and emptiness are realized to be identical.

**One person is at the busy crossroads** describes the enlightened man who stands "at the busy crossroads" of life in the ordinary world. Though living in the midst of differentiation, he remains unattached to differentiation. Therefore he is described as having "neither front nor back."

**Neither front nor back** 無向背 is also seen in the earlier *Pang Jushi yulu*, but written as 無背向:

> The layman Pang and Ven. Qifeng were walking together one day when Pang went a step ahead and called out, "I'm better than you by one step." Qifeng replied, "There is neither back nor front, yet the old gentleman need strive to be ahead." (X 69: 131b)

For another variant of this expression, in which the master Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790) uses the term 非向背 rather than 無向背, see T 51: 461c.

**Vimalakīrti** (C., Weimojie 維摩詰) is a legendary Buddhist layman regarded by Mahayana tradition as a contemporary of Śākyamuni. He was held in especially high regard in China, where he was considered to embody all of the characteristics of the ideal lay Buddhist. According to the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, of which he is the central figure, Vimalakīrti lived in the Indian city of Vaiśālī and, though a householder of great wealth, had attained a degree of enlightenment superior even to that of the greatest bodhisattvas. According to some accounts he had been a buddha called the Golden Grain Tathāgata 金粟如來 in an earlier lifetime (e.g., T 48: 209b).

In the Zen school, Vimalakīrti is perhaps best known for an incident that took place when, using his miraculous powers, he entertained a great host of bodhisat-

tvas, gods, and śrāvakas in his ten-foot-square room. At that time the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī put to him the question, "What is meant by the bodhisattva's entering the gate of nonduality?" The great layman's reply was a deep silence (T 14: 551c). This episode is elaborated in case 84 of the BL (T 48: 209b–210b).

**Fu Dashi** 傅大士 (the title 大士 is roughly equivalent in meaning to "bodhisattva") is the most commonly used appellation for Fu Xi 傅翕 (497–569), a famous layman of the Liang and Chen dynasties who lived in what is now Jinhuafu 金華府 in Zhejiang. As a young man Fu heard the Buddha's teachings from a mendicant foreign monk, and was inspired to build a small hut for himself, his wife, and his two sons under a pair of śāla trees at the foot of a mountain near his village. During the day they tilled their fields; at night Fu disciplined himself in severe ascetic practices.

A few years later, after attaining a degree of enlightenment, Fu took for himself the name Shanhui Dashi 善慧大士, "Good Wisdom Bodhisattva." Thereafter, while continuing his ascetic practices, he devoted his life to spreading the Buddhist teachings among the people of his district and to alleviating the widespread suffering of that period. To obtain money to feed the starving he sold his fields on several occasions and, once, went so far as to sell his wife and sons into slavery (they were, it is said, soon ransomed). Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (Liang Wudi, r. 502–549) summoned him to Nanjing for an audience in 534. The emperor was much impressed by Fu and attempted to keep him in the capital, but within a year Fu had returned to his old home.

He is credited with having invented the revolving bookcase for sutras, the turning of which could, like spinning a prayer-wheel, assist even the most ignorant toward salvation. After his death he was considered an incarnation of Maitreya, the buddha-to-be. People also called him the Vimalakīrti of China.

An account of his teachings is found in a four-fascicle work, alternately titled *Shanhui Dashi lu* 善慧大士錄 (Record of Shanhui Dashi) and *Fu Dashi lu* 傅大士錄 (Record of Fu Dashi; X 69: #1335). This collection also contains various hymns and religious poems ascribed to him. There is in addition a Dunhuang manuscript associated with him, the *Liang chao Fu Dashi song jingang jing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經 (Verses by Fu Dashi of the Liang dynasty on the *Diamond Sutra;* T 85: 1a–8c). The BL, case 67, records a sermon on the *Diamond Sutra* said to have been given by him before Emperor Wu (T 48: 197a–b).

VIII

上堂。云、有一人、論劫在途中、不離家舍。有一人、離家舍、不在途中。那箇合受人天供養。便下座。

The master took the high seat in the hall and said, "One man is endlessly on the way, yet has never left home. Another has left home, yet is not on the way. Which one deserves the offerings of humans and gods?" Then he stepped down.

## VIII

**Endlessly** translates 論劫, a term that traditionally has been read in Japanese as *gō o ronjite*, which means, literally, "discussing kalpas," but which has been understood by most commentators to mean "forever," since the discussion of kalpas—spans of time that are limitless in time and number—could itself go on forever. Although the meaning arrived at is therefore correct, the process by which it was reached is not. In the compound 論劫, the character 論 does not possess its usual meaning of "to discuss," "to argue," or "to comment." A similar case is the compound 論情, meaning "in truth" or "indeed," an example of which is found in the *Dunhuang duosuo* 敦煌掇瑣 (Miscellany from Dunhuang), 146; other examples appear in the DB, 351, 395, 403, and 457. It would seem that in such usages the character 論 serves as a prepositional prefix, the function of which is to make an adverb of the word that follows it, and that the Japanese reading should thus be *ronkō ni*.

Early Chan literature provides us with a number of examples of 論劫, used always with the meaning of "forever" or "endlessly," as in the present text. For example, the following exchange is found in the JC:

> [A monk] asked, "During the twelve hours [of the day], how are we to conquer the mind?" The master [Chan Master Feng 奉禪師] said, "[One who] seeks fire by pounding ice will never succeed." (T 51: 287b)

Several examples are also found in the ZJ, e.g., fascicles 9:11, 12:1, and 12:15, etc.

**On the way** 途中 and **home** 家舍 were common colloquial expressions employed by Linji in a metaphorical sense. The great Japanese Rinzai Zen master Hakuin Ekaku 白隱慧鶴 (1686–1769), in his commentary upon the Five Ranks 五位 of Dongshan Liangjie, says that Linji's words "to be on the way, yet to have never left home; to have left home, yet not to be on the way," indicate the same degree of attainment as that described in the verse on the Fourth Rank:

> The Arrival at Mutual Integration:
> When two blades meet point-on / There's no need to withdraw.
> The master swordsman / Is like the lotus blooming in the fire.
> Such a man has in and of himself / A heaven-soaring spirit. (See ZD, 71)

**Offerings** translates 供養, which is the standard Chinese equivalent for the Sanskrit term "pūj," "veneration." Concretely, 供養 and "pūj" both refer to offerings of food, drink, flowers, clothing, and shelter made in gratitude to religious practitioners.

**Humans** 人 **and gods** 天 are the two highest of the six states of incarnate existence (Skr., ṣaḍ-gati), referred to in Chinese as the 六趣 or 六道. The six states are as follows, in descending order:

1. 天; deva: (Hindu) gods; (Buddhist) heavenly beings
2. 人; manuṣya: human beings

IX

上堂。僧問、如何是第一句。師云、三要印開朱點側、未容擬議主賓分。

The master took the high seat in the hall.
A monk asked, "What about the First Statement?" The master said:
The Seal of the Three Essentials being lifted, the vermilion impression is sharp;
With no room for speculation, host and guest are clear and distinct.

3. (阿)修羅; asura: titans, fighting deities
4. 畜生; tiryagyoni: members of the animal kingdom exclusive of human beings
5. 餓鬼; preta: hungry spirits, hungry ghosts, beings condemned to insatiable hunger
6. 地獄; naraka: denizens of the various hells, hell-dwellers.

### IX

**The master took the high seat in the hall.** The following discourse, one of Linji's most enigmatic, was later entitled Linji's Three Statements 三句. The sermon is found in four early collections:

1. The Linji section of the Song and Yuan editions of the JC. (Yüan ed., T 51: 300b)
2. The Fengxue Yanzhao section of the TG. Fengxue, the fourth patriarch of the Linji school, states during a sermon the three questions and answers as given in the LL, adding at the conclusion of each answer a short comment of his own. (X 78: 493a)
3. The Fengxue section of CS 3, where the exchanges are presented to Fengxue by his teacher Nanyuan Huiyong as a type of koan, introduced by the statement, "Linji had Three Statements" 臨濟有三句. The comments recorded in the TG are here given as Fengxue's immediate replies to Nanyuan. (X 79: 496c–497a)
4. In a comprehensive survey of Linji school doctrine found in RY 1, which includes a section on the Three Statements, together with comments upon each statement by Fengxue and other masters. The text prefaces this section with a quotation from another of Linji's sermons (see below), which the compiler of the RY obviously regarded as throwing light on the meaning of the statements. (T 48: 301b–c)

What exactly Linji meant by the Three Statements is difficult to discern solely on the basis of what he tells us. Later masters have offered a variety of interpretations, but all emphasize that the Three Statements are in no way to be regarded as three separate entities, but are mutually related.

The passage introducing the Three Statements in the RY is taken from sermon 19 in the present text (see page 264). We may well question whether the three statements spoken of there refer to the present Three Statements, or whether Linji was not rather speaking of students of varying degrees of ability—one who attains understanding at the first word of the master, one who needs a second opportunity, and one who fails to attain understanding even after the master has spoken a third time.

**First Statement** 第一句. This passage appears both in the LL and in the works mentioned in the note above; textual variants are minor.

問、如何是第二句。師云、妙解豈容無著問、漚和爭負截流機。

"What about the Second Statement?" The master said:
How could Miaojie permit Wuzhuo's questioning?
How could expedient means go against the activity that cuts through the stream?

**The Seal of the Three Essentials** 三要印. Here Linji uses the word "seal" 印 to represent the ultimate realization comprising the true nature of the Three Essential States. In Buddhism, a seal often serves to symbolize a truth that is fixed and unchanging (as in the term 印可, the seal of sanction conferred by a Chan master upon a disciple who has reached true understanding).

In the LL, the first line of Linji's answer, 三要印開朱點側, concludes with the character 側, "inclined toward," while in the other texts the final character is 窄, "narrow," "contracted." However, the pronunciation of the two characters is so close (*ce* and *ze*) that 側 may well have served in the written colloquial of the Tang as a homophone of 窄, and we have translated it in this way. The JC and the CS both have 存 for 分, the last character of the second line in the LL and RY.

Apropos of the First Statement, there are three interesting anecdotes. The first is from the *Zhaozhou lu* 趙州錄 (Record of Zhaozhou):

> Someone asked [Zhaozhou], "What about the First Statement?" The master coughed. [The questioner] said, "Is that it?" The master said, "I can't even cough!" (X 68: 84a)

The second anecdote is from the section devoted to a monk named Elder Taiyuan Fu 太原孚上座 (n.d.) in the JC:

> Xuefeng Yicun 雪峯義存 [Taiyuan's teacher] once inquired of the master [Taiyuan], "I see that Linji had Three Statements. Isn't that so?" The master said, "Yes." "What about the First Statement?" Xuefeng asked. The master lifted up his eyes and looked at Xuefeng. "That's the Second Statement," said Xuefeng. "What about the First Statement?" The master folded his hands on his chest and retired. Thereafter Xuefeng esteemed him highly and placed his seal upon him in his quarters, and the two became master and disciple. (T 51: 360a)

The third of the anecdotes is from the section on the Chan master Qingping 清平 (n.d.) found in ZJ 12:

> [Someone] asked, "What about the First Statement?" "If you want my head, cut it off," was the master's reply.

**Second Statement**. Commentators offer differing interpretations of Linji's pronouncements regarding the Second Statement, depending upon whether they take the two words *miaojie* 妙解 and *wuzhuo* 無著 to be proper names or Buddhist technical terms. We have taken the former approach, regarding the compound 妙解, which literally means "marvelous 妙 understanding 解," to be a metaphorical name for Mañjuśrī (the Bodhisattva of Marvelous Wisdom, who is closely associated with Mount Wutai 五臺; see page 203, below), and the two characters 無著 to refer to a monk named Wuzhuo (who, according to legends recorded in several Buddhist texts, met and conversed with Mañjuśrī on Wutai).

The story of Wuzhuo's pilgrimage to Mount Wutai was first recorded in the SG (T 50: 836c–837b), according to which Wuzhuo was a monk of the Huayan

school who climbed the sacred mountain in the year 767, encountered Mañjuśrī in his traditional manifestation of an old man accompanied by a young boy, experienced most of the other marvels associated with the mountain, and in the end retired there for the remainder of his life. At the conclusion of the SG account is the statement that, during the Yuanhe 元和 era (806–819), a disciple of Wuzhuo recorded and handed down this story of his master's experiences.

That the legend, with further elaborations, was widely known among Chan people soon after Linji's time is clear from the fact that allusions to it may be found in the biographies of the masters Xuefeng Yicun (ZJ 7), Baofu Congzhan 保福從展 (ZJ 11), and Fengxue Yanzhao (T 51: 302c).

The *Xuedou heshang baize songgu* 雪竇和尚百則頌古 (Xuedou's verse comments on one hundred old koans) contains a koan based upon an episode in the story. This story, together with the compiler Xuedou Chongxian's comment upon it, later became case 35 in Yuanwu Keqin's celebrated koan collection BL:

> Mañjuśrī asked Wuzhuo, "Where did you just come from?" "From the south," replied Wuzhuo. "And how does the buddhadharma fare in the south?" asked Mañjuśrī. Wuzhuo answered, "There are but few monks in the Final Age of the Law who maintain the precepts." Mañjuśrī asked, "How many monks are there?" Wuzhuo replied, "Some are three hundred, some are five hundred."
>
> Wuzhuo then asked Mañjuśrī, "How does the buddhadharma fare here?" Mañjuśrī said, "Worldly people and sages live together; dragons and snakes intermingle." "How many monks are there?" asked Wuzhuo. Mañjuśrī answered, "Front, three and three, back, three and three." (T 48: 173b–174b)

The *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳, a history of Mount Wutai written by Yanyi 延一 and dated 1061, contains not only the SG story (in considerably amplified form), but also all of the episodes referred to by the above-mentioned Chan masters. It follows the SG in giving the date of Wuzhuo's pilgrimage to Mount Wutai as 767 and having him retire there, but identifies him as a monk of the Chan school rather than as a Huayan monk.

The biographical compilation WH (1253), however, links much of this legendary material on Wuzhuo to a certain monk named Wenxi 文喜 (821–900), who, according to the account recorded in the WH, returned from Mount Wutai after three years and became the disciple and heir of the Chan master Yangshan Huiji (X 80: 193a–b). The identification of Wuzhuo and Wenxi is an error that appears to have arisen from the fact that the title Chan Master Wuzhuo 無著禪師 was imperially bestowed upon Wenxi in 897. This error entered later compilations that were based upon the WH, including all of the older Japanese commentaries. The WH account overlooks the fact that the title Chan Master Wuzhuo was bestowed upon Wenxi long after Linji's death.

The Japanese scholar-priest Dōchū seems to have been the first to regard the words *miaojie* and *wuzhuo* as the technical terms "marvelous understanding" and "detachment." Certain Japanese Zen masters continue to follow him, but the arguments in support of this theory are far from convincing.

Since Zhenzhou, where Linji lived, was on the direct road to Mount Wutai, it seems very likely that Linji would have been familiar with the tale of Wuzhuo and his adventures, a tale that was part of the lore surrounding the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī at the time. It would not, therefore, have been unnatural for him to make use of the story in his exchanges and sermons. Although Mañjuśrī is not referred to as Miaojie elsewhere in the LL—Linji generally refers to the bodhisattva as Dasheng

大聖 (Great Holy One)—this would not be the sole occasion in which Linji's genius created a new expression better capable of conveying his meaning (for another reference by Linji to Mañjuśrī and Mount Wutai, see pages 202–203, below).

In order to more fully understand the meaning of the Second Statement, it is helpful to take a closer look at the terms that appear in the verse recited by Linji. Dōchū, in his LL commentary *Rinzai Eshō zenji goroku soyaku*, discusses the two distinct meanings possessed by the character 負, as they apply to the line 渾和爭負截流機, translated here as, "How could skillful means go against the activity that cuts through the stream?" The respective meanings have equally distinct Japanese pronunciations: *ou* 負う, meaning "to carry, to bear on the back," and *somuku* 負く, "to turn one's back on," "to be at variance with." Though his reading of this character as *owan* 負わん in his Japanese text suggests that Dōchū prefers the first meaning (thus, "How could skillful means bear the activity that cuts through the stream?"), in his commentary he does not reject the possibility of its being read with the second meaning, *somuku*, the meaning that we have adopted.

There are two variants that exist for the second section of Linji's statement. For 渾 in the LL, the JC, and the RY, we find 諢 in the TG and the CS. For 負, "to turn one's back on," "to turn against," in the first three texts, the latter two have 赴, meaning "to go toward." Both variants, being homophones for the characters they supplant, may well be orthographic errors.

**Expedient means** translates the term 渾和, which is in turn a transcription of the Sanskrit word "upāya," "skillful means," usually rendered in Chinese as 方便. An early example is found in the fifth-century *Zhao lun* 肇論 (The treatises of Zhao), in the section "Zongbenyi" 宗本義 (Fundamental principles): "To adapt the transforming doctrine to sentient beings is called 'expedient means' 渾和" (T 45: 151a).

**The activity that cuts through the stream** [of a flowing river] is a statement that is used here as a metaphor for the activity of the "marvelous." According to this interpretation, the meaning of the entire passage would be as follows: from the standpoint of Mañjuśrī's fundamental and undifferentiated wisdom, any process of questioning, such as that resorted to by Wuzhuo, is unthinkable. This wisdom exists prior to questions and answers and cannot be attained through them; it is to be grasped directly. However, it manifests itself in the world through expedient teachings—indeed, the devices of expediency are the free and unimpeded working of this wisdom.

問、如何是第三句。師云、看取棚頭弄傀儡、抽牽都來裏有人。師又云、一句語須具三玄門、一玄門須具三要、有權有用。汝等諸人、作麼生會。下座。

"What about the Third Statement?" The master said:

Look at the wooden puppets performing on the stage!
Their jumps and jerks all depend upon the person behind.

The master further said, "Each Statement must comprise the Gates of the Three Mysteries, and the gate of each Mystery must comprise the Three Essentials. There are expedients and there is functioning. How do all of you understand this?" The master then stepped down.

**Third Statement.** Textual variants appear only in the second line of Linji's verse. The TG, like the LL, has 都來裏有人; the JC and the CS have 全藉裏頭人 (although the Song JC substitutes 邊 for 頭); and the RY has 元是裏頭人. Though the characters differ somewhat, the meaning is the same in all cases.

The Third Statement seems to offer fewer difficulties than the previous two. It may be interpreted to mean that all phenomena, including humans, are "puppets performing on the stage." Though their activities appear to originate with themselves, in fact all take place in response to the functioning of the source.

Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (862/4–949), founder of the Yunmen school of Chan, is also credited with Three Statements. It is likely, however, that these were first stated by Yunmen's disciple Deshan Yuanming 德山圓明 (n.d.), since they are not included in the YK, the record of Yunmen's teachings, but are rather appended to the work, together with Deshan's comments in verse on each statement. Yunmen's Three Statements are as follows:

1. Enveloping heaven and earth 函蓋乾坤
2. Cutting through the myriad streams 截斷衆流
3. Following the waves, according with the current 隨波逐浪 (T 47: 576b)

It is interesting that the second of these statements bears a decided resemblance to the latter part of Linji's verse to his Second Statement. Yunmen was obviously acquainted with Linji's Three Statements, for he says in the course of one of his sermons, "Linji had Three Statements" (T 47: 573a). However, he does not enumerate or explain them.

**The master further said….** The paragraph that follows is missing in the versions of the LL included in the TG and CS, but is found in the JC in a form identical to that of the LL. The RY version of the text (T 48: 301c–302b) opens with the statement, "The master was accustomed to expounding the tenets of the school" 師大凡演唱宗乘, in place of the LL's "The master further said" 師又云. Another variation between the two texts will be discussed further below.

**Gates of the Three Mysteries** 三玄門 derives from the Taoist 玄門, "dark gate." The last lines of the first verse of the Taoist *Daode jing* 道德經 (Classic of the Way and its virtue) read:

This we call the Unknown
The Unknown beyond the Unknown
The gate to all wonders.

The term 玄門 was adopted early in the history of Chinese Buddhism to refer to abstruse teachings, and by extension to

the teachings of Buddhism itself. Later, various schools used it for particular doctrines of their own, as with, for example, the Ten Profound Doctrines 十玄門 of the Huayan school. Since later masters in the Linji school consistently dropped the word "gate" and referred to the Three Mysteries 三玄, the term has been translated here as the "Gates of the Three Mysteries" rather than as the "Three Mysterious Gates."

The Three Statements, Three Mysteries, and Three Essential [States] have been variously equated with the buddha, the dharma, and the tao; with the dharmakāya, saṃbhogakāya, and nirmāṇakāya (for these terms, see pages 160–161, below); and with the three basic concepts of Chinese Buddhist philosophy: principle 理, wisdom 智, and function 行 or 用. The most we can say is, perhaps, that the master is throughout dealing with suchness in (1) its absolute state, (2) its manifestations as intrinsic wisdom and the functioning of this wisdom, and (3) its manifestation through humans and their activities. We may speak of the Three Statements, the Three Essential States, and the Three Mysteries, but these are all mutually related and in the end are but a way of observing the one reality.

Fenyang Shanzhao, the sixth patriarch of the Linji school (see Introduction, page 104, note 52), devoted much attention to to commenting upon all of Linji's formulas. For each of the Three Statements, Three Essential States, and Three Mysteries he wrote a verse in comment, but as these verses are no less cryptic than Linji's original remarks their interpretation has engaged the attention of commentators ever since. He concluded with this final verse:

> The Three Mysteries and Three Essentials / These are indeed difficult to discern.
> When the meaning is attained and the words forgotten / It is easy to become intimate with the Way.
> The First Statement clearly and obviously / Includes the myriad forms.
> On the ninth day of the ninth month / Chrysanthemum flowers bloom anew. (RY; T 48: 302b)

**Provisional expedients** translates 權, that which is temporary or conditional, as opposed to 實, that which is fundamental, absolute, or real. It is similar to the term 方便 (see page 146, above, and page 212, below). In contrast to the LL's 有權有用, the RY has 有權有實, 有照有用, "There is the provisional expedient and there is the real; there is illumination, and there is functioning" (T 48: 302a). Since the expression is found in this form in various other sources (e.g., X 64: 49a; X 68: 620c; X 80: 221c), including Linji's successor Xinghua Cunjiang (X 67: 235c), some commentators believe that this may have been the original form of Linji's remark. On this passage a modern Zen master has commented, "Such analysis of his Chan is Linji's expedient for drawing the student into understanding. His roaring shouts and his blows with his staff are his direct functioning."

**How do all of you understand this?** The interrogative "how" translates 作麼生. The character 生 is a suffix; in non-Buddhist Tang literature the expression is usually written 作麼, without 生. However, 作麼生 and 作麼 differ slightly in meaning, in that the latter is often used as a rhetorical question with an implied negation, i.e., "What is the good of…?" or "What need…?" Two examples of this usage are found later in the LL; see pages 306 and 316.

X

師晚參示衆云、有時奪人不奪境、有時奪境不奪人、有時人境俱奪、有時人境俱不奪。

At the evening gathering the master addressed the assembly, saying: "Sometimes I take away the person but do not take away the surroundings; sometimes I take away the surroundings but do not take away the person; sometimes I take away both person and surroundings; sometimes I take away neither person nor surroundings."

## X

**Evening gathering** 晚參. We have no definite knowledge of what this term referred to during Tang times, but in the Song it was an evening meeting of the assembly held in the master's quarters 方丈 (see page 131, above). It was informal in procedure, in contrast to the formal service held in the morning in the main hall, when the master took the high seat.

**Sometimes I take away the person….** The following short sermon came to be known as Linji's Statement Regarding the Four Types of Classification 四種料簡語, or the Four Classifications 四料揀. 料揀 here signifies "selecting by measuring." The sermon appears in the following four early texts, where the four questions with Linji's verse answers are found either with or without the master's introductory statement as given in the LL. The few textual variants are minor.

1. The JC, in the biography of Zhuozhou Zhiyi 涿州紙衣 (n.d.) (T 51: 295c–296a), where it is stated that Zhiyi asked the four questions of Linji (the third and fourth questions are in reverse order). Linji's introductory statement is not found in this text, and the material is untitled. But at the conclusion of Linji's answer to the last question it is said, "At these words the master [Zhiyi] attained the profound principle and entered deeply into the Gate of the Three Mysteries 三玄, the Three Essentials 三要, and the Four Statements 四句." We may surmise that the Four Statements here refers to the Four Classifications.
2. TG 13, in the biography of Zhuozhou Kefu 涿州剋符 (n.d.) (X 78: 479–480b), where there is the line, "Linji took the high seat and offered his Four Classifications 四種料揀"; this is followed by the introductory statement and the four questions and answers. The *Da guangming zang* identifies Kefu with Zhiyi (X 79: 711b); all texts that mention this figure list him as one of Linji's heirs.
3. CS 3, in the biography of Fengxue Yanzhao, where Fengxue is asked by his teacher Nanyuan Huiyong, "When you speak about Four Types of Classification 四種料簡語, what doctrine is classified?" Fengxue replied, "Generally speaking, when they are not restricted by the bonds of ordinary feelings, words fall into sacred interpretations. Students tend to have this serious illness. The wise men of old, out of pity for them, provided skillful teachings [to be used] just as one wedge is used to drive out another." Nanyuan then proceeds to ask him the four questions one by one, and one by one Fengxue answers them with verses of his own in place of those given by Linji (X 79: 496c–497a).
4. The RY gives the title Four Categories 四料揀 to the first section of its material on the teachings of the Linji school, prefacing the actual Four Categories,

時有僧問、如何是奪人不奪境。師云、煦日發生鋪地錦、瓔孩垂髮白如絲。僧云、如何是奪境不奪人。師云、王令已行天下遍、將軍塞外絕烟塵。僧云、如何是人境兩俱奪。師云、并汾絕信、獨處一方。

Then a monk asked, "What about 'to take away the person and not take away the surroundings'?"

The master said,

The spring sun comes forth, covering the earth with brocade;
A child's hair hangs down, white as silken strands.

The monk asked, "What about 'to take away the surroundings and not take away the person'?" The master said,

The rule of the sovereign prevails throughout the land;
The general has laid to rest the dusts of battle beyond the frontiers.

Again the monk asked, "What about 'to take away both person and surroundings'?" The master said,

No news from Bing and Fen,
Isolated and away from everywhere.

including the introductory statement, by some material on Puhua 普化 and Kefu that is not in the LL. The four questions are each followed by Linji's verses. The section concludes with verses by Kefu, Fengxue, and several later Linji masters (T 48: 300b–301b).

This classification may be philosophically interpreted as a division of all existence into two categories: humanity and the surrounding world. In that case the first statement presents the objective world as it is, totally free from human subjective judgment; the second statement presents the human standpoint as central, with the objective world wiped out; the third statement obliterates both man and the objective world; the fourth statement describes man and the objective world in harmonious mutual relationship. Although it is questionable whether Linji himself would have subscribed to such an analysis, in this passage he may have been stating a series of steps by means of which the Mahayana doctrine on the relationship between humanity and the universe is realized. This series resembles in form, if not in content, the famous Four Propositions 四句分別 of Indian Buddhist logic, the Four Dharma Realms 四法界 of the Huayan school, and the Five Ranks 五位 of Chan. Perhaps the making of such classifications was a tendency current at the time.

**The spring sun comes forth….** The first line of the verse may be taken to present "the surroundings"; the second line eliminates "the person," since a white-haired Chinese child is an impossibility.

**The rule of the Sovereign….** In the first line of this verse, the supremacy of "the Sovereign" (person) in effect eliminates "throughout the world" (surroundings). In the second line "the general" (the person)

eliminates the "dusts of battle beyond the frontiers" (surroundings).

**No news from Bing and Fen.** The old districts of Bing 并 and Fen 汾 corresponded in Tang times to the northern part of present Shanxi and the district along the Fen River, and were thus part of the northern provinces.

The Chinese histories record no particular event to which Linji's comment about Bing and Fen can be specifically related, but by the mid-Tang the general situation in the northern provinces was such as to provide more than one occasion to which the verse could refer.

The three military commissioners of the districts north of the Yellow River, backed by their powerful military forces, had become virtual dictators, operating independently of the central government (see pages 63 and 70). In 809 and again in 816 Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 805–820) sent expeditions against Wang Chengzong 王承宗 (d. 820), within whose area of power lay Bing and Fen, in an attempt to reassert the authority of the central government. The final defeat of the imperial armies in 816 by Wang's forces all but ended the control of the government over the northern provinces, and further weakened the already unstable throne (*Jiu Tang shu* 142; *Tongjian jishi benmo* 通鑑紀事本末 [Events of the *Comprehensive mirror to aid government* in their historical context] 33 and 34).

Linji's verse may well refer to this situation. If so, his point would have been, of course, that the area of Bing and Fen was completely isolated from the central government, and all communication between them was cut off.

Earlier commentators relate the verse to the story of a certain Wu Yuanji 吳元濟 (738–817), a rebel who made his base in the walled city of Caizhou 蔡州, which was regarded as impregnable. One day in the winter of 817, after a particularly heavy snow had formed drifts rising up to the top of the city walls, the imperial commander, Li Su 李愬, succeeded in capturing Caizhou and killing Wu. There is no evidence, however, that Wu ever controlled Bing and Fen, which, being north of the Yellow River, were far from Caizhou, located in the present district of Runingfu 汝寧府 in Henan. Consequently there seems to be no reason to connect the isolation of Bing and Fen mentioned in Linji's verse with Wu's rebellion.

The connection with Wu appears to have been inspired by an anecdote in the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu* 大慧普覺禪師年譜 (The chronology of Chan master Dahui Pujue), under the date Shaoxing 紹興 10 (1140):

> His lordship [Zhang Jiucheng] then brought up Kefu's question to Linji, proceeding as far as, "What about 'to take away both person and surroundings?", when unconsciously he seemed quite pleased. The master [Dahui] said, "I do not agree." His lordship replied, "What is Your Reverence's view?" The master said, "He conquered the city of Caizhou and killed Wu Yuanji." At these words his lordship attained complete freedom from delusions. (*Dai-Nippon kōtei daizōkyō* 8: 10a)

It was because of Dahui's association with Zhang Jiucheng 張九成 (also known by his Buddhist name of Layman Wugou 無垢居士; 1092–1159)—one of several important officials among the master's lay disciples, and a vigorous opponent of the imperial policy of peace with the northern Jurchen invaders following removal of the Song court to the south—that Dahui was laicized for a seventeen-year period (see Introduction, page 111, note 75).

僧云、如何是人境俱不奪。師云、王登寶殿、野老謳歌。師乃云、今時學佛法者、且要求眞正見解。若得眞正見解、生死不染、去住自由。不要求殊勝、殊勝自至。道流、祇如自古先德、皆有出人底路。如山僧指示人處、祇要爾不受人惑。要用便用、更莫遲疑。

The monk asked, "What about 'to take away neither person nor the surroundings'?" The master said,

The sovereign ascends into the jeweled palace;
Aged rustics sing songs.

Then the master said, "Nowadays, he who studies buddhadharma must seek true insight. Gaining true insight, he is not affected by birth-and-death, but freely goes or stays. He needn't seek the excellent—that which is excellent will come of itself.

"Followers of the Way, our eminent predecessors from of old have all had their ways of saving people. As for me, what I want to make clear to you is that you must not accept the deluded views of others. If you want to act, then act. Don't hesitate.

**The sovereign** 王 and **aged rustics** 野老 are both presented affirmatively in a world of peace.

**Then the master said….** The long sermon that follows is one of the most famous in the LL, summarizing in simple words the basic teachings of the Linji school. The entire sermon is included in various collections, such as ZY 2 (X 67: 576a–c), GY 4 (X 68: 24a–c), TG 11 (X 78: 468a–c), ZH 9 (X 79: 83b–c), in a form identical with that in the LL except for orthographical and typographical errors. The JC (T 51: 446c–447a) has a much-abbreviated version of the sermon with a few interpolations, and the ZL also has a long passage from it (T 48: 943c). Important textual variations will be noted below.

**True insight** 眞正見解 is one of the central concepts in Linji's teaching. It seems to have been original with the master, since it is found only in the LL, or in passages in other works that quote Linji or set forth his teaching. Later in the text (see page 195) the master gives a detailed explanation of the term. See also the following passage in the *Wuxing lun* 悟性論 (Treatise on the awakened nature), one of the short texts traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma:

> The one who truly sees 正見 knows that mind is empty nothingness. Such a one, that is, transcends both delusion and enlightenment. Only when one is without either delusion or enlightenment can one be said to truly understand, to truly see 正解正見. (T 48: 371b)

**Birth-and-death** 生死 refers to rebirth in one realm after another dependent upon the karma a being acquires. It is equivalent in meaning to, though not a literal translation of, the Sanskrit "saṃsāra," a more usual Chinese term for which is 輪廻 (see page 158, below).

**Freely goes or stays** 去住自由 means that one is free to stay in the world or to leave it, as one wishes. The belief is that, unlike ordinary people, for whom birth

and death are dictated by karma, free persons are able to determine their own mode of existence.

For example, when the Third Patriarch, Sengcan, was about to die, he said:

> People all esteem meeting one's end sitting down, and are moved to wonder at the unusual. Now I am going to pass away standing up. I am free [to choose] life or death 生死自由." When his words ended, he grasped the branch of a tree with his hands, and immediately his breathing ceased. (T 85: 1286b)

The Sixth Patriarch is recorded to have addressed his disciples as follows:

> If you are enlightened as to your own nature you neither set up bodhi or nirvana, nor do you set up the wisdom born of emancipation. When there is not a single dharma to be affirmed, then you are able to establish the myriad dharmas. If you understand the meaning of this, [this is what] is called the body of buddha, this is what is called bodhi and nirvana, the wisdom born of emancipation. The person who sees into his own nature 見性 can set these up. He is free to come or go 去來自由, without restriction, without hindrance. (T 48: 358c)

Baizhang Huaihai, the teacher of Linji's master Huangbo Xiyun, said:

> Previous men of attainment entered fire and were not burned, entered water and were not drowned. Furthermore, when they wished to burn, they burned; when they wished to drown, they drowned; when they wished to live they lived; when they wished to die, they died. They were free to go or to stay 去住自由. Such people possessed freedom. (GY 2; X 68: 10b)

**Excellent** translates the compound 殊勝, which is of Buddhist origin and is found in Chinese only in the Buddhist literature, where it means "excellent," "rare," or "surpassing" (in modern Japanese it means "laudable" or "commendable"). It seems to have been in use from at least the fifth century, as the following two passages indicate:

> At that time the World-Honored One, again desiring to admonish and arouse the bhikkus, and furthermore because he wished to make known to the assembly the excellent, all-embracing meritorious virtues 殊勝廣大功德 like unto his own, which had been attained by Sthavira Mahākāśyapa, addressed all the bhikkus, saying…. (T 2: 302a)

> At that time, in the realm of the upper regions, was a country called "Excellent Meritorious Virtues" 殊勝功德. The title of the buddha of this country was "King of Virtues." (T 3: 589b)

**Followers of the Way** 道流 was originally a term applied by Taoists to themselves; in the sixth century it became also a synonym for the tradition of Taoism itself. Later, Chinese Buddhists adopted the term and applied it to all of those who, whether lay or clerical, had committed themselves to the Buddhist path. Linji, here and elsewhere in the LL, uses the expression as a term of address for the audience. Perhaps the earliest usage of "followers of the Way" in a Chan text is found in the preface to the *Lengqie shizi ji*, where the author Jingjue 淨覺 (683–760?) writes,

> I now commit [to you] this preface, trusting that my understanding [may be revealed] within. I hope that those who follow the Way 道流, as I do, will be aware of my intention.

**Ways of saving people** translates 出人底路, a phrase that Japanese commentators have interpreted in several ways; we have followed Dōchū, who, in his *Rinzai Eshō zenji goroku soyaku*, says, "The eminent predecessors had various kinds of skillful means for saving people. The word 出す (J., *idasu*) means to release people, as from prison, or to rescue them from death by drowning…. 路 (J., *michi*)… is 'skillful means' 方便 (J., *hōben*)."

如今學者不得、病在甚處。病在不自信處。爾若自信不及、即便忙忙地徇一切境轉、被他萬境回換、不得自由。爾若能歇得念念馳求心、便與祖佛不別。爾欲得識祖佛麼。祇爾面前聽法底是。學人信不及、便向外馳求。設求得者、皆是文字勝相、終不得他活祖意。

"Students today can't get anywhere. What ails you? Lack of faith in yourself is what ails you. If you lack faith in yourself, you'll keep on tumbling along, following in bewilderment after all kinds of circumstances and being taken by them through transformation after transformation without ever attaining freedom.

"Bring to rest the thoughts of the ceaselessly seeking mind, and you will not differ from the patriarch-buddha. Do you want to know the patriarch-buddha? He is none other than you who stand before me listening to my discourse. But because you students lack faith in yourselves, you run around seeking something outside. Even if, through your seeking, you did find something, that something would be nothing more than fancy descriptions in written words; never would you gain the mind of the living patriarch.

The use of 底 to connect a modifier with the word it modifies (a function similar to that performed by 的 in modern Chinese) was not frequent in the Tang, but many examples are found in the literature of the Five Dynasties (see Ōta 1958, 354–355). The frequent use of 底 in the LL may offer a clue concerning the date of its compilation. This passage is missing in the JC and ZL versions of this sermon.

**You must not accept the deluded views of others** 祇要爾不受人惑. Several times in this and other sermons Linji admonishes his students not to be led astray by the erroneous views of others, that is, bad teachers and ignorant fellow students.

The same idea is expressed in the following passage from the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great perfection of wisdom sutra), although the term 人惑 is not employed:

> The bodhisattva-mahāsattva abides within the state that he himself has confirmed. He does not follow the words of others, and there is no one who can destroy [this state]. (T 8: 343a)

(See also page 208, below)

**If you want to act, then act** translates 要用便用, a phrase that has been interpreted by Japanese commentators in several ways, all of which seem forced. The same injunction is found later in the text (see page 267), but in a different context. Although it does not appear in the ZL text, it does appear in the JC (T 51: 446c), preceded by the words, "Today, followers of the Way must not be bound by delusion" 如今道流且要不滯於惑.

**In bewilderment** translates 忙忙地, an example of a grammatical construction in which 地 is a suffix affixed to an adverb. This form was already found in the literature of the Six Dynasties, and by the Tang it was an established usage (see Ōta 1958, 352). On rare occasions 地 is replaced by 底, as in 忽底 "suddenly," 驀底 "in a flash," 恬底 "indifferently," 微微底 "slightly," and 索索底 "candidly," all found in the ZJ.

**Without ever attaining freedom.** *Editor's note:* This translates 不自信處, rendered in SASAKI as "never be yourself" (1975, 7). The translation has been changed in accordance with the subsequent research of YANAGIDA (1977, 71) and IRIYA (1989, 33).

**Thoughts** 念念. The character 念 represents two unrelated Sanskrit terms: "smṛti," which indicates mindfulness, awareness, or recollection; and "kṣana," a "thought-instant," the infinitesimally short yet supposedly precise unit of time necessary for a thought to flash across the mind. 念念 refers to the ceaseless passage of these successive units of time, as thought after thought uninterruptedly flows through the mind.

**Patriarch-buddha** translates the compound 祖佛, a reversal of the more usual Buddhist term 佛祖, "buddhas and patriarchs." Although this expression generally referred to historical and semihistorical figures—"the patriarchs and the buddhas"—it is more likely that in the LL the master used it in an abstract or metaphysical sense, and it has thus been translated as "patriarch-buddha."

The probability that it is being used in an abstract sense is suggested by the manner in which the term is employed. Linji uses both "buddhas and patriarchs" and "patriarch-buddha," the former five times, the latter nine times; in seven of the latter usages the term appears in exactly the same set phrase: 與祖佛不別, "you will not differ from the patriarch-buddha." This, together with the fact that the phrase is closely followed in the present passage by the expression "living patriarch" 活祖—a clearly metaphysical term—suggests that Linji used "patriarch-buddha" in the symbolic sense of "buddha as our ancestor."

That this metaphysical understanding of the word "patriarch" was already present in the thought of Linji's teacher Huangbo may be seen from the following extracts from the WL:

> When Bodhidharma came to this land and reached the two kingdoms of Liang and Wei, there was only one man, Great Teacher Ke 可大師, who secretly had faith in his own mind, and at a word understood that this very mind is buddha, that body and mind are nonexistent, and that this is what is called the Great Way. The great Way fundamentally is universal sameness. Therefore the faith that sentient beings are of one and the same true nature, that mind and this nature do not differ, that this very nature is mind, and that mind does not differ from nature, this is what is meant by "patriarch." (T 48: 384b).

> [Someone asked,] "What is buddha?" The master [Huangbo] said, "Your mind, just this is buddha, and buddha, just this is mind. Mind and buddha are not different. Therefore it is said, 'This very mind, this is buddha.' Separate from mind, furthermore, there is no buddha." [Someone then] said, "If one's own mind is buddha, then, when the Patriarch came from the West, how did he hand down the transmission?" The master said, "When the Patriarch came from the West he transmitted only mind-buddha. He pointed directly to [the truth] that the minds of all of you are none other than buddha, and that mind and buddha do not differ. This is what is meant by 'patriarch.'" (T 48: 385b)

The expression "patriarch-buddha" was rarely used before the end of the Tang, and then only in Chan, where it gradually came to replace "the buddhas and patriarchs." By the Song its use was almost universal in the school.

The more general usage of the term "patriarch-buddha" to refer to historical and semihistorical figures is found in the following examples from two of Linji's contemporaries:

> When he had taken the high seat, the master [Dongshan] said, "If the words of the patriarchs and buddhas resemble those of

a newly made enemy of your house, only then is it proper for you to study [Chan]. If you can't see through the patriarchs and the buddhas, then you'll be deceived by them." (T 47: 509c)

Someone asked, "Who is the man whom neither the patriarchs nor the buddhas can approach?" The master [Zhaozhou] said, "He is not a patriarch or a buddha." (X 68: 81b)

The placement of "patriarchs" before "buddhas" undoubtedly reflects the veneration the Chinese felt for their ancestors in general, as well as the special reverence in which adherents of the Chan school held their own ancestral line.

**Do you want to know** translates 爾欲得識, in which 欲得 is a colloquial compound verb meaning "to desire to…," "to wish to…"; 得 is a suffix. The usage appeared during the Three Kingdoms era (221–279) and was still common during the Tang and the Five Dynasties. The traditional Japanese reading, *en to hossu*, followed by Dōchū, mistakenly divides the compound into two words, thus giving it the meaning of "to wish to be able to…."

**He is none other than you who stand before me listening to my discourse** translates 祇爾面前聽法底是, a sentence that contains two interesting grammatical constructions:

1. The character 祇 is a particle that emphasizes the following noun, noun clause, or, as in this case, pronoun: "this very you" or "none other than you." The noun, pronoun, or noun clause that 祇 precedes is invariably in the nominative case.
2. The character 底 at the end of an adjective or adjectival phrase forms a noun-equivalent usually in apposition to, or a relative clause modifying, the preceding noun, in this case "you who stand before…." The usage first appeared during the Five Dynasties (Ōta 1958, 355). However, in similar sentences that appear later (see pages 160 and 216, below), "…爾 …底人," 爾 and 人 are in apposition, "you, the men who stand…," and the phrase ending with 底 is a relative clause modifying 人.

The traditional Japanese reading of this line, *tada nanji ga menzen chōbōtei ze nari*, "he who right now in your presence is listening to my sermon," incorrectly makes "you" 爾, which should be the subject, a genitive governing "presence" 面前.

**Seeking something outside.** That one must not seek anything outside of oneself was a constant theme in Chan (see also the comment on "not accept the deluded views," page 155, above). Linji's oft-repeated admonition came down to him through the three generations of teachers before him.

Mazu: "Rush about seeking outside, and you only turn further and further away." (GY 1; X 68: 3c)

Baizhang: "From the beginning you have not recognized that your own knowledge and your own awakening, just these are the buddha within yourself. [Instead] you rush about seeking buddha outside." (GY 1; X 68: 6c)

Huangbo: "Students of the Way lose sight of their own original mind; they do not recognize that it is buddha. So they keep on seeking outside; by resorting to activities and utilizing practices, they hope to attain realization step by step. Though they seek diligently through successive kalpas, never will they attain the Way." (T 48: 380c)

莫錯、諸禪德。此時不遇、萬劫千生、輪回三界、徇好境掇去、驢牛肚裏生。道流、約山僧見處、與釋迦不別。今日多般用處、欠少什麼。六道神光、未曾間歇。若能如是見得、祇是一生無事人。大德、三界無安、猶如火宅。此不是爾久停住處。無常殺鬼、一剎那間、不揀貴賤老少。

"Make no mistake, worthy Chan men! If you don't find it here and now, you'll go on transmigrating through the three realms for myriads of kalpas and thousands of lives, and, held in the clutch of captivating circumstances, be born in the womb of asses or cows.

"Followers of the Way, as I see it we are no different from Śākya. What do we lack for our manifold activities today? The six-rayed divine light never ceases to shine. See it this way, and you'll be one who has nothing to do your whole life long.

"Virtuous monks, 'The three realms lack tranquility, just like a burning house'. This is not a place we remain for long. The death-dealing demon of impermanence comes in an instant, without discriminating between noble and base, old and young.

**Worthy Chan men** 諸禪德 is an honorific term of address to the audience, equivalent in meaning to 道流 (see comment on page 154, above).

**Transmigrating** translates 輪廻, the most commonly used Chinese equivalent of the Sanskrit "saṃsāra." Other renditions are 生死輪廻 and 流轉. 輪廻 refers to the endless succession of lives and deaths, likened to the infinite revolutions of a wheel (輪廻 literally means "the turning of a wheel").

**Three realms** translates 三界, the Chinese term for the Sanskrit "triloka" (or "trailokya"). "Three realms" is a collective term for "the world," that is, for everything this side of enlightenment. The term and the concepts it represents go back to early Buddhism, and originally derived from Brahmanic cosmology. The three spheres comprising the triloka are:

1. 欲界 (kāmadhātu): the realm of sensuous desire, the beings of which are permeated with desire in some form, however subtle. The inhabitants of the kāmadhātu are those in the six states of incarnate existence, from hell-dwellers to gods. The state in which the gods dwell is the highest form of incarnation in this realm and comprises six progressively higher subdivisions.
2. 色界 (rūpadhātu): the realm of matter just as it is, but without the usual affective associations. It is the realm of pure form, including pure thought-form. This realm, with its seventeen or eighteen heavens of form, may be considered either as the abode of the gods or as a representation of progressively finer states of contemplation.
3. 無色界 (arūpadhātu): the world of nonform, or of pure consciousness, in which even thought is nonexistent. Its four states of contemplation lead through consciousness of space only, time only, and, finally, neither thought nor nothought.

It should be noted that none of these states is permanent; however long or short, all are finite. When they end, they eventuate

in reincarnation, whether in the same state of being or in a different one. In a later sermon (see page 239), Linji expounds his own distinctive interpretation of the three realms.

**As I see it we are no different from Śākya.** Parallel passages in the JC and the ZL both have 古聖, "the ancient sages," in place of 釋迦, "Śākya," and both have Linji addressing 如今諸人, "now all of you."

**The six-rayed divine light** 六道神光 refers to the marvelous activities of the six sense organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body [touch], and mind), which are here compared to rays of light (道 is a counter for rays of light). The same idea is expressed in Yongjia's *Zhengdao ge* (Song of enlightenment):

> The Mani-jewel—people do not know
> That they themselves have received it
> from the Tathāgata's womb.
> Its sixfold divine functioning is empty, yet not empty
> Its one perfect luminance embraces all colors, yet is not color.
> (T 48: 395c)

See also page 266, below.

**One who has nothing to do** 無事人 is a term used to describe the fully enlightened person. Linji says, "Buddhas and patriarchs are people with nothing to do" (page 212). The expression may have originated with Baizhang Huaihai, who states:

> Just he for whom at present, as regards each and every external circumstance, there is no delusion, no disturbance, no anger, and no joy; and, as regards the gates of his own six sense organs, has wiped and settled them so that they are clean, this is the one who is without anything to do. (X 68: 12c)

This expression was used by both Guishan Lingyou and Huangbo Xiyun, the two great disciples of Baizhang. Guishan says:

> One who is like the clear stillness of autumn water, pure, motionless, tranquil, and unobstructed—such a one is called a person of the Way, also a person who has nothing to do. (T 47: 577b–c)

Huangbo writes:

> One whose outer and inner feelings are completely extinguished and who clings to nothing, such is the one who has nothing to do. (T 48: 382c)
>
> [Huangbo] said, 'The hundred-odd kinds of knowledge do not compare with non-seeking. This is the ultimate. The person of the Way is the one who has nothing to do, who has no mind at all and no doctrine to preach. Having nothing to do, such a person lives at ease. (T 48: 383b)

**Virtuous monks** translates 大德, a form of address similar to the above-mentioned "followers of the Way" 道流 and "worthy Chan men" 諸禪德. This entire paragraph, from "Virtuous monks" to "noble and base, old and young," is missing in both the JC and the ZL versions.

**The three realms….** This sentence refers to the famous parable in the *Lotus Sutra*, where the world is likened to a burning house 火宅. Linji quotes two lines from Kumārajīva's translation of the sutra (T 9: 14c.22).

**The death-dealing demon of impermanence** translates 無常殺鬼. 無常 renders the Sanskrit "anitya" (impermanence). In the Chinese language, the word 無常 is occasionally used as a synonym for "death". The Northern *Nirvana Sutra* contains one of Śākyamuni's famous pronouncements on anitya: "All activities are impermanent; they are that which is subject to birth and extinction." (T 12: 450a)

The first known use of the term 無常殺鬼 is in the treatise *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Great calming and contemplation), by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school:

> The death-dealing demon of impermanence 無常殺鬼 does not differentiate the heroic and the virtuous. Everything is frail and fragile, and cannot be relied upon. How, then, can a man look forward to

爾要與祖佛不別、但莫外求。爾一念心上清淨光、是爾屋裏法身佛。爾一念心上無分別光、是爾屋裏報身佛。爾一念心上無差別光、是爾屋裏化身佛。此三種身、是爾即今目前聽法底人。祇爲不向外馳求、有此功用。

"If you wish to differ in no way from the patriarch-buddha, just don't seek outside.

"The pure light in a single thought of yours—this is the dharmakāya buddha within your own house. The nondiscriminating light in a single thought of yours—this is the saṃbhogakāya buddha within your own house. The nondifferentiating light in a single thought of yours—this is the nirmāṇakāya buddha within your own house. This threefold body is you, listening to my discourse right now before my very eyes. It is precisely because you don't run around seeking outside that you have such meritorious activities.

living a lifetime with any tranquility? He rushes about seeking in the four directions, storing up goods and accumulating property. But before what he has accumulated is sufficient, suddenly he goes on the long journey. (T 46: 93c)

The first Chan master to use the expression appears to have been Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771–853). In the *Guishan Dayuan Chanshi jingce* 潙山大圓禪師警策 (Chan master Guishan Dayuan's admonitions) we read:

The death-dealing demon of impermanence never for an instant desists. Life cannot be prolonged, time cannot be detained. (T 48: 1043a)

**Instant** is a translation of 刹那, which in turn is a translation of the Sanskrit word "kṣana," which traditionally means the shortest possible period of time. See also page 156, above.

**If you wish to differ in no way from the patriarch-buddha** translates 爾要與祖佛不別, a statement similar to Linji's comment a few lines earlier, "We are not different from Śākya," 與釋迦不別. This and the following line are missing in the JC text, but are present in the ZL, where they are identical with the LL version, except that 欲得 takes the place of 爾要. The meaning, however, is the same.

**The pure light… within your own house.** In this passage Linji speaks of the human body as a house that is the dwelling place of the trikāya, the threefold body of buddha 三身, which reveals its presence through the three aspects of each instant of human thought. The three bodies of the trikāya are:

1. Dharmakāya 法身: the unconditioned, absolute buddha, beyond all form. The dharmakāya is buddha viewed as truth itself, and as such is the essence of wisdom and purity. Linji is referring to this latter attribute when he characterizes the light of the mind in its first manifestation as 清淨 (Skr., pariśuddha), that is, pure and free from any defilement. The dharmakāya is symbolically represented by Vairocana Buddha.
2. Saṃbhogakāya 報身: the "reward" or "recompense" body. This is the body that a buddha receives as a reward for fulfilling the vows taken during bodhisattvahood. It is defined under two aspects: as the body received for the buddha's own enjoyment 自受用身, and as that

received for the sake of others 他受用身. In this second aspect the saṃbhogakāya reveals itself to the bodhisattvas, to whom alone it is traditionally said to be visible, in order to enlighten and inspire them. A typical representation of the saṃbhogakāya is Amitābha/Amitāyus Buddha.

3. Nirmāṇakāya 化身 or 應身: the body that the buddha assumes when, in human form, he appears in the world for the purpose of bringing enlightenment to others. A typical representation of the nirmāṇakāya is Śākyamuni Buddha.

The doctrine of the threefold body of buddha is confined to Mahayana Buddhism, although undoubtedly its origin can be found in ideas that arose in the older Buddhist traditions.

The *Shimen bianhuo lun* 十門辯惑論 (Clarifying ten questions regarding Buddhist doctrine) of Fuli 復禮 contains a somewhat radical description of the three bodies:

> The dharmakāya is like the nature of the empty sky. Clouds rise like steam and it is veiled; mists disperse and it is bright. Its nature in itself is unchanging and immutable. The saṃbhogakāya is like the sun riding the empty sky. Its glorious radiance illumines the high heavens; its brightness shines everywhere. Its substance exists eternally. The nirmāṇakāya is like reflections mirrored on the water. When [the water] is still and clear, they appear; when it flows or is turbid, they are indistinct. Their brightness and darkness are inconstant, their coming and going ceaseless. (T 52: 557b)

Dōchū, commenting on Linji's description of the saṃbhogakāya as "nondiscriminating light" 無分別光 and the nirmāṇakāya as "nondifferentiating light" 無差別光, summarizes two passages (T 45: 628c and 629a) from the *Huayan jing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門, a commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), third patriarch of the Huayan school. Dōchū writes as follows:

> Wisdom distinguishes the dharmas; this is called discrimination 分別. The dharmas have differences; this is called differentiation 差別. "Discrimination" is used from the standpoint of mind; "differentiation" is used from the standpoint of the objective world. The reason why Saṃbhogakāya Vairocana Buddha is spoken of as bright and universally shining is that wisdom shines everywhere. Though it shines everywhere, it itself is without any discrimination whatsoever. Therefore it is spoken of as nondiscriminating. Furthermore, the nirmāṇakāya manifests itself infinitely in hundreds of millions of different forms. Although its manifestations are infinite, in itself it is without any differentiation whatsoever. Therefore it is spoken of as nondifferentiating.

**You,… right now** translates 是爾即今, in which 是 is a particle emphasizing the following noun, pronoun, or noun clause, which invariably is in the nominative case. This usage of 是 is different from that of 是 as a pronoun meaning "this" in written Chinese, or as a copula in colloquial Chinese. It is similar to that of 祇, as explained in the comment on page 157, and to that of 即, "just this," "the very" in classical Chinese, as in the case of the first 即 in 即心即佛, "this very mind is the buddha."

**It is precisely because.** Japanese tradition regards this sentence as conditional, reading the first part as a subordinate clause that expresses the condition, that is, "*If* you do not seek outside, *then* you will have this meritorious functioning." There is nothing to indicate such a nuance in the original text, however.

**Meritorious activities** 功用 refers back to the wondrous activities of the triune body functioning through the human mind.

據經論家、取三種身爲極則。約山僧見處、不然。此三種身是名言、亦是三種依。古人云、身依義立、土據體論。法性身、法性土、明知是光影。

"According to the masters of the sutras and śāstras, the threefold body is regarded as the ultimate norm. But in my view this is not so. The threefold body is merely a name; moreover, it is a threefold dependency. A man of old said, 'The [buddha-]bodies are posited depending upon manifested meaning; the [buddha-]lands are postulated in keeping with essential substance.' Therefore we clearly know that 'dharma-natured bodies' and 'dharma-natured lands' are no more than shimmering reflections.

**Masters of the sutras and śāstras** was a disparaging term used in Chan to refer to scholars of other Buddhist schools who emphasized the written word of the Buddhist canon, whereas Chan stressed the "separate transmission outside the scriptures." The same expression is found in a sermon by Nanquan Puyuan:

> The masters of the sutras and śāstras say that the dharmakāya is the ultimate norm, and call it the "samādhi of the extinction of the principle" 理盡三昧 or "samādhi of the extinction of the signification" 義盡三昧. As for this old monk, in the past I was taught by them "to go back to the origin, to return to the source." How awful that I should nearly have come to understand in this way! (GY 12; X 68: 69c)

**Threefold dependency** 三種依 implies that the "threefold body" of the buddha is no more than a concept, a hypothetical viewpoint postulated for purposes of discussion. 依, or 依倚, means something dependent on theory, and hence not absolutely true or constant. It should be noted that here, and in a number of subsequent passages (e.g., sections 10 and 17), 依 (dependent) is meant to suggest its homophone 衣 (robe), and that a play on words is intended: "The threefold body is merely a triple set of robes."

This notion was not exclusive to Linji, for in a sermon by Linji's contemporary Zhaozhou Congshen we find, "Bodhi, nirvana, bhūtatathatā (essential suchness), buddha-nature—all are but garments that are attached to the body" (T 51: 446b).

*Editor's note:* Yanagida glosses 依 as 立場, "standpoint." He also indicates the substitution of 依 for 衣 in a number of texts, including the SY (YANAGIDA 1977, 76).

**A man of old** 古人. Most commentators identify this as Ci'en Dashi Kuiji 慈恩大師窺基 (632–682), a Faxiang 法相 monk who studied under the great translator-monk Xuanzang and who was, after Xuanzang himself, the most famous Chinese exponent of the Yogācāra (Weishi 唯識) school. In the *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章, Kuiji's treatise on issues central to Faxiang-school doctrine, in the section entitled "Fotu zhang" 佛土章 (Buddha lands), there is a passage that Linji appears to have paraphrased:

> The self-natured bodies and self-natured lands are none other than the principle of bhūtatathatā. Although in substance these bodies and lands are undifferentiated, yet, because from the standpoint of buddha and dharma there is a distinction between manifestation [the phenomenal aspect] and nature [the noumenal aspect], the term "body" is given to the manifestation of meaning, and the term "land" to the nature of substance; or the term "body" is given to the manifested form of enlight-

大德、爾且識取弄光影底人、是諸佛之本源、一切處是道流歸舍處。是爾四大色身、不解說法聽法。脾胃肝膽、不解說法聽法。虛空不解說法聽法。是什麼解說法聽法。是爾目前歷歷底、勿一箇形段孤明、是這箇解說法聽法。若如是見得、便與祖佛不別。但一切時中、更莫間斷、觸目皆是。祇爲情生智隔、想變體殊、所以輪回三界、受種種苦。若約山僧見處、無不甚深、無不解脫。

"Virtuous monks, you must recognize the one who manipulates these reflections. 'He is the primal source of all the buddhas,' and the place to which every follower of the Way returns.

"This physical body of yours, composed of the four great elements, can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it; your spleen and stomach, liver and gallbladder can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it; the empty sky can neither expound the dharma nor listen to it. Then what can expound the dharma and listen to it? This very you standing distinctly before me without any form, shining alone—just this can expound the dharma and listen to it! Understand it this way, and you are not different from the patriarch-buddha. Just never ever allow interruptions, and all that meets your eyes will be right. But, because 'when feeling arises, prajñā is barred, and when thinking changes, the substance varies,' people transmigrate through the three realms and undergo all kinds of suffering. As I see it, there are none who are not of the utmost profundity, none who aren't emancipated.

enment and the term "land" to the dharma-nature itself. Although the substance embraces the countless meritorious virtues of the principle of the bhūtatathatā, the buddha-bodies and buddha-lands do not fall into the category of matter, nor are they mind or mental conditions. We can speak of them only by depending upon the signification of differentiation within the One Reality. (T 45: 370b)

**"Dharma-natured bodies" and "dharma-natured lands."** Buddha-bodies and buddha-lands are postulated upon the "dharma-nature" 法性 (Skr., dharmatā), a synonym for bhūtatathatā. Buddhist doctrine distinguishes various "bodies" 身 (kāya) and "lands" 土 (kṣetra), but the "dharma-natured body" 法性身 and the "dharma-natured land" 法性土 are fundamental since they are the bhūtatathatā observed as "embodiment" and as "place," that is, as the subject and as the sphere in which the subject functions.

**He is the primal source of all the buddhas.** Linji is repeating a phrase spoken by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會, an important heir of the Sixth Patriarch (see Introduction, note 62). In Shenhui's biography in the JC we find:

Another day, when the Patriarch was addressing the assembly, he said, "I have something that has neither head nor tail, neither name nor designation, neither back nor front. Do you recognize it?"

> The master [Shenhui] stepped forward and said, "It is the primal source of all the buddhas and Shenhui's buddha-nature as well!" The Patriarch said, "I have just told you that it has neither name nor designation, yet you now call it 'the primal source of the buddhas and buddha-nature'!" The master bowed deeply and retired. (T 51: 245a)

**The place to which every follower of the Way returns** translates 一切處是道流歸舍處, which means, more literally, "every place is the home to which the follower of the Way returns."

However, this does not seem to follow from the first part of the sentence, "He is the primal source of all the buddhas." The LL version undoubtedly represents a textual corruption; the corresponding passage in both the JC (T 51: 446c) and the ZL (T 48: 943c) reads 是一切道流歸舍處: "[He is the primal source of all the buddhas and] the home to which all the followers of the Way return." This makes better sense, and is probably the original wording of the sentence.

**The four great elements** 四大 (Skr., catvāri mahābhūtāni) are, according to traditional Indian thought, the four basic constituents of all things: earth, water, fire, and wind (or air). These are associated respectively with four qualities (solidity, liquidity, heat, and motion) and four functions (maintaining, gathering, ripening, and causing to grow).

The entire sentence, "This physical body of yours, composed of the four great elements" 是爾四大色身, is another example of 是 used as an emphasizing particle; see page 161, above. Here 是 emphasizes the noun clause 爾四大色身. 是什麼, 是爾…底, and 是這箇…, which follow in the next few lines, use 是 in the same way.

**This very you standing distinctly before me** 是爾目前歷歷底 is another example of a noun phrase ending with 底, which functions as the subject of the sentence; see page 157, above. Dōchū punctuates the continuation of this line 勿一箇形段孤明, 是這箇, giving it the Japanese reading, *ikko no gyōdan nōshite kōmyō naru ze nari; shako*…. Here 是 is taken to be the copula of the first clause, rather than as a particle attached to 這箇.

**When feeling arises….** Linji is here quoting from the introductory lines of the *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (Treatise on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), by Li Tongxuan 李通玄, a famous lay Buddhist scholar.

> As to the origin of sentient beings, they have the Sea of Prajñā as their source; conscious beings have the total dharma-body as their essential substance. But when feeling arises prajñā is barred, and when thinking changes the substance varies. If the origin is penetrated, feeling vanishes; if mind is known, the substance becomes unified. (T 36: 721a)

"When thinking changes the substance varies" may mean that when thought occurs, undivided reality (bhūtatathatā) becomes differentiated.

"When feeling arises prajñā is barred" is also used by Huangbo in the CF, in the course of a dialogue with a person whom, at the end of the discussion, he characterizes as "a man who can't understand what is said to him." Huangbo has been telling this person to seek dharma within himself, not from teachers outside. The unnamed person continues:

> "Can this dharma be the same as the empty sky?" The master said, "When has the empty sky ever spoken to you of 'same' or 'different'? Provisionally I speak in this way, and straightaway you produce [your own] interpretation from my words." "Do you mean that one should not interpret for others?" The master said, "I have never prevented you. After all, interpretation belongs to [the realm of] feeling, and when feeling arises, prajñā is barred." "Then not to arouse feeling toward this [dharma] is right?" The master said, "If

道流、心法無形、通貫十方。在眼曰見、在耳曰聞、在鼻嗅香、在口談論、在手執捉、在足運奔。本是一精明、分爲六和合。一心既無、隨處解脫。

"Followers of the Way, mind is without form and pervades the ten directions.

In the eye it is called seeing, in the ear it is called hearing.
In the nose it smells odors, in the mouth it holds converse.
In the hands it grasps and seizes, in the feet it runs and carries.

Fundamentally it is one pure radiance; divided it becomes the six harmoniously united spheres of sense. If the mind is void, wherever you are, you are emancipated.

you don't arouse feeling, who will speak of [right]?" (T 48: 382b)

**In the eye it is called seeing… runs and carries.** This passage is a quotation of all but the first two lines of a four-couplet poem, presently found in the JC (T 51: 218b). The verse is there ascribed to a certain Boluoti 波羅提 (n.d.), allegedly a disciple of Bodhidharma while the latter was still living in India.

The JC text was undoubtedly taken originally from the BZ, compiled ca. 801 and one of the earliest works to present an Indian lineage of the Chan school. It begins with the six buddhas said to have preceded Śākyamuni and continuing through the first six Chinese patriarchs.

The JC draws heavily upon the BZ for the material in its first four fascicles; unfortunately, the extant sections of the BZ do not include fascicle 7, in which Boluoti's verse would have appeared. Since from the mid-Tang the BZ circulated widely among members of the Chan school, Linji was undoubtedly well acquainted with its contents. The opening couplet omitted by the master reads, "Within the womb it is termed a body. / Born in the world, it is called a man." It should also be mentioned that for the third character in the third couplet, the LL has 嗅 for 辨 in the JC.

**Fundamentally it is one pure radiance….** An almost identical statement is found in the *Shouleng'yan jing* 首楞嚴經 (*Śūraṅgama Sutra*):

> All illusory [dharmas] are utterly without self-nature; the six sense organs are also like this. Originally they depend upon one pure radiance, which, divided, becomes the six harmoniously united spheres of sense. (T 19: 131a–b)

In the CF, Huangbo elaborates on this same statement:

> It is said, "Likewise, it is one pure radiance that, divided, becomes the six harmoniously united spheres of sense." The "one pure radiance" is the One Mind. The "six harmoniously united spheres of sense" are the six sense organs [Skr., indriya, mūla]. These six sense organs unite severally with the six objects of sensory perception [guṇas]: the eye unites with color, the ear unites with sound, the nose unites with odor, the tongue unites with flavor, the body unites with touch, the mind unites with objective existences [dharmas]. Between [each sense organ and its corresponding object of sensory perception] arise the six kinds of consciousness [vijñāna], making a total of eighteen sense-realms [dhātu]. If you have understood that the eighteen sense-realms are not really existent, you will combine the

山僧與麼說、意在什麼處。祇爲道流一切馳求心不能歇、上他古人閑機境。道流、取山僧見處、坐斷報化佛頭、十地滿心、猶如客作兒、等妙二覺、擔枷鎖漢、羅漢辟支、猶如厠穢、菩提涅槃、如繫驢橛。何以如此、祇爲道流不達三祇劫空、所以有此障礙。

"What is my purpose in speaking this way? I do so only because you followers of the Way cannot stop your mind from running around everywhere seeking, because you go clambering after the worthless contrivances of the men of old.

"Followers of the Way, if you take my viewpoint you'll cut off the heads of the saṃbhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya buddhas; a bodhisattva who has attained the completed mind of the tenth stage will be like a mere hireling; a bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment or a bodhisattva of marvelous enlightenment will be like pilloried prisoners; an arhat and a pratyekabuddha will be like privy-filth; bodhi and nirvana will be like hitching-posts for asses. Why is this so? Followers of the Way, it is only because you haven't yet realized the emptiness of the three asamkhyeya kalpas that you have such obstacles.

six harmoniously united spheres of sense together into one pure radiance, and this one pure radiance, just this is mind. Students of the Way all know this, but cannot keep from putting their own interpretations on "one pure radiance" and "six harmoniously united spheres of sense." In the end they are bound fast by objective existences and cannot tally with original mind. (T 48: 382a–b)

**If the mind is void, wherever you are, you are emancipated** 一心既無隨處解脫. Both the ZL and the ZJ versions have 心若不生, "if mind is not produced," in place of 一心既無, while the JC has 心若不在, "if mind does not exist." The ZL version ends with this line. The same passage, though in reverse order, is found near the end of Yuanwu's commentary on case 1 of the BL. For a similar statement, see the tomb inscription allegedly composed by Emperor Wu of Liang for Bodhidharma and recorded in BZ 8:

心無也, 刹那而登妙覺, 心有也, 曠劫而滯凡夫

When mind is nonexistent, in a kṣana of time one ascends to Marvelous Awakening; when mind is existent, throughout countless kalpas one stagnates as an ordinary person.

**Worthless contrivances of the men of old** 古人閑機境. The Chinese, with their strong veneration of the past, tended to regard the classics and the sayings of the ancients as the embodiment of all wisdom. Linji is here criticizing this attitude, referring in particular to the sutras, commentaries, and records of the Buddhist and Chan masters of earlier times.

The JC version lacks the entire passage from "what is my purpose" to "worthless contrivances of the men of old."

**Followers of the Way, if you take my viewpoint** 道流取山僧見處. The JC version of this sermon introduces this section with merely 山僧見處, "my view is," thus causing

the remaining statements to be Linji's personal views. The LL text, however, makes all of the statements that follow contingent upon the initial "if" clause.

**Cut off** translates 坐斷, a curious word not found outside of Chan literature, where it is fairly frequent. One interpretation holds that the first character, 坐, usually meaning "to sit," is here equivalent to 挫 or 剉, meaning "to cut," and that the compound is thus synonymous with 截斷. As will be seen in the examples given below, 截斷 was used interchangeably with 坐卻, which, in turn, was used interchangeably with 坐斷. It would seem, then, that the three words 坐斷, 截斷, and 坐卻 were synonymous.

1. 截斷 / 坐坐
   a. According to ZJ 9, Jiashan Shanhui made the following remark in his first interview with Lepu Yuan'an, who later became his heir: "Easy, easy, reverend sir! Each mountain and each valley is different. Though you may cut off 截斷 the tongue of everyone in the world, what are you going to do about those who can talk without a tongue?"
   b. The account of this same remark as given in Lepu's biography in the JC is as follows: "Stop, stop, reverend sir! Don't be so quick and hasty! The clouds and the moon are ever the same, but each valley and mountain is different. Reverend sir, you might cut off 坐卻 the tongues of men in the world, but how are you going to make the man without a tongue talk?" (T 51: 331a)
2. 坐斷 / 坐斷
   a. In the LL, when Huangbo gave to Linji the and the armrest used by his own teacher Baizhang, thus acknowledging Linji as the heir of the transmission, he said, "Hereafter you will cut off 坐卻 the tongues of men in the world" (page 327, below).
   b. The JC version of this event is identical, except for the substitution of 坐斷 for 坐卻.

The two earliest Japanese commentaries on the LL understood 坐斷 to mean the same as 截斷, "to cut off." The *Bannan shō* 萬安鈔 (1632) says, "坐斷 means to have gotten rid of something. 坐斷 is equivalent in meaning to 截斷" (31a). The *Kassan shō* 夾山鈔 (1654) says, "The explanation of 坐斷 is 'a strong man seizing a person and holding him down under his knees' [i.e., a kind of wrestling move]. But really 坐斷 means 截斷" (18a). Nevertheless, over time the Japanese Rinzai tradition came to interpret it as "to sit firmly upon." This interpretation continues till this day, although there is no basis for it linguistically or otherwise.

**Saṃbhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya Buddhas**. Chan teachers liked to emphasize that the saṃbhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya did not constitute the true buddha. See, for example, the CF, where Huangbo states, "Therefore it is said, the saṃbhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya are not the true buddha, nor are they the ones who preach the dharma" (T 48: 382a).

This statement, in turn, seems to have been quoted from the *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing lun* 金剛般若波羅蜜經論 (Treatise on the *Diamond-cutter perfection of wisdom sutra*), a work translated by Bodhiruci (Putiliuzhi 菩提流志; fl. 6th c.) from an original ascribed to Vasubandhu (Tianqin 天親):

> The [Body] of Transformation (nirmāṇakāya) is not the true buddha,
> Nor is it the one who preaches the dharma.
> Preaching the dharma is taken to be the nondual [dharma],
> [But] the [dharma preached] without preaching is far apart from verbal forms. (T 25: 784b)

Thus the sutra states that only the nirmāṇakāya is not the true buddha, while the CF says the same of both the saṃbhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya. From the earlier passage in which Linji says that, in his

opinion, "the threefold body is merely a name" (page 162), it is apparent that he took the dharmakāya to be as unreal as the other two bodies of the buddha.

**The completed mind of the tenth stage** 十地滿心. According to the original bodhisattva doctrine, there are ten stages 地 (Skr., bhūmi) between the arising of the will to attain the enlightened mind 發菩提心 (bodhi-citta-utpāda) and the attainment of buddhahood itself. The Indian traditions are in disagreement with regard to details. In China the various schools, with their syncretistic tendencies, devised their own systems, combining elements from the Indian tradition and even adding to them. The apex was reached in the Tiantai school, where the course of enlightenment is said to consist of fifty-two stages:

a. The ten [degrees of] faith 十信
b. The ten abodes 十住
c. The ten actions 十行
d. The ten goals 十廻向
e. The ten stages 十地
f. Equivalent enlightenment 等覺
g. Marvelous enlightenment 妙覺

Equivalent enlightenment and marvelous enlightenment, though listed as the concluding stages of the bodhisattva's career, are, at the same time, regarded as the initial and completed stages of buddhahood, respectively.

In some schools the tenth of the ten stages is further divided into three degrees 三心, namely: entering mind 入心, abiding mind 住心, and completed mind 滿心. Completed mind is, in effect, the stage to which Linji refers: "the completed mind of the tenth stage."

Regarding this final degree, see the *Yuqie shidi lun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂 (Outline of the *Treatise on the stages of yoga practice*) by Ci'en Dashi Kuiji: "The tenth stage has three [degrees of] mind: the first is entering mind, the second is abiding mind, and the third is completed mind" (T 43: 165a). For an explanation of the fifty-two stages (but in which these three degrees are not mentioned) see *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 2:1214.

Two other terms often found in connection with the fifty-two stages are:

a. The four fruits [of sagehood] 四果, i.e., the four grades of attainment in the Hinayana scheme of enlightenment (Skr., catvāri phalāni): 1) entering the stream 須陀洹 (srota-āpanna); 2) one more birth 斯陀含 (sakṛdāgāmin); 3) no rebirth 阿那含 (anāgāmin); and 4) enlightened 阿羅漢 (arhat).
b. In Tiantai doctrine, the three worthy states [of a bodhisattva] 三賢, i.e., the ten abodes, the ten actions, and the ten goals, mentioned above.

Outside of Chan, in spite of the differences among the various schools, there is common agreement that the fifty-two stages bring the student progressively closer to buddhahood, which is attained upon completion of the final stage. In Chan, however, there is a tendency to regard the fifty-two stages as representing useless levels of enlightenment. See, for example, the CF, where, having quoted Baozhi 寶(保)志(誌) (418–514) to the effect that buddha is a creation of the mind and that there is no point in looking for him in written words, Huangbo goes on to say, "Though you were to study until you had attained the three worthy states, the four fruits, and the completed mind of the tenth stage, still you would only be sitting within the secular and the sacred" (T 48: 383b).

Deshan Xuanjian expresses himself in the same fashion, though even more forcefully, in words that much resemble the present passage in the LL:

> The viewpoint of this old fellow Deshan is not at all like this. Here there is no buddha, no patriarch. Bodhidharma was a sandpaper-chinned barbarian. The bodhisattvas of the ten stages are dung carriers. Those who have attained equivalent enlighten-

> ment are precept-breaking louts; bodhi and nirvana are hitching-posts for asses. The twelve divisions of the teachings are the census-records of demons and spirits, paper [fit only] for cleaning running sores. [Those who have attained] the four fruits and those who have attained the three worthy states, those who have aroused bodhicitta, and those who have completed the ten stages are all ghosts guarding old graves. Can any of them save even himself? Buddha is the old barbarian's dung-wiper. (ZH; X 79: 173a)

**Hireling** translates 客作兒, a term that originally referred to a person employed by another, then became a general designation for a menial. See the *Lotus Sutra*, "Xinjie pin" 信解品 (Chapter on belief and understanding), which presents the famous parable of a beggar who is the lost son of a rich man. The son has come by chance to the estate of his father, who recognizes him as his long-lost son, while the son remains unaware that the rich man is his father. At first the father puts his son to work as a menial in his household. Then, after some time has passed, the father announces a plan to adopt him. "At this time the poor man, although he rejoiced at his good fortune, still regarded himself as a hired laborer 客作兒" (T 9: 17a). Also, the *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄 (Notes while resting from farm work) (1366), fascicle 7:11, states that "in the slang of the Jiangxi region, one curses people by calling them 'hireling' 客作兒."

**A bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment or a bodhisattva of marvelous enlightenment.** The term in the LL, 等妙二覺, is a collective reference to the two highest degrees of bodhisattvahood: equivalent enlightenment 等覺 and marvelous enlightenment 妙覺. Neither term can be restored to a convincing Sanskrit original; both are probably Chinese inventions.

The *Yuqie shidi lun lüezuan*, cited above, speaks of the two degrees as follows:

> One who is within this [degree of] completed mind is called a bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment. [The state of] tathāgata is called marvelous enlightenment. The [degrees of] entering and abiding-in are not called equivalent enlightenment. One who is in either of these two [degrees of] mind is called one who has not yet manifested equivalent enlightenment; but one who is in the [degree of] completed mind is called one who has already manifested equivalent enlightenment. Also, he who is in [the state of] equivalent enlightenment is a buddha; he is not necessarily a bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment.
>
> In other words, this bodhisattva in the present stage, [though] he has not yet achieved [the state of buddha of] equivalent enlightenment, can transform himself into whatsoever body is required and preach the dharma as a cloud showers down rain in abundance. If he has achieved [the state of] a buddha of equivalent enlightenment, he can also transform himself into whatsoever body is required and preach the dharma as a cloud showers down rain. That is to say, he both resembles a buddha and is like a bodhisattva of equivalent enlightenment.

The final stage of the bodhisattva, the stage of marvelous enlightenment, is described as follows by Zhiyi, founder of the Tiantai school, in his *Si jiao yi* 四教義 (The meaning of the four teachings):

> The stage of marvelous enlightenment is the [state of] mind that follows the diamond [samādhi] [another term for 等覺]. It is the clear and bright great enlightenment. It is the ultimate source of marvelous wisdom wherein all the remaining influences of illusion are completely exhausted, so it is called true emancipation. It is awe-inspiring and free from vexations, utterly still and eternally shining, so it is called marvelous enlightenment. (T 46: 759c)

Bannan, using a metaphor taken from Tendai sources, comments, "Equivalent

enlightenment is like the fourteenth-night moon, marvelous enlightenment is like the fifteenth-night moon [i.e., completely full]."

**Pilloried prisoner** refers to a prisoner whose body is chained and whose head and hands are locked in a wooden cangue. The *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏, by Guanding 灌頂 (561–632], which records the sermons of Zhiyi on the *Lotus Sutra* chapter "Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin" 觀世音菩薩普門品 (Chapter on the universal gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), contains a passage quite similar in concept:

> Delusion regarding the temporal and the real is known as hand-fetters; delusion regarding samādhi 定 and prajñā 慧 is known as [foot-]fetters; delusion regarding the middle way is known as a cangue; delusion regarding the dharmakāya is known as chains. Such things bind the practicer, who cannot release himself. (T 34: 928a)

**An arhat and a pratyekabuddha** 羅漢辟支. Here the compound 羅漢 is an abbreviation of the term 阿羅漢. This, in turn, is a transliteration into Chinese of a word such as "arahan," a Prakritic form of the Sanskrit "arhan," from ARH, "to be able, to be worthy." Specifically, the word means "one who is able [to break the bonds of birth-and-death]." In addition to a number of other transliterated versions, the Chinese gave several equivalents in translation, including:

a. 應供, "the one worthy of offerings";
b. 殺賊, "the slayer of his enemies (based upon a mistaken etymology, apparently of Indian origin, that traces the word "arhan" back to "ari," "enemy," and HAN, "to kill");
c. 無生, "[he who shall be] without [re] birth";
d. 離惡, "the one separated from evil";
e. 應眞, "the worthy true one";
f. 應儀, "the one of worthy mien."

The status of arhat is the fourth of the four fruits of sagehood (see note, page 168), and constitutes the final stage of a process of enlightenment that commences with listening to the instructions of a buddha.

辟支 is an abbreviation of the compound 辟支佛, which is a rough transliteration of the Sanskrit "pratyekabuddha" (see note, page 122).

**Emptiness of the three asaṃkhyeya kalpas** 三祇劫空. The characters 祇劫 are an abbreviation of the expression 阿僧祇劫, which, in turn, is a transcription of the Sanskrit term "asaṃkhyeya-kalpa," or "incalculable eons." The character 三, "three," refers to the three eons of incalculable length that are traditionally regarded in Buddhism as necessary for bodhisattvas to reach the end of their practice and become buddhas. The complete phrase, 三祇劫空, is found only in Chan literature, and refers to the Chan view that all stages accomplished by the bodhisattva, including the attainment of buddhahood itself, are void and empty.

The passage traditionally quoted to substantiate this view is from the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment), a text held in high regard in the Chan school during the middle and late Tang, but which is, in all probability, a spurious work produced in China toward the end of the seventh century:

> Good men, the marvelous and perfectly enlightened mind of all the tathāgatas intrinsically possesses neither bodhi nor nirvana, neither the attainment of buddhahood nor the nonattainment of buddhahood, neither false revolving on the wheel [of transmigration] nor the nonrevolving on the wheel [of transmigration]. (T 17: 915c)

若是眞正道人、終不如是。但能隨緣消舊業、任運著衣裳、要行即行、要坐即坐、無一念心希求佛果。緣何如此。古人云、若欲作業求佛、佛是生死大兆。

"A true follower of the Way is never like this; conforming with circumstances as they are he exhausts his past karma; accepting things as they are he puts on his clothes; when he wants to walk he walks, when he wants to sit he sits; he never has a single thought of seeking buddhahood. Why is this so? A man of old said:

If you seek buddha through karma-creating activities,
Buddha becomes the great portent of birth-and-death.

**A true follower of the Way is never like this**. The JC text of this sermon ends here, except for two short concluding lines, perhaps added by the compiler.

**Conforming with circumstances as they are he exhausts his past karma**. *Editor's note:* The original translation renders the Chinese 隨緣消舊業 as "according with circumstances he makes use of his past karma"; a note explains, "Though the classical meaning of the word 消 as a transitive verb is 'to disperse, to get rid of, to put an end to,' in colloquial usage the word means 'to use, to make use of, to spend.'" However, both IRIYA (1989, 42) and YANAGIDA (1977, 81) later recognized that the classical meaning of 消 was, in fact, intended.

Yanagida, for example, while taking note of the "to make use of" meaning, concluded that here the sense was more that of "put an end to," since Linji almost certainly used the term in the same way as his teacher Huangbo, who in the CF writes as follows:

> Therefore, from the beginning bodhi and all such dharmas have not existed. Whatever the Tathāgata preached was only [an expedient] for converting people. Just as one gives yellow leaves in place of gold to stop the tears of a little child. Therefore, in reality no dharma called samyaksaṃbodhi (unsurpassed, perfect enlightenment) exists. When you have understood this, what need have you to concern yourself with such petty things? Simply conforming with circumstances as they are, exhaust 消 your past karma, and above all don't create new misfortunes. Then your inner mind will be completely bright. (T 48: 386c)

**Accepting things as they are** translates 任運. In the Taoist view, the course of nature should be accepted without attempting to interfere with it in any way. Only by putting full trust in the flow of life can one return to the state of complete naturalness, and thus attain true freedom. This concept plays an important part in early Chan. For example, in the *Xin ming* 心銘 (Mind verse), Farong 法融 (594–657), first patriarch of the Niutou 牛頭 school, comments:

> Mind does not have different (various) minds;
> It does not cut off greed or licentiousness.
> Its nature is empty and of itself apart;
> Accepting things as they come it sinks or floats.
> It is neither clear nor muddy, neither is it shallow or deep. (T 51: 457c)

Mazu is recorded to have said:

> That which is produced by mind is called form. Since we know that form is empty, whatever is produced is unproduced. When you understand this thoroughly,

in accordance with the occasion simply put on your robe, eat your food, or "nourish the sacred fetus" 長養聖胎; accepting things as they come 任運, pass your days. What more is there to do? (*Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄 [Recorded sayings of Mazu], as quoted in UI 1939–1943, 2: 523.6–8):

> Do not misconstrue the past, the present, or the future. The past has not gone, the present does not stay, the future has not come. Tranquilly sitting erect, accepting things as they come 任運, but not being bound, this is indeed what is called emancipation. (CF; T 48: 384a)

**When he wants to walk he walks**. This describes the complete freedom of action possessed by the man of the Way. See the poem entitled *Ledao ge* 樂道歌 (Song of enjoying the Way) by Nanyue Mingzan 南嶽明瓚 (n.d.), found in both the JC and ZJ 3: "When I want to go I simply go / When I want to stay I simply stay" (T 51: 461b). The *Ledao ge* seems to have been widely known. It is quoted in its entirety in ZJ 3, as well as in the JC (T 51: 461b–c).

Of Nanyue Mingzan himself little is known. He joined the assembly of Puji 普寂 (651–739), second patriarch of the Northern school of Chan, who was teaching on Mount Song 嵩, not far from the city of Luoyang 洛陽, and became one of Puji's heirs. Later Mingzan lived in a hut on Mount Nanyue 南嶽 in southeastern Hunan. There he was known as Lanzan 懶瓚. A short biography is found in the XG (T 50: 834a–b); ZJ 3 mentions him as an heir of Puji. Mingzan appears in an episode related by Yuanwu Keqin in his comment on the verse in BL case 34:

> Lanzan lived in seclusion in a stone cave on Mount Heng 衡 [i.e., Nanyue]. Emperor Dezong 德宗 [r. 779–805] heard his name and dispatched a messenger to summon him to the court. When the messenger reached the cave he announced the command of the Son of Heaven, then said, "Your Reverence should rise and acknowledge the Imperial Benevolence."
>
> Zan, who at the time was poking a fire of cow-dung, pulled out a roasted root and began to eat. As it was wintertime, mucous was dripping down onto his chin, and he made no answer. The messenger laughed and said, "May I suggest that Your Reverence wipe the mucous away?" "Why should I go to that bother for a common man?" Zan replied. In the end he did not rise. The messenger returned and reported to the throne. Dezong was filled with admiration. (T 48: 173b)

**A man of old** refers to Baozhi 寶誌 (or 保誌) (418–514), also known as Liang Baozhi 梁寶志 and Zhigong 誌公. Baozhi has a biography in GZ 10 (T 50: 394a–395b), as well as a brief notice appended to the biography of Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) in *Nan shi* 南史 (History of the southern dynasties) 76.

Both biographical notices are essentially catalogues of strange and wonderful tales associated with Baozhi; indeed, a biographical notice about him appears in the *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Precious grove of the dharma garden), an encyclopedic compilation of scriptural passages and Buddhist miracle stories by Daoshi 道世 (591–683), which mentions Baozhi as one of thirteen persons alleged to have experienced a "supernatural response" 感應 from buddha (T 53: 519b–520a; 感 is the human dynamic of faith in buddha, while 應 is buddha's response to that faith). In JC 27 he is listed as one of ten Chan masters who, though they did not teach, were nevertheless widely renowned (T 51: 429c–430a). Baozhi's verses and hymns were singled out by Chan teachers from early times for use in their sermons, as may be seen from quotations found in the BG, the ZL, and the CF (see page 168, above). See MAKITA 1957 for a detailed modern study of Baozhi.

**If you seek buddha….** The passage Linji quotes here is from the first of ten poems by Zhigong collectively entitled *Dasheng zan* 大乘讚 (In praise of the Mahayana):

大德、時光可惜。祇擬傍家波波地、學禪學道、認名認句、求佛求祖、求善知識意度。莫錯、道流。爾祇有一箇父母、更求何物。爾自返照看。古人云、演若達多失卻頭、求心歇處即無事。大德、且要平常、莫作模樣。

"Virtuous monks, time is precious. And yet, hurrying hither and thither, you try to learn meditation, to study the Way, to accept names, to accept phrases, to seek buddha, to seek a patriarch, to seek a good teacher, to think and speculate.

"Make no mistake, followers of the Way! After all, you have a father and a mother—what more do you seek? Turn your own light inward upon yourselves!

A man of old said,

Yajñadatta [thought he had] lost his head,
But when his seeking mind came to rest, he was at ease.

"Virtuous monks, just be ordinary. Don't put on airs.

> If you seek buddha through karma-creating activities / Karma is the great portent of birth-and-death.
> Birth-and-death karma always accompanies you / As in a dark prison where day never dawns. (T 51: 449b)

In the above quotation, "the great portent of birth-and-death" is said to be "karma," not "buddha" as in the LL. Commentators are divided as to which is the original version, some holding that the "karma" of the poem is a copyist's error influenced by the appearance of the same word just above, while others maintain that Linji altered the passage to suit his own particular views.

**Hurrying hither and thither** translates 傍家, an expression found several times in the LL. In the colloquial language of the Song and Yuan, 家 (or sometimes its homophone 價) was often used as a suffix, in most cases adverbial.

**You try to….** In the traditional Japanese reading of this sentence, *zenchishiki o motomen to gi shite itaku su*, the word 擬, "to try," applies only to the verbal phrases—learning meditation, studying the Way, accepting names, etc.—that precede 意度, "to speculate." The character 擬, however, governs every verb that follows it, including 意度; thus the correct Japanese reading is, *zenchishiki o motomete itaku sen to gi su* ("You try… to seek a patriarch, to seek a good teacher, to think and speculate").

**To learn meditation 學禪學道; to study the Way** 學禪學道. The two terms 禪 (with the meaning of "meditation") and 道 (with the meaning of "the Way") were often used together in this way by the Chan masters of the late Tang. The not-infrequently disparaging connotation refers, of course, to the attempts of students to "study" these intangibles, as in the following passages:

> Now every hour of the day, while you are walking, standing, sitting, or lying, just concentrate on no-mind, and eventually you are sure to attain [it]…. But since you can't do this, you think you must study meditation and study the Way 學禪學道 with your mind. What has the buddha-dharma to do with this? (CF; T 48: 383c)

> Going about with a staff over your shoulder, you say, "I am practicing meditation, I am studying the Way" 參禪學道. Thus you seek a principle that will surpass buddha and outstrip the patriarchs. (YK; T 47: 551a)
>
> Each of you should himself seek the place where you entrust your life. Don't wander vainly from province to province and from country to country. But all you want to do is to play about with trifling words. As soon as this old monk moves his mouth, you inquire about meditation, inquire about the Way 問禪問道, up and down, what about, how about! (YK; T 47: 552a)

**To accept names, to accept phrases** 認名認句. The verb 認, when used, as in the LL, with words like "names" 名 or "phrases" 句 as its object, refers to the act of believing (concluding) that such names and phrases are in themselves real, and, as a result, becoming attached to them. Later in the text, Linji speaks specifically of this when he says, "They are just empty names, and these names also empty. All you are doing is taking these worthless names to be real" (see pages 221–222).

**A good teacher** translates 善知識, from the Skr. "kalyāṇamitra," literally "good friend." This is a word found only in Buddhist literature, where it means "good friend" in the specific sense of a person who helps another to achieve the goal of buddhahood. The following passage from the *Nirvana Sutr*a describes at length the attributes of the kalyāṇamitra:

> Good people! By "good friend" is meant a bodhisattva, a buddha, a pratyekabuddha, or one among the śrāvakas who believes in the universal doctrine. Why is such a person called "good friend"? A "good friend" can teach sentient beings to break away from the ten evils and practice the ten virtues. Therefore he is called a "good friend."
>
> Furthermore, a "good friend" preaches in accordance with the dharma and acts in accordance with what he preaches. What is meant by "preaches in accordance with the dharma and acts in accordance with what he preaches"? It includes everything from not taking life himself and teaching others not to take life to practicing correct view himself and teaching others to practice correct view.
>
> One who is like this can be called a true "good friend." He himself cultivates bodhi and can instruct others in how to cultivate and practice bodhi. Therefore is he called a "good friend." He himself can cultivate and practice faith, discipline, almsgiving, wide learning, and transcendental wisdom, and can also instruct others in faith, discipline, almsgiving, wide learning, and transcendental wisdom. For this reason, too, is he called a "good friend." Because a "good friend" has good dharmas. What good dharmas? In whatsoever he does he does not seek his own joy, but always seeks joy for the sake of sentient beings. When he sees that others have faults, he does not talk of their shortcomings, but always makes known their good qualities. Therefore is he called "good friend." (T 12: 510c–11a)

**You have a father and a mother** 爾祇有一箇父母. This common colloquial expression implies that having been born, one is complete, with nothing lacking. The same implication is found in the statement, "But you, weren't you born of a mother?" (see below, page 223).

*Editor's note*: IRIYA translates 父母, "father and mother," as "master" 主人公 (1989, 44); YANAGIDA explains its meaning as "the original source of the self" 自己の本源 (1977, 82).

**Turn your own light inward upon yourselves** translates 返照, a word Guifeng Zongmi defines in terms of the philosophy of the DQ. His analysis appears in his *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao* 圓覺經略疏鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Yuanjue jing lüeshu*):

> One must say that all sentient beings possess original enlightenment 本覺, and that

> original enlightenment is brightness 明. Why, then, speak of "without brightness" 無明 [avidyā]? The answer is that the completed illumination 照了 of initial enlightenment 始覺 is absent 無. The meaning is as follows: it is just like a mirror that, though originally bright, when temporarily soiled by dust is called dull 不明, but, when cleaned, shines forth and is then called bright. So, too, in the Chan school 返照 means "to illuminate one's own original enlightenment by initial enlightenment." Therefore we say 返, "to return to." (X 9: 882c)

The term is found frequently in both Chan and other Buddhist writings. An example of the former is found in the *Wuxing lun* 悟性論, attributed to Bodhidharma:

> If he who hears this dharma causes the mind of faith to arise for an instant of time, this person, by setting in motion the Great Vehicle, will transcend the three realms. The three realms are greed, anger, and ignorance. When greed, anger, and ignorance are overturned, they become discipline, samādhi, and prajñā, respectively. This is called "surmounting the three realms." But greed, anger, and ignorance have no real nature. It is only on account of sentient beings that these names are used. He who can return to and illuminate 返照 [his own mind] with perfect clarity sees that the nature of greed, anger, and ignorance is none other than buddha-nature. Besides greed, anger, and ignorance there is no other buddha-nature. (T 48: 370c)

Also, the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* has the monk Huiming 慧明, after attaining enlightenment through the words of the Sixth Patriarch, further ask,

> "Besides the hidden words and hidden meanings [you conveyed to me] just now, are there yet more secret meanings?" Huineng said, "That which I have told you is not secret. If you return to and illumine [your own mind] 返照, [you will find] the secret within." (T 48: 349b)

And finally, Chan master Mazu says in one of his sermons, "If you can for an instant of time return and illumine 返照 [your own mind], the total body is the sacred mind" (X 68: 4a).

**A man of old.** Neither the "man of old" nor the poem from which Linji quotes can be identified. The lines apparently refer to a passage in the *Śūraṅgama Sutra* (T 19: 121b). In this passage the Buddha instructs his disciple Purṇa that the mind is from the beginning perfectly enlightened, but that due to delusion we are unaware of this and seek enlightenment outside. When the causes of delusion are cut off delusion ceases, and this cessation itself is enlightenment. To illustrate this teaching the Buddha relates the story of Yajñadatta, a man of Śrāvastī, who one morning caught a glimpse of his face in a mirror. He fell in love with his beautiful features and became enraged one day when, for some reason, he was unable to see them. He believed that a goblin had taken his head away, and ran about madly searching for it. When he discovered that his head had always been on his own body, his mad search came to an end.

**Be ordinary** 平常 as used here and elsewhere in the LL derives from the famous saying "the ordinary mind is the Way" 平常心是道, which Linji later quotes. For a detailed discussion, see page 219, below.

**Don't put on airs** 莫作模樣). The original meaning of 模樣 is "style, appearance, air, manner," and of 作模樣, "to keep up appearances, to put on airs." See the following passage from a sermon by Deshan Xuanjian in ZH 20:

> There is another lot, who by threes and twos put their heads together and consider as follows: "Now where's a nice comfortable palace to pass the winter and spend the summer, to hear pleasant talks about the Way of Chan, to be instructed in and acquire abstract principles?" Young sirs, if you think like this you are always

有一般不識好惡禿奴、便即見神見鬼、指東劃西、好晴好雨。如是之流、盡須抵債、向閻老前、吞熱鐵丸有日。好人家男女、被這一般野狐精魅所著、便即捏怪。瞎屡生、索飯錢有日在。

There're a bunch of shavepates who can't tell good from bad; they see spirits, they see demons; they point to the east, they point to the west; they like fair weather, they like rain. The day will come when such men as these, every one of them, will have to repay their debts in front of Old Yama by swallowing red-hot iron balls.

"[You] sons and daughters of good families, bewitched by this pack of wild foxes, lose your senses. Blind idiots! Some day you'll be made to pay up for the vittles you've eaten!"

seeking your own ease. What a fine kind of principle this is! There'll come a day when you'll all land in hell, and don't say I didn't warn you! No matter where you are, you never pick a single stalk of greens or carry a single bundle of firewood. One fine morning, when your luck gives out, you'll have nothing but grass to eat, that's all! Uselessly you squander the offerings of believers, unwarrantedly you call yourselves parties to learning. Furthermore, you put on the airs of Chan masters 作禪師摸樣. You are of no benefit to anyone! (X 79: 174a)

**Bunch** translates 一般, an indefinite plural that means the same in the colloquial Tang language as 一班, 一等, and 一輩, all of which were used from the Song period onward.

**Shavepates** translates 禿奴, which could be more literally rendered as "bald rascal," a term of contempt for Buddhist monks.

**They see spirits, they see demons** 見神見鬼. The entire sentence of which this phrase is a part is couched in very colloquial terms, and its exact meaning is rather obscure. "They see spirits, they see demons" seems to refer to people who utter various pronouncements when in a state of trance or delirium, and is probably intended to criticize esoteric Buddhist and Taoistic practices adopted from or closely related to shamanism. Deshan Xuanjian says:

Young sirs, don't seek buddha. Buddha is a big murderer. How many men has he tricked into entering the pit of the demon of lust! Don't seek Mañjuśrī or Samantabhadra [see page 184, below]. They are rascally field hands. What a pity that a fine young fellow, having swallowed their poison, tries to put on the face and nostrils of a Chan master. He sees spirits, he sees demons 見神見鬼; then later, having lost his reason, he runs hither and yon looking for a witch who divines by thumping a tile! (ZH; X 79: 173c–174a)

**They point to the east, they point to the west** 指東畫西 seems to mean to indulge in quibbles and avoid giving direct answers. ZJ 14, in the section on Mazu's disciple Shanshan 杉山 (n.d.), says:

Once, when Shanshan and Nanquan [Puyuan] were sitting around the fire, Nanquan said to Shanshan, "Don't give me any pointing to the east and pointing to the west 指東指西. Just say directly what the essential point is." Thereupon Shanshan flung down the fire-tongs he was holding. Nanquan said, "Even if you behave that way, you are still inferior to

old teacher Wang, but with a hair's breadth of difference."

**They like fair weather, they like rain** 好晴好雨 is the most obscure of the three phrases, but it seems from other examples to mean to praise or flatter everything or everyone present in order to create a favorable impression. The phrase may be interpreted as a verb-plus-object, "to like fair weather, etc.," which seems preferable in the present LL passage, or as an adjective-plus-noun, "lovely weather, etc.," in which case the Japanese reading would be *yoki hare*. The following passage, from Jingqing Daofu, is an example of the latter reading:

> Addressing the assembly, the master [Jingqing] said, "Lovely weather! Lovely rain!" Then he continued, "Not because it is [really] lovely weather do I say 'lovely weather!' nor because it is [really] lovely rain do I say 'lovely rain!' If you just accept the words literally, you will go astray as regards the secret pivot." (ZJ 10)

The same phrase is also used by Deshan:

> He asks, "What was the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the West?" Whereupon the old shavepate thumps his rope-bottomed chair, strikes a pose, and raises his whisk. "Lovely weather! Lovely rain! Lovely lantern!" he says. By skillfully manipulating words, he goes on producing one complication after another. According to his words, there would seem to be "the Abstruse Path," "the Bird's Way," and "the Extended Hand." To accept such explanations is like filling a jeweled vessel with excrement, or making sandalwood incense from human dung. (X 79: 174a)

**Old Yama** (Yanlao 閻老, lit. "Yama the Elder") is an honorific title for the deity popularly believed to preside over hell. "Yan" 閻 is an abbreviation of Yanmo 閻魔, the transcription of the Sanskrit "Yama," the name of an Indian god who, along with his sister Yamī, is mentioned in the Vedas. In Brahmanic mythology, Yama is the Guardian of the South, ruler of the Yamadevaloka, and judge of the dead; taken into Buddhist mythology, he became Regent of Hell. He is said to have originally been a warlike king of Vaiśālī, who, as a result of having expressed the wish to rule hell after his death, was reborn there together with eighteen of his generals and eighty thousand soldiers. At regular intervals he and his subordinates have boiling copper poured down their throats until such time as their sins are expiated.

According to some Chinese Buddhist sources, Yanmo is the ruler of the fifth of the eight hells; according to others, he presides over a court of eighteen judges who determine the punishments to be meted out to all those who, because of their misdeeds, have been destined for rebirth in hell.

**Swallowing red-hot iron balls** is the punishment inflicted in hell upon persons who, while alive, spoke falsehood or evil. A vivid description of this punishment is found in the DL, Kumārajīva's translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā śāstra*, where the terrors peculiar to the Avīci, the lowest and most terrible of the hells, are graphically narrated:

> [The warders of hell,] having pried open [the victim's] mouth with tongs, pour into it molten copper. They force him to swallow red-hot iron balls that on entering the mouth scorch the mouth, on entering the throat scorch the throat, on entering the belly scorch the belly, and, when the five vital organs have been completely charred, immediately pass out and fall to the ground. (T 25: 176c)

The reason for such punishment is explained in the same text:

> These people, in their former lives, were much given to committing great evils, [including] the five deadly sins [killing one's father, killing one's mother, killing an arhat, shedding the blood of a buddha, and destroying the harmony of the sangha] and many other inequities. They severed all roots of goodness, saying

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師示衆云、道流、切要求取眞正見解、向天下橫行、免被這一般精魅惑亂。無事是貴人。但莫造作、祇是平常。爾擬向外傍家求過、覓腳手。錯了也。

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "Followers of the Way, it is urgently necessary that you endeavor to acquire true insight and stride boldly [here] under the heavens, not losing your senses owing to that bunch of spirits. [He who has] nothing to do is the noble one. Simply don't strive—just be ordinary. Yet you look outside, searching side paths and seeking help. You're all wrong!

> that that which is the dharma is not the dharma and that that which is not the dharma is the dharma, negating causation and negating the fruits [of causation], and hating and envying good men. Because of these sinful deeds they enter this hell and suffer punishments severe in the extreme. (T 25: 176c)

**Bewitched by this pack of wild foxes** translates 被這一般野狐精魅所著. This phrase contains a form of the passive voice in which 被 + agent + 所 + verb merges the two forms 爲 + agent + 所 + verb and 被 + agent + verb. Both forms were common in archaic Chinese. This construction appeared in the Sui (571–618) and is still rather frequently used in present-day colloquial Chinese (see Ōta 1958, 246).

**Blind idiots** 瞎屢生. In this term of contempt, the second character, 屢, is equivalent to one of the meanings of 婁, that is, "stupid, benighted." 生 has here the colloquial meaning of "fellow." A similar term of contempt is 禿屢生, "bald idiots," which appears later in the text.

**Some day you'll be made to pay up for the vittles you've eaten** translates 索飯錢有日在. Here the word 在 has a colloquial usage in which it has no meaning of its own, but is employed for emphasis, both affirmative and negative, in much the same way as 呢 in present-day Chinese. This usage of 在 first appeared in the verse and prose of the Tang, but gradually dwindled until, by the end of the Song, it had almost entirely disappeared. The Tang novel *Youxian ku* 遊仙窟 (Realm of the amorous goddesses), by Zhang Zhuo 張鷟, contains the earliest known example of this usage: 他家解事在未肯輒相瞋, "She really knows the world and won't easily get mad."

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**[He who has] nothing to do is the noble one** 無事是貴人. This sentence offers some difficulties. Traditionally it is believed to have been taken from the *Baozang lun* 寶藏論 (Treatise on the treasure storehouse), a work attributed to Sengzhao but which in all probability is a spurious text composed at or before the beginning of the Tang dynasty by a scholar-monk learned in Chan, and then credited to Sengzhao in order to assure its recognition. Since the *Baozang lun* was widely read and much quoted by Chan people at the end of the Tang and during the Five Dynasties (907–960), it would seem more than likely that Linji was acquainted with it. The lines relating to the above passage are part of the apotheosis of the Great Way, written in rhyme:

The very Way is without roots
Empty, clear, yet ever existent.
The very Way is without substance
Obscure, mysterious, yet ever real.
The very Way is without anything to do
Yet from past to present worthy of esteem.
The very Way is without mind
Yet the ten-thousand things are embraced within it.
Hence the Way is without characteristics, without form
Without anything to do, without intent, without mind.
Yet excellently it benefits all things. (T 45: 144c)

This passage is quoted in the ZL, where it is commented upon at some length (T 48: 649c). See also page 159, above, for the related term 無事人.

**Simply don't strive** translates 但莫造作, in which the verb 造作, here rendered as "to strive," means to make intentional efforts to accomplish something. Such effort is of necessity artificial, and thus contrary to activities performed naturally and with no conscious intent or purpose. The Chan masters constantly warned their students against "striving," as the following passages indicate:

> The question was asked, "What is the cultivation of the Way?" The master [Mazu] said, "The Way is unrelated to cultivation. If you speak of gain through cultivation, then what is gained can be lost. That is the same as the śrāvakas. If you speak of no need for cultivation, that is the same as the common person." [Again] the question was asked, "Through what understanding can we penetrate the Way?" The master said, "Your own nature is originally complete. Only one unimpeded by good and evil can be said to cultivate the Way. To cling to good and reject evil, to contemplate emptiness and enter samādhi—these are all concerned with striving 造作. Furthermore, if you run around seeking outside, you will only get further and further away." (GY 1; X 68: 3c)

> The master [Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海, n.d.], having taken the high seat, said, "You men have the good fortune to be men who have nothing to do. Yet you work yourselves to death, striving 造作, only in order to fall into hell wearing a cangue on your shoulders. What for? Every day from morning to night you travel restlessly about, saying, 'I practice meditation, I study the Way, I comprehend the buddhadharma!' Thus you more and more lose contact with it. In the end this is only pursuing sensory pleasures. When will you ever take your ease!" (*Zhufang menren canwen yulu* 諸方門人參問語錄 [Record of questions asked by disciples from everywhere]; X 63: 25c)

> [Someone] asked, "What is buddha?" The master [Huangbo] said, "Mind, just this is buddha. No-mind, just this is the Way. Only when nothing arises in the mind—no agitating thoughts about existence and nonexistence, long and short, he and I, doing and what is done, and such like—then fundamentally mind is buddha, and buddha intrinsically is the Way. Mind is like the empty sky. Therefore it is said, 'Buddha's true dharmakāya is like the empty sky.' There is no need to seek elsewhere; all seeking is suffering. Even if, through practices as numerous as the sands of the Ganges—the six pāramitās and the ten thousand practices—you were to attain buddhahood and bodhi, this would not be the ultimate. Why is this so? Because these would depend upon causes and conditions and upon intentional striving 造作. When causes and conditions are fully exhausted, you would return to impermanency." (WL; T 48: 384b)

See also pages 185 and 215, below.

**Yet you look outside, searching side paths and seeking help.** *Editor's note*: The original translation, "But you go on and run hither and thither outside and make enquiries, looking for some helper," has been revised on the basis of further research by IRIYA (1989, 47–48) and YANAGIDA (1977, 92).

祇擬求佛、佛是名句。爾還識馳求底麼。三世十方佛祖出來、也祇爲求法。如今參學道流、也祇爲求法。得法始了。未得、依前輪回五道。云何是法。法者是心法。心法無形、通貫十方、目前現用。人信不及、便乃認名認句、向文字中、求意度佛法。天地懸殊。

"You keep trying to find buddha, but buddha is merely a name. Don't you know what it is that you are running around seeking? The buddhas and the patriarchs of the three periods and the ten directions appear only in order to seek the dharma. You followers of the Way who are studying today—you, too, have only to seek the dharma. Attain dharma and you're all done. Until then, you'll go on transmigrating through the five paths of existence just as you have been.

"What is dharma? 'Dharma' is the dharma of mind. Mind is without form; it pervades the ten directions and is manifesting its activity right before your very eyes. But because people lack sufficient faith [in this] they turn to names and phrases, attempting to grasp the buddhadharma through written words. They're as far away as heaven from earth!

**The three periods and the ten directions.** The "three periods" 三世 are the past, present, and future; the "ten directions" 十方 are the eight points of the compass plus the nadir and the zenith.

**The five paths of existence** 五道; also written 五趣 (Skr., pañca-gataya) represent the five conditioned states of incarnate existence. Strictly speaking, there are six such states, known as the six paths 六道 or the six states 六趣 (ṣaḍ-gati), for which see pages 143–144, above. The "five paths" are arrived at by omitting the third of the six states, namely that of the asura [阿]修羅, or titans.

**Dharma of mind** 心法. See the following passages written by Linji's teacher, Huangbo:

> This dharma, just this is mind; apart from mind there is no dharma. This mind, just this is dharma; apart from dharma there is no mind. Mind in itself is no-mind, also there is no no-mind. When mind is annihilated by mind, mind then becomes existent. Silently understand, no more. This is beyond all thinking. Therefore it is said, "Words or speech are cut off, the mind and its activity are extinguished." (CF [T 48:380b])
>
> Therefore, when Bodhidharma came from the Western Land he transmitted only the dharma of mind 心法. He pointed directly to [the truth that] all sentient beings are fundamentally buddha, and need not [make use of] religious practices. At this very moment just grasp the understanding of your own mind and see into your own nature. There is nothing else to seek. (WL [T 48: 386b])

**They're as far away as heaven from earth** 天地懸殊 is reminiscent of a line in the opening section of the famous *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 of Sengcan, the Third Patriarch of Chan:

> The ultimate Way is without difficulty /
> Just be without picking and choosing.
> Do not hate and do not love / And it will
> be utterly clear.

道流、山僧說法、說什麼法。說心地法。便能入凡入聖、入淨入穢、入眞入俗。

"Followers of the Way, when I, this mountain monk, expound the dharma, what dharma do I expound? I expound the dharma of mind-ground, which enters the secular and the sacred, the pure and the defiled, the real and the temporal.

A hair's breadth of divergence / And you are as far from it as heaven from earth.
If you want it to appear / Be neither for nor against. (T 48: 376b)

For Daoxin, see Introduction, note 58.

**Mind-ground** 心地. This term seems first to have appeared in the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahma-net sutra), also known as the *Fanwang jing lushe'nafo shuo pusa xindi jie pin* 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品 (The Brahma-net sutra, chapter on the bodhisattva mind-ground precepts as preached by Vairocana Buddha). Although the mind-ground doctrine, as a doctrine, is not explicitly expounded in this sutra, it is assumed as the basis for the bodhisattva precepts, with which the work is largely concerned.

The mind-ground doctrine underwent extended development in another work, perhaps spurious, the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (Mahayana sutra on contemplation of the mind-ground of essential nature), said to have been translated into Chinese by Prajñā (Bore 般若), a Kashmirian monk who worked in Chang'an circa 785–810. The following passage from this sutra states the doctrine in brief:

Within the three realms, mind is the master. He who can introspect his mind in the end is emancipated; he who cannot introspect his mind in the end is engulfed [in the sea of transmigration]. The mind of sentient beings is like the great earth. The five cereals and five fruits are produced from the great earth. The mind-dharma is just like this, producing the world, what is beyond the world, good and evil, the five ways of existence, the learned one [śaikṣa], the one who has gone beyond learning [aśaikṣa], the pratyekabuddha, the bodhisattva, and the tathāgata. Because of these causal relations, the three realms are only mind, and mind is called the ground. (T 3: 327a)

For further details on the *Fanwang jing* see *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 5: 4711c; for the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* see 4: 3283a.

The concept of the mind-ground also appears in the so-called transmission verses, a series of gāthā said to have been composed by each of the successive Chan patriarchs, beginning with Bodhidharma, at the time they transmitted the dharma to their respective heirs. The verse attributed to Bodhidharma, which seems to be the earliest of the six and to have been composed independently of the others, acts as a kind of introduction to the remaining five, which are obviously the products of a single author.

These gāthā became associated with Huineng sometime during the last two decades of the eighth century. All are contained in what is now known as the Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*.

Although the term 心地 does not yet appear in the verses attributed to the four earlier patriarchs, it is found in the verses associated with Hongren and Huineng. Hongren's verse reads:

When a sentient being sows seed
From nonsentience flowers appear.

With no sentience there is no seed
Without the mind-ground nothing appears.

Huineng's verse reads:

The mind-ground holds the seeds of sentiency;
With the dharma-rain the flowers appear.
When the flowers' seeds of sentiency self-awaken
The fruit of enlightenment naturally matures.

When the BZ, the earliest of the traditional Chan "histories," was compiled in 801, it contained not only the six transmission verses already mentioned but also an additional twenty-eight verses that were attributed to Śākyamuni and the twenty-seven succeeding "Indian patriarchs" of Chan, from Śākyamuni's disciple Mahākāśyapa to the final Indian patriarch (and first Chinese patriarch) Bodhidharma. These verses are believed to have formed part of BZ fasicles 9 and 10, which, unfortunately, are missing in the text as it now exists. The BZ presented this series in order to establish an unbroken transmission of the Chan dharma from Śākyamuni to the Sixth Patriarch.

The BZ is known to have had a wide circulation among Chan people of the late Tang; of the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* we are less certain, but nevertheless it seems likely that the doctrine of the mind-ground entered Chan through one or both of these works.

Linji's teacher Huangbo Xiyun speaks of this doctrine only once in the CF:

> As for the so-called dharma-gate of the mind-ground, the ten-thousand dharmas are established depending upon this mind. When external circumstances are encountered, they are existent; when external circumstances are not existent, the dharmas are nonexistent. You must not, as regards the pure nature, formulate interpretations based upon external circumstances. [This is] what is meant by "the illuminating activity of samādhi and prajñā, utterly clear, utterly still, and penetratingly bright." (T 48: 381)

It is impossible to say whether Linji's understanding of the doctrine of the mind-ground stemmed directly from his teacher Huangbo or from his own familiarity with the BZ, which is reputed to have been considerable. Linji mentions the term only once more in the LL, and that merely in passing.

ZJ 3 contains the following episode in the section on Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744):

> Mazu, having heard the master's [Nanyue's] discourse, rose from his seat and, after bowing reverently, asked, "How am I to handle my mind so as to unite with the Chan samādhi of formlessness?" The master said, "Study the doctrine of the mind-ground. It is like the planting of seeds. My discourse on the essentials of dharma is like heaven's beneficent [rain]. When, for you, causes and conditions meet, you should see the Way."

Since the ZJ was compiled in 952, this episode seems to indicate that the doctrine of the mind-ground had entered Chan prior to the appearance of either the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* or the transmission verses. But the fact that it appears in no other compilation suggests it may well be apocryphal and of later origin.

要且不是爾眞俗凡聖、能與一切眞俗凡聖、安著名字。眞俗凡聖、與此人安著名字不得。道流、把得便用、更不著名字、號之爲玄旨。

But your 'real and temporal,' your 'secular and sacred,' cannot attach labels to all that is real and temporal, secular and sacred. The real and the temporal, the secular and the sacred, cannot attach a name to this person. Followers of the Way, grasp and use, but never name—this is called the 'mysterious principle.'

**But your 'real and temporal'… 'secular and sacred'** 要且不是爾眞俗凡聖能與一切眞俗凡聖安著名字. This sentence presents several problems, both in grammar and interpretation.

In the expression 要且, the character 且 is an adverbial suffix having no specific meaning of its own; it merely softens the tone of the sentence. This usage is nearly analogous to that in 姑且, "for the time being," and 權且, "tentatively."

The sentence as a whole has traditionally been regarded as having the pronoun 爾, "you," as its subject. In this case, however, 爾 should not be read in this way, but should be read as the possessive "your." By "'*your* real and temporal,' '*your* secular and sacred,'" Linji means the differentiated states that a person chooses to define as real and temporal, secular and sacred. "Real and temporal, secular and sacred," furthermore, may be seen as representative of dualism in general—Linji could just as well have said "pure and impure," "good and evil," "inside and outside," etc.

The sentence could therefore be restated as, "You are mistaken if you think that the differentiated states that you have chosen can be the standard by which you can define every differentiated state."

**This person** 此人. Linji means specifically one who has realized the mind-ground, but with the implication that such a person might be anyone right there, listening to his sermon.

The central meaning of these lines is that *this* person, this concrete reality, cannot be defined by such labels as "real" and "temporary," "secular" and "sacred," for names all emerge from differentiation. What is important is just this immediate activity, this pure and direct functioning of reality. Although the traditional Japanese reading of the character 與 in this line is *no tame ni*, and the usual translation is "for the sake of," here 與 is, grammatically, merely the preposition "to".

**Grasp and use, but never name** translates the lines 把得便用、更不著名字. The principal difficulty involved in interpreting this may be the logical ambiguity caused by the fact that the two verbs, 把得, "grasp," and 便用, "use," have no following objects. Almost exactly the same lines appear in a later section of the LL (see page 244), where again the object of the verbs is not defined. In both cases, however, this idiosyncracy serves to lend the sermon an air of heightened vividness, perhaps in compensation for the ambiguity.

It is problematic to make "*this* person" the object of "grasping and using," as traditional commentators have usually done. It is similarly arbitrary to assign as the object the preceding term "dharma of the mind-ground." In his commentary on the text Dōchū explains the phrase as follows: "As for the real, we grasp it as it is but do not give it a name; as for the secular, we grasp it as it is but do not give it a name."

山僧說法、與天下人別。祇如有箇文殊普賢、出來目前、各現一身問法、纔道咨和尚、我早辨了也。老僧穩坐、更有道流、來相見時、我盡辨了也。何以如此。祇爲我見處別、外不取凡聖、內不住根本、見徹更不疑謬。

"My discourse on dharma is different from that of every other man on earth. Supposing Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra were to appear before me, manifesting their respective bodily forms for the purpose of questioning me about dharma. The moment they said, 'Venerable Priest, what …,' I would have discerned them through and through. And if a follower of the Way comes for an interview as I sit quietly here, I discern him through and through. Why is this so? Just because my way of viewing things is different; outside, I make no distinction between the secular and the sacred; inside, I do not dwell in the absolute; I see right through, and am free from all doubt."

This, again, is only one of several possible interpretations, but, perhaps, a slightly better one than the others.

**Mysterious principle** translates 玄旨, a term that Linji uses several times in the course of his sermons. It indicates the fundamental principle of Buddhism. It appears already in Sengcan's *Xinxin ming*:

> The conflict between "for" and "against" /
> This is the disease of the mind.
> When the abstruse principle 玄旨 is not
> understood / How vain is the struggle
> for quietness of thought! (T 48: 376b)

In the JC the "mysterious principle" is the subject of an exchange between an unnamed monk and Mazu's disciple Zhichang 智常 of the temple Guizong si 歸崇寺 on Mount Lu 廬:

> [A monk] asked, "What is the abstruse principle?" The master (Zhichang) said, "No one can understand it." "What about going toward it?" the monk asked. "Who is it that is seeking the abstruse principle?" was the master's response. (T 51: 255c–256a)

**Mañjuśrī** (Wenshu 文殊) and **Samantabhadra** (Puxian 普賢) are, in Mahayana Buddhism, the two principal bodhisattva attendants of Śākyamuni Buddha.

Mañjuśrī, whose name is translated into Chinese as Miaode 妙德, "Marvelous Virtue," represents prajñā wisdom. The older translation of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (*Avataṃsaka Sutra*) says that the bodhisattva lives on Mount Qingliang 清凉, beyond the ten thousand lands to the east, and that he gives sermons to the myriad bodhisattvas that surround him.

In China, Mañjuśrī is identified with Mount Wutai in the province of Shanxi. This belief was established among the people after the mid-Tang era in concert with the spread of the esoteric school. Mañjuśrī is also the bodhisattva whose image is always enshrined in the Chan meditation hall. From the time of the Tang dynasty it became customary to put the image of Mañjuśrī, instead of that of Piṇḍola (Bintoulu 賓頭盧), in the monastery dining hall.

Samantabhadra represents the principles of truth, teaching, practice, and salvation. His Chinese names Puxian 普賢 "All-pervading Good" and Puji 普吉 "All-pervading Beneficence" express the belief

XII

師示衆云、道流、佛法無用功處、祇是平常無事。屙屎送尿、著衣喫飯、困來即臥。愚人笑我、智乃知焉。

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "Followers of the Way, as to buddhadharma, no effort is necessary. You have only to be ordinary, with nothing to do—defecating, urinating, wearing clothes, eating food, and lying down when tired.

Fools laugh at me,
But the wise understand.

that he appears throughout the world to save all living beings. He is associated with the buddha Vairocana. In China, Mount Emei 峨眉 in the province of Sichuan is traditionally regarded as the place where Samantabhadra abides. Along with Mount Wutai for Mañjuśrī and Mount Putuo 普陀 in Zhejiang 浙江 for Guanyin 觀音, Mount Emei became a popular pilgrimage site where people would go to see incarnations of the bodhisattvas.

XII

**As to buddhadharma, no effort is necessary** 佛法無用功. Here again there is a stress on making no intentional or special efforts toward the attainment of the buddhadharma (see page 179, above). This emphasis is seen from the earliest times in Chan. Farong 法融 (594–657), first patriarch of the Niutou 牛頭 school, says in his poem *Xin ming*:

> When producing is without the marks of producing / Producing and illuminating are one and the same.
> One who would achieve purity of mind / Should have no intention of making effort. (T 51: 457b–c)

And likewise, Nanyue Mingzan says in his *Ledao ge* 樂道歌 (Song of enjoying the Way):

> Effortfully to make effort / Is to spin deeper and deeper in darkness.
> To grasp after is never to gain / Not to grasp after is to naturally succeed. (T 51: 461b–c)

**Defecating, urinating, wearing clothes:** these activities are representative of everyday life. Huayan 華嚴, a monk in the district of Wei 魏, says in a sermon,

> Buddhadharma is our everyday life. Where you walk or stop, drink tea or eat, talk or ask, there is the buddhadharma. If you make conscious efforts for something, it is not good for you. (See JC 30, Supplement, Ming edition.)

Yunmen Wenyan is recorded to have used almost the same words in one of his sermons:

> If you haven't yet gained the place of entrance, then look within and carefully observe yourself. Other than putting on clothes, eating food, defecating, and urinating, what else is there for you to do? What's the good of stirring up so many erroneous thoughts for no reason? (T 47: 548b)

**Fools laugh at me….** Linji is here both paraphrasing and quoting from Nanyue Mingzan's *Ledao ge* (see following note).

> I have no wish for rebirth as a god / Nor do I cling to fields of merit.
> When hungry, I eat / When tired, I sleep.
> Fools laugh at me / But the wise understand.
> It is not stupidity and dullness / But original nature as it is. (T 51: 461b)

古人云、向外作工夫、總是癡頑漢。爾且隨處作主、立處皆眞。境來回換不得。縱有從來習氣、五無間業、自爲解脫大海。

A man of old said,

Those who make work for themselves outside
Are just a bunch of blockheads.

"Just make yourself master of every situation, and wherever you stand is the true [place]. No matter what circumstances come they cannot dislodge you [from there]. Though you bear the influence of past delusions or the karma from [having committed] the five heinous crimes, these of themselves become the ocean of emancipation.

**A man of old** refers to Nanyue Mingzan, and the text quoted is the *Ledao ge*. Linji seems to have been fond of this poem, as he has already quoted from it three times (see pages 172 and 185, above), and continues to do so later. The lines quoted are in the beginning section, which establishes the mood of the entire poem:

Obdurate, I do nothing
What's there to alter?
When I am doing nothing
What's there to say?
The true mind is without confusion
No need to cut off external things.
The past is already past and gone
As for the future, don't bother about it.
Obdurate, I sit doing nothing
Who, after all, is there to call me?
Those who look outside themselves for something to work upon
Are just a bunch of blockheads.
(T 51: 461b)

Linji has substituted the verb 作, "make," for the 覓, "look for," of the original text.

**Wherever you stand is the true [place]** 立處皆眞. This line comes from the "Buzhenkong lun" 不眞空論 (Treatise on the emptiness of the unreal), a work in Sengzhao's *Zhao lun* 肇論:

A sutra says, "How marvelous, World-Honored One! Without moving from the realm of the true, you establish the standing place of all dharmas." It is not that apart from the true there is a standing place, but that the very standing place itself is the true. (T 45: 153a)

It is unclear what sutra Sengzhao is quoting from. W. Liebenthal, in a footnote to this passage, suggests that the passage refers to a section in fascicle 20 of the *Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經 (The light-emitting perfection of wisdom sutra), a Chinese translation of the *Pañcaviṃ-śatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* done in around 291 by Mokṣala (Wuluocha 無羅叉) (T 8: 141c), or to the analogous passage in fascicle 25 of Kumārajīva's translation of the same text, the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (T 8: 401a) (see LIEBENTHAL 1968, 66, note 235).

The JC contains a long sermon by the master Mazu Daoyi, in which Mazu discourses at length on the term 立處, "standing place," and in conclusion quotes the final lines of the above passage from the *Buzhenkong lun*:

If you establish the bhūtatathatā 眞如 [suchness] then everything without exception is the bhūtatathatā. If you establish the principle 理, then everything without exception is the principle. If you establish phenomena 事, then everything without exception is phenomena. When one is

> brought forward, thousands follow. The principle and phenomena are not different. All is marvelous activity, and there is no other principle. All is the movement of mind. Just as, for example, the reflections of the moon are many but the true moon is one; spring waters are many, but the nature of water is one; phenomena are many but empty space is one—just so explanations of the principle are many but unhindered wisdom is one. Everything established depends upon One Mind. Whether you establish or whether you sweep away—all is marvelous activity, and all marvelous activity is one's own self. "It is not that apart from the true there is a standing place, but that the very standing place itself is the true." It is all one's own being. (T 51: 440a)

Linji's acquaintance with these lines most likely came through Mazu's teachings rather than directly from the *Zhao lun*, though there is no way of knowing this for certain. It should be noted that here, as elsewhere, Linji has slightly altered a quotation, perhaps better to fit the context in which he was using it, substituting 皆 for the 即 of the Sengzhao and Mazu texts.

**The influence of past delusions** translates 習氣, which in turn translates the Sanskrit "vāsan," a scent or perfume that becomes attached to or clings to other objects. In Buddhism the word is used for the subtle influences that remain from delusions after the delusions themselves have been overcome or destroyed, i.e., the residue remaining in the unconscious from past conscious actions, beliefs, or perceptions.

**The five heinous crimes** translates 五無間業, the Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term "pañcānantaryakarmāni." The original expression means, literally, "the karma resulting from committing any of the five crimes that cause rebirth in the Hell of Uninterrupted Torment," but is usually, as here, used to designate the crimes themselves. The Hell of Uninterrupted Torment is the Avīci Hell, the eighth of the eight hot hells, where punishment is continuous.

The five heinous crimes, also known by the term 五逆罪, "five deadly sins," are matricide, patricide, killing an arhat, shedding the blood of a buddha, and destroying the harmony of the sangha. They are common to both the Hinayana and Mahayana traditions. Though all brought the same retribution, the crimes were considered to increase in severity as one moved down the list, with the last being the most heinous. Also, it should be noted that in Chinese Buddhism the position of the first two crimes is reversed, matricide following patricide.

**These of themselves become the ocean of emancipation**. The idea that the karma resulting from the five heinous crimes could become the "great sea of emancipation" is suggested in the following passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> Then Mañjuśrī questioned Vimalakīrti, saying, "How is the bodhisattva to fully realize 通達 the enlightenment of Buddhahood?" Vimalakīrti said, "When the bodhisattva practices the non-Way he is said to fully realize the buddha-way." Again Mañjuśrī asked, "How does the bodhisattva practice the 'non-Way'?" Vimalakīrti replied, "When the bodhisattva commits the five heinous crimes he does so without passion or hate. On entering hell he is without any taint of sin; on entering the realm of the beasts he is without such faults as avidyā [ignorance] and arrogant pride; on entering the realm of the hungry ghosts he is endowed with [the power of] meritorious virtue…. Mañjuśrī, when the bodhisattva can, in this manner, practice the non-Way he is said to realize fully the buddha-way." (T 14: 548c–549a)

For Linji's developed statement of this view, see Discourses 22; for other expressions of like views, see comment on pages 274–276.

今時學者、總不識法、猶如觸鼻羊、逢著物安在口裏。奴郎不辨、賓主不分。如是之流、邪心入道、鬧處即入。不得名爲眞出家人、正是眞俗家人。夫出家者、須辨得平常眞正見解、辨佛辨魔、辨眞辨僞、辨凡辨聖。若如是辨得、名眞出家。若魔佛不辨、正是出一家入一家。喚作造業衆生、未得名爲眞出家。祇如今有一箇佛魔、同體不分、如水乳合、鵝王喫乳。如明眼道流、魔佛俱打。爾若愛聖憎凡、生死海裏浮沈。

"Students nowadays know nothing of dharma. They're just like sheep that take into their mouths whatever their noses happen to hit against. They neither discriminate between master and slave, nor distinguish host from guest. Such as these, coming to the Way with crooked motives, readily enter bustling places. They cannot be called true renouncers of home. True householders are what they are.

"Renouncers of home must possess true insight at all times, distinguishing between the Buddha and Māra, between true and false, between secular and sacred. If they can do this, they may be called true renouncers of home. But those who cannot distinguish Māra from Buddha have only left one house to enter another. They may be described as karma-creating beings, but they cannot be called true renouncers of home.

"Now suppose there were Buddha-Māra, inseparably united in one body like a mixture of water and milk. The King of Geese would drink only the milk, but an open-eyed follower of the Way would handle Māra and Buddha equally.

If you love the sacred and hate the secular,
you'll float and sink in the sea of birth-and-death."

**They're just like sheep….** Old commentaries cite the view of Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (1247–1317) that this refers to the notion that sheep have weak sight and swallow whatever touches their noses. A similar statement is seen in the sayings of Linji's contemporary Zhaozhou:

> If mind does not vary, everything also is just as is. Since it cannot be obtained from outside, what is there to concern yourself with? What's the good of picking up things hit and miss and putting them into your mouths, like sheep? (x 68: 83b)

**Bustling places** 鬧處 is a term that usually refers to markets and other places where crowds gather, but here it alludes to large, prosperous, well-known monasteries where life was easy for the monks. Zhaozhou Congshen is said to have regarded the assembly under Xuefeng Yicun to be a community of this type.

**Renouncers of home** translates 出家 (Skr., śramaṇa). A śramaṇa is a person who has renounced the worldly life (symbolized by the household) to seek the Way. The śramaṇa ideal is described in the *Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (Sutra in forty-two chapters), a short text that sets forth the essential teachings of Buddhism, and that is traditionally regarded as the

first Buddhist sutra to have been translated into Chinese, in 67 C.E. The translation is ascribed to Kāśyapa Mātanga (Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰, n.d.) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (n.d.), although scholars now believe the text to be an apocrypha produced in China.

> The Buddha said, "Those who take leave of their parents and go forth from their homes, who know their minds and understand its source, and who penetrate to unconditioned dharma, are called śramaṇas. They constantly uphold the two hundred and fifty precepts, they value and abide in purity. By practicing the four true paths, they become Arhats…."
>
> The Buddha said, "Those who renounce home and become śramaṇas sever their desires, leave behind their cravings, and perceive the source of their minds. They penetrate the profound principles of the buddha and awaken to unconditioned dharma. They cling to nothing inside and they seek nothing outside; their minds are neither tied by the Way nor bound by karma. With no thought and no action, no cultivation and no attainment, and no passing through the various stages, they reach the ultimate. This is the meaning of the Way."
>
> The Buddha said, "They shave their hair and beard and become śramaṇas, accepting the dharma of the Way. They renounce worldly wealth, and in receiving alms accept only what is enough. They eat one meal a day and sleep beneath the trees. They seek no more than that. Craving and desire make people stupid and dull." (T 17: 722a–b5)

**Left one house to enter another.** That is, they have simply left the "house" of lay life to enter the "house" of organized religious life.

**Karma-creating beings** are sentient beings that endlessly produce the karma of death and rebirth. The *Wuxing lun* 悟性論, attributed to Bodhidharma, comments on the matter as follows:

> Sentient beings create karma; karma creates sentient beings. When sentient beings create karma in the present life, in the next life they receive retribution, and there is no chance of escaping it. It is only the perfected person who, within this body, creates no karma whatsoever and therefore receives no retribution. A sutra says, "When no karma whatsoever is created, the Way is naturally attained. How can these words be false? People can create karma, but karma cannot create people. If a person creates karma, karma will be born together with the person. If a person creates no karma, karma will disappear together with the person." From this we know that the creation of karma depends upon people, and that the birth of people depends upon karma. If people created no karma, then it would be impossible for karma to be born of people. (T 48: 372c)

**The King of Geese….** Linji alludes to an ability first mentioned in the *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 (Sutra on contemplating the true dharma): "It is just as when milk and water are poured into the same bowl and the King of Geese drinks. He drinks only the milk and leaves the water" (T 17: 379c).

**If you love the sacred….** This verse is from the second of the ten poems that make up Zhigong's *Dasheng zan* (see page 172). The entire poem reads:

> When an unreal body standing before a mirror casts a reflection / The reflection and the unreal body are not different.
> If you want only to discard the reflection and retain the body / You don't know that the body is fundamentally the same as emptiness.
> The body in itself doesn't differ from the reflection / There is no possibility that one exists and the other does not exist.
> If you want to keep the one and let the other go / You'll be eternally estranged from the True Principle.
> If you love the sacred and hate the secular / You'll sink and float in the sea of birth-and-death.

XIII

問、如何是佛魔。師云、爾一念心疑處是魔。爾若達得萬法無生、心如幻化、更無一塵一法、處處清淨是佛。然佛與魔、是染淨二境。

Someone asked, "What is Buddha-Māra?"

The master said, "One thought of doubt in your mind is Māra. But if you realize that the ten thousand dharmas never come into being, that mind is like a phantom, that not a speck of dust nor a single thing exists, that there is no place that is not clean and pure—this is Buddha. Thus Buddha and Māra are simply two states, one pure, the other impure.

Since the defiling passions exist depending upon mind / When there's no mind, where can they abide?
Don't weary yourself holding onto forms through discrimination / And you'll attain the Way naturally in a moment of time. (T 51: 449b)

The same point is made in a slightly different way in another of the poems:

To look within, to look without—both are wrong / The buddha-way and the demon-way, both are amiss.
If samsara is understood to be empty in its substance / Then where can buddha and demon find a place to dwell? (T 51: 449c)

Huangbo says the same thing in the CF:

Therefore it is said, "Everything the Tathāgata preached was for the sake of converting men, just as one pretends that yellow leaves are gold in order to stop the tears of a little child." It is certainly not the real. If someone were to have obtained the real, he would not be the guest of our school, and what would it have to do with his original substance? Thus the sutra says, "In truth there is not the least dharma to be obtained, and that is why it is called supreme, perfect enlightenment." If you understand the meaning of this, you know that the buddha-way and the demon-way are both amiss. (T 48: 383c)

XIII

**The master said… Māra.** Here Māra 魔, as found in the *Taishō*, has been used, rather than Buddha-Māra 佛魔, as in the LL texts of the TG (TG 11; X78: 469a) and GY (GY 4; X 68: 25a).

In connection with this passage, see the DL:

Allow doubt to rise in your mind,
And the King of Hell's jailers will bind you.
Like the deer upon which the lion springs,
Never again will you gain your freedom. (T 25: 185a)

Also see the CF:

The student of the Way who, for a single thought-instant, conjectures about samsara falls into the māra-way. (T 48: 381b)

**But if you realize….** An alternative reading would be:

If you understand, then the ten thousand dharmas never come into being, the mind is like a phantom, not even a single grain of dust or a single dharma exists, and there is no place whatsoever that is not immaculate and pure. This is buddha.

Either reading is possible, but here we prefer to see 達得 as governing the entire phrase that follows. We must read the two phrases 萬法無性 and 心如玄化 as a con-

約山僧見處、無佛無衆生、無古無今、得者便得、不歷時節。無修無證、無得無失。一切時中、更無別法。設有一法過此者、我說如夢如化。山僧所說皆是。

"In my view there is no buddha, no sentient beings, no past, no present. Anything attained was already attained—no time is needed. There is nothing to practice, nothing to realize, nothing to gain, nothing to lose. Throughout all time there is no other dharma than this. 'If one claims there's a dharma surpassing this, I say that it's like a dream, like a phantasm.' This is all I have to teach.

tinuous whole, from the standpoint of the metrical symmetry of these two phrases.

**Thus Buddha and Māra are simply two states, one pure, the other impure** translates 然佛與魔、是染淨二境. Dōchū's reading of the first character in this line, 然, is *shikaredomo* ("however," "nevertheless"). The word *shikaredomo*, however, always functions to connect two phrases with opposite meanings, while in this particular case 然 simply helps to continue the affirmative sense of the preceding phrase; "then" or "thus" are better choices.

Wang Yinzhi (1766–1834), explaining diverse usages of 然 in his *Jingzhuan shici* 經傳釋詞 (Explanation of words in the classics), notes that this character is almost synonymous with 則 (then, thence), and he supports this point with examples from Mozi 墨子 and Zhuangzi 莊子. This usage of 然 is also found in the *bianwen* literature discovered at Dunhuang.

**In my view there is no buddha….** Compare these words with the following passage from the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*:

> Excellent young man! Those bodhisattvas and sentient beings of the period of the decline of the dharma who achieve this attainment by practicing and cultivating this mind, have nothing to practice and nothing to attain. The universal luminance of perfect awakening, the nonduality of utter stillness—within this the hundreds and thousands and millions and billions of buddha-realms, countless as the sands of the Ganges, are like flowers in the sky that appear at random and at random disappear. They are not in this nor are they separate from it; there is nothing that binds them and nothing for them to be released from. Thus it is apparent that from the beginning sentient beings have attained buddhahood, and that samsara and nirvana are like yesternight's dream.
>
> Excellent young man! Because they are like yesternight's dream, you must know that samsara and nirvana never arise and never disappear, never come and never go. What is realized is without anything to be gained or anything to be lost, without anything to be grasped or anything to be rejected. One who realizes has nothing to do and nothing to refrain from doing, nothing to let be as it is and nothing to get rid of. Within this realization there is no one who realizes and nothing that is realized. After all, there is no realization and no realizer, for the nature of all dharmas is universality and indestructibility. (T 17: 915a)

**If one claims there's a dharma surpassing this, I say that it's like a dream, like a phantasm.** Linji's words here are not his own, but are adapted from the last sentence of the following passage in the *Mohe bore boluomi jing*, Kumārajīva's translation of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*,

道道流流、即今目前孤明歷歷地聽者、此人處處不滯、通貫十方、三界自在。入一切境差別、不能回換。一刹那間、透入法界、逢佛說佛、逢祖說祖、逢羅漢說羅漢、逢餓鬼說餓鬼。向一切處、游履國土、教化衆生、未曾離一念。隨處淸淨、光透十方、萬法一如。

"Followers of the Way, the one who at this very moment shines alone before my eyes and is clearly listening to my discourse—this man tarries nowhere; he traverses the ten directions and is freely himself in all three realms. Though he enters all types of situations with their various differentiations, none can confuse him. In an instant of time he penetrates the dharma realms, on meeting a buddha he teaches the buddha, on meeting a patriarch he teaches the patriarch, on meeting an arhat he teaches the arhat, on meeting a hungry ghost he teaches the hungry ghost. He travels throughout all lands bringing enlightenment to sentient beings, yet is never separate from his present mind. Everywhere is pure, light illumines the ten directions, and 'all dharmas are a single suchness.'

where, however, the statement is made in reference to nirvana:

> At that time the various gods questioned Subhūti, saying, "You say that the enlightenment of buddhahood is like a phantom or a dream. Do you say that nirvana also is like a phantom or a dream?" Subhūti replied to the gods, "I say to you that the enlightenment of buddhahood is like a phantom or a dream. I say to you that nirvana is like a phantom or a dream. Even if there were some dharma that surpassed nirvana, I say to you that it, too, would be like a phantom or a dream." (T 8: 276b)

The sentence in its original form is also found, without reference to its source, in the section of the JC (T 51: 228b) devoted to Zhiyan 智巖 (d. 677), second patriarch of the Niutou 牛頭 school of Chan, as well as in Guifeng Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the "Anthology of essential writings on the origins of Chan"; T 48: 402c).

**This man tarries nowhere… never separate from his present mind**. The concept in this passage is already expressed in the *Wangsheng lun zhu* 往生論註 (Commentary on the *Treatise on the Pure Land*) of the Pure Land patriarch Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542), in a description of the activities of Dharmakāya Bodhisattva:

> [Dharmakāya] Bodhisattva gains the requiting-birth samādhi. By the spiritual power of this samādhi, in a single place, in a single thought, in a single instant of time, he is able to penetrate all the worlds of the ten directions and make all varieties of offerings to all the buddhas and to all the buddhas' great congregations of believers. He is able to penetrate the numberless worlds where buddha, dharma, and sangha are unknown, and, by all varieties of manifestations and religious teachings, to bring salvation to all sentient beings and unceasingly engage in the work of buddha. Yet from the first he has no thought of coming or going, no thought of making offerings, no thought of bringing salvation. (T 40: 840a)

**All dharmas are a single suchness** 萬法一如). The quote is from the *Xinxin ming*:

道流、大丈夫兒、今日方知本來無事。祇爲爾信不及、念念馳求、捨頭覓頭、自不能歇。如圓頓菩薩、入法界現身、向淨土中、厭凡忻聖。如此之流、取捨未忘、染淨心在。

"Followers of the Way, right now the resolute man knows full well that from the beginning there is nothing to do. Only because your faith is insufficient do you ceaselessly chase about; having thrown away your head you go on and on looking for it, unable to stop yourself. You're like the Bodhisattva of Complete and Immediate [Enlightenment], who manifests his body in any dharma realm but within the Pure Land detests the secular and aspires for the sacred. Such ones have not yet left off accepting and rejecting; ideas of purity and defilement still remain.

If the eyes do not close in sleep / All
dreams of themselves vanish;
If the mind does not differentiate / All
dharmas are a single suchness.
(T 48: 376c)

**Only because your faith is insufficient…**. A reference to the story of Yajñadatta; see page 175, above.

**The Bodhisattva of Complete and Immediate [Enlightenment]** 圓頓菩薩) is a being who has attained the highest Mahayana enlightenment, an enlightenment that, in Linji's view, does not yet approach that of the Chan school. This enlightenment is termed "complete and immediate" since it is said to be all-embracing in content and to be attained suddenly, although not without the student having passed through many gradual stages. The term is particularly important in the Tiantai school, which is also known as the "Complete and Immediate One Vehicle" 圓頓一乘, and the precepts of which are termed the "Complete and Immediate Precepts" 圓頓戒.

The passage below the section of the JC devoted to Hengyue Huisi 衡嶽慧思 (515–577), suggests the possible source of the term as later used in the Tiantai school. Huisi, the heir of Huiwen 慧文 (n.d.), founder of the Lotus school (precursor of the Tiantai school), was the leading authority of his time on the *Lotus Sutra* and the one who instructed Zhiyi, founder of the Tiantai school, in the doctrines and meditation practices based upon that scripture.

When he [Huisi] was given donations by monks and laypeople, he made gold-lettered copies of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Lotus* sutras. Then, having been requested by the people to expound the two sutras, the master disclosed their meaning line by line. He also ordered Zhiyi to lecture in his stead. When Zhiyi reached [the line] "the One Mind embraces the ten thousand activities," he had doubts and requested an answer. The master said, "That on which you are in doubt is the gradual doctrine of the *Dapin jing* 大品經 (*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*). It is not the complete and immediate 圓頓 principle of the *Lotus*. As for me, in the past, during a summer retreat, a single instant of thought suddenly revealed all the dharmas before my eyes. Since I have already experienced this in my own person, I do not weary myself with doubts." Thereupon Zhiyi asked for instruction in the Lotus practice, and after three weeks attained enlightenment. (T 51: 431.b)

A slightly longer version of this episode is found in the biography of Huisi in the XG (T 50: 563a–b). On Huisi and his relation

如禪宗見解、又且不然。直是現今、更無時節。山僧說處、皆是一期藥病相治、總無實法。若如是見得、是眞出家、日消萬兩黃金。道流、莫取次被諸方老師印破面門、道我解禪解道。辯似懸河、皆是造地獄業。若是眞正學道人、不求世間過、切急要求眞正見解。若達眞正見解圓明、方始了畢。

"For the Chan school, understanding is not thus—it is instantaneous, now, not a matter of time! All that I teach is just provisional medicine, treatment for a disease. In fact, no real dharma exists. Those who understand this are true renouncers of home, and may spend a million gold coins a day.

"Followers of the Way, don't have the seal of sanction stamped haphazardly upon your face by any old teacher from anywhere, then go around saying, 'I understand Chan, I understand the Way.' Though your eloquence is like a rushing torrent, it is nothing but hell-creating karma.

"The true student of the Way does not search out the faults of the world, but eagerly seeks true insight. If you can attain true insight, clear and complete, then, indeed, that is all."

to Zhiyi, see HURVITZ 1962, 86–99 and 108–109. On the origins and development of the ideas of "sudden" and "gradual" enlightenment in Chinese Buddhism, see DEMIÉVILLE 1956 and GREGORY 1988.

**Those who understand this are true renouncers of home, and may spend a million gold coins a day**. In early Indian Buddhism a bhikku was forbidden by the precepts to accept more than the four necessities 四事: food, bedding (or lodging), clothing, and medicine, and, in the case of the first two items, only that for a single day. The acceptance of money was prohibited, and still is according to the Theravada rules. Yet even the schools of Indian Buddhism recognized a standpoint very much like that of Linji.

The Chinese monk and translator Yijing 義淨 (635–713), for example, brought back to China from his long pilgrimage in India the vinaya (precepts) of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school, one of the later subdivisions of the Sarvāstivādin school. The following passage is to be found in the *Genben shuo yiqie you bu nituona* 根本說一切有部尼陀那 (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school), translated in 703 by Yijing :

> The Buddha said, "If all of you, with a believing mind, having taken your refuge in me and gone forth from your homes, sincerely seek nirvana and cultivate pure conduct, even though all of you bhikkus were to wear robes valued at a hundred million pieces of gold, were to live in dwellings valued at five hundred pieces of gold, and were to eat and drink your fill of food of the hundred flavors, though you were to do such things as these, I permit them all. You may spend all this." (T 24: 423a–b)

Though Linji may have been familiar with this passage, it would appear more likely that the immediate model for his utterance here was a statement by Baizhang Huaihai, the teacher of Linji's own master Huangbo Xiyun, as it is to be found in the "Baizhang" section of the GY:

XIV

問、如何是眞正見解。師云、爾但一切入凡入聖、入染入淨、入諸佛國土、入彌勒樓閣、入毘盧遮那法界、處處皆現國土、成住壞空。

Someone asked, "What is 'true insight'?"

The master said, "You have only to enter the secular, enter the sacred, enter the defiled, enter the pure, enter the lands of all the buddhas, enter the Tower of Maitreya, enter the dharma realm of Vairocana and all of the lands everywhere that manifest and come into being, exist, decay, and disappear.

> Someone asked, "Nowadays the śrāvakas all say, 'Depending upon the teaching of the Buddha, we study the sutras, study the śāstras, study meditation, study the precepts, study knowledge, study understanding. So are we qualified to receive the dānapatis' offerings of the four necessities? May we make use of these?'" The master said, "He who, right now, actively illumines sound, color, odor, and taste, and at the same time is without the slightest vestige of stain from all the dharmas of existence and nonexistence or from any circumstances whatsoever, and does not adhere to the state of nonstaining nor to the state of nonadherence to knowledge and understanding, then, though this person eats food to the amount of ten thousand pieces of gold every day, he may spend this." (X 68: 10a)

**Seal of sanction** 印 is the teacher's acknowledgement that the student has attained enlightenment and received transmission of the teacher's dharma. It is more usually termed 印可.

**The true student of the Way does not search out the faults of the world.** Compare the passage in the *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅密經, the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva of one of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras:

> Also, then, Subhūtī, this foolish person gains evil friends. He does not rejoice, nor does he take pleasure, in cultivating the good dharma. Furthermore, being profoundly jealous, he is always seeking the faults of others. Naturally he exalts himself and disparages others. (T 8: 551b)

Also pertinent are the better-known lines from the Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*:

> The one who truly cultivates the Way
> Does not see the faults of the world.
> If you see the faults of the world,
> Your own faults are the more despicable.
> (T 48: 342a)

**If you can attain true insight, clear and complete, then, indeed, that is all** translates 若達眞正見解圓明、方始了畢. For the usual Japanese reading of this passage, *moshi shinshō no kenge ni tasseba, enmyō ni shite masa ni hajimete ryōhitsu sen*, the translation would be, "When he attains true understanding [insight] he will have complete clarity, and then there is nothing more." However, the two characters 圓明 should be read not with the second phrase of the sentence, but with the first, as has been done in the present translation.

XIV

**You have only to enter… disappear.** Linji's statement is undoubtedly based upon a doctrine expounded in the "Ru fajie pin" 入法界品 (Chapter on entering the dharma realm; T 10: 319–444) of Śikṣānanda's "new" translation of the

佛出于世、轉大法輪、卻入涅槃、不見有去來相貌。求其生死、了不可得。便入無生法界、處處游履國土、入華藏世界、盡見諸法空相、皆無實法。

"The Buddha appeared in the world, turned the Wheel of the Great Dharma, then entered nirvana, yet no trace of his coming and going can be seen. Though you seek his birth and death, you will never find it

"Then, having entered the dharma realm of no-birth and traveled throughout every country, you enter the realm of the lotus-womb, and there see through and through that all dharmas are characterized by emptiness and that there are no real dharmas whatsoever.

*Avataṃsaka Sutra*, according to which all the realms of the secular and the sacred are products of the individual's own mind. This view was generally accepted by the Chan school.

The extensive "Ru fajie pin" chapter is devoted to an account of the visits made to fifty-three teachers by the young pilgrim Sudhana (Shancai tongzi 善財童子), under the guidance of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. According to the sutra, for his fifty-second visit Sudhana travels south to a country known as the Seacliff Land 海安國, and once there to the Grove of the Storehouse of Splendid Adornments 大莊嚴藏園林, in which is situated the magnificent tower of Vairocana Buddha.

Vairocana, whose name means "omnipresent light," is a symbolic representation of the dharmakāya, the essential body of buddha, which, like light, pervades everywhere, and of which Maitreya (Mile 彌勒)—the buddha of the future—and all other buddhas are manifestations

When he reaches the Seacliff Land, Sudhana enters the great tower of Vairocana, where all of its wonders are revealed to him. There also Maitreya, attended by a great company, comes to give him further instruction.

Although there is some discrepancy between Linji's words and those in the sutra, it is obvious that the master had this section of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* in mind when he spoke.

**The Wheel of the Great Dharma** is a metaphor for the teaching of Śākyamuni Buddha; **entered nirvana** refers to Śākyamuni's death.

**The dharma realm of no-birth** is the realm of nonduality beyond birth and death, sometimes also referred to as the realm of principle 理.

**The realm of the lotus-womb** is the Pure Land created through the vows and practices of Vairocana Buddha, as described in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. The name "realm of the lotus-womb" derives from the fact that, just as the flower of the lotus contains already within it the lotus's seeds, in Vairocana Buddha's realm of the lotus-womb, cause is simultaneous with effect.

**No real dharmas whatsoever** is an expression from the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*. The scene is the visit of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, attended by a large company, to Vimalakīrti, the famous layman of Vaiśālī, who is lying ill in his home:

> Mañjuśrī said, "Sir, how should a bodhisattva who is ill conquer his mind?" Vimalakīrti replied, "A bodhisattva who is ill should reflect thus: My present illness has been caused by the delusions, errors, and passions in my previous existences.

唯有聽法無依道人、是諸佛之母。所以佛從無依生。若悟無依、佛亦無得。若如是見得者、是眞正見解。學人不了、爲執名句、被他凡聖名礙、所以障其道眼、不得分明。祇如十二分教、皆是表顯之說。學者不會、便向表顯名句上生解。皆是依倚、落在因果、未免三界生死。

"There is only the man of the Way who depends upon nothing, here listening to my discourse—it is he who is the mother of all buddhas. Therefore buddhas are born from nondependence. Awaken to nondependence, then there is no buddha to be obtained. Insight such as this is true insight.

"Students do not understand this, and, because they adhere to names and phrases and are obstructed by such terms as 'secular' and 'sacred', becloud their Dharma Eye and cannot obtain clarity of vision. Take for instance the twelve divisions of the teachings—all are nothing but surface explanations. Not understanding this, students form views based on these superficial words and phrases. All such students are dependent and thus fall into causation; they haven't escaped birth-and-death in the three realms.

> No real dharma exists 無有實法; who then is it that is ill? Because the four great elements coalesce, temporarily we speak of a body. The four great elements are without a master; the body, also, is without an 'I'. Furthermore, this illness arises entirely because of attachment to an 'I'." (T 14: 544c–545a)

**The man of the Way who depends upon nothing**. Linji's expression brings to mind the words of the master Baizhang Huaihai:

> Buddha is one who has nothing to be attached to, nothing to seek, and nothing upon which to be dependent (GY 2; X 68: 10A).

**Buddhas are born from nondependence**. In the ZL, the compiler Yanshou 延壽 (904–976) quotes a certain Taiyuan 太原 (n.d.):

> The sutra says further, "Nondependence is the mother of buddhas. Buddhas are born from no-place." (T 48: 942b).

The passage in the ZL gives no indication, however, from which sutra Taiyuan is quoting.

**There is no buddha to be obtained** translates the expression 佛亦無得; which can also be rendered, "Even buddha cannot be obtained." See the words of Huangbo Xiyun as recorded in the Ming version of the WL:

> Originally there is nothing to be obtained, and "nothing to be obtained" also cannot be obtained. Therefore it is said, "There is not a single dharma that can be obtained." (X 68: 20C)

The second sentence of the quote is from the *Diamond Sutra*.

> 爾若欲得生死去住、脫著自由、即今識取聽法底人。無形無相、無根無本、無住處、活撥撥地。應是萬種施設、用處祇是無處。
>
> "If you want to be free to live or to die, to go or to stay as you would put on or take off clothes, then right now recognize the one listening to my discourse, the one who has no form, no characteristics, no root, no source, no dwelling place, and yet is bright and vigorous. Of all his various responsive activities, none leaves any traces.

**Bright and vigorous** translates 活撥撥地, a term that Linji uses to describe the vigorous manner in which fish splash and leap about in the water. Though the *Taishō* writes the character 撥 with the hand 手 radical, its usual form is with either the water 水 or fish 魚 radicals.

A suspiciously similar passage is to be found in the section devoted to Linji's contemporary Deshan Xuanjian in ZH 20. Here Deshan is recorded as saying in the course of a sermon to his monks:

> Many of you have knowledge and understanding. But do you know his countenance? [Though everyone], from the home-renouncer to the bodhisattva who has attained the completed mind of the tenth stage, looks for his traces they cannot find them. Therefore all the gods rejoice, the deity of the soil lifts his feet reverently in his hands, all the buddhas of the ten directions praise him, and the king of the demons weeps copious tears. Why? Because of this emptiness he is bright and lively, without any roots and without any dwelling place. (X 79: 173c)

**All his various responsive activities** translates 應是萬種施設, where 應是 means "all" or "every," and is the equivalent of 應, 應有, or 一應 (see JIANG 1962, 179–181). This compound is invariably followed by a noun or noun-equivalent that usually serves the function of a nominative absolute. The traditional Japanese reading, *kono banshu no sesetsu ni ōjite*, missing this grammatical point, yields a meaning something to the effect of "in accordance with these myriad circumstances."

The term 施設, a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit word "prajñapti," is much used in the philosophy of the Yogācāra (Weishi 唯識) school, where it indicates primarily a provisional or hypothetical teaching used as a skillful means. From the context here it would seem that Linji is using the term in a less technical sense, and it has therefore been translated as "responsive activities," with the meaning that all the activities of the man of the Way are provisional or seeming, not real, and take place in response to whatever circumstances arise. Thus, in the sense of being suitable for the occasion, they carry the implication of being expedient. The term is also seen on page 273, with much the same meaning.

*Editor's note*: The original translation for this entire line was, "As for all his manifold responsive activities, the place where they are carried on is, in fact, no-place." However, subsequent research by Sasaki's colleagues, Yanagida and Iriya, suggests that the present translation is preferable. The original Chinese, 應是萬種施設, 用處祇是無處, is translated by Yanagida into modern Japanese as *subete no hōben tedate wa, donna ni katsudō shite mo ato o todomenu*, "All of his skillful means and expedients, no matter how actively pursued, leave no traces" (1977, 106). Iriya has *sono*

所以覓著轉遠、求之轉乖。號之爲祕密。道流、爾莫認著箇夢幻伴子。遲晚中間、便歸無常。爾向此世界中、覓箇什麼物作解脫。覓取一口飯喫、補毳過時、且要訪尋知識。

Thus the more you chase him the farther away he goes, and the more you seek him the more he turns away; this is called the 'Mystery'.

"Followers of the Way, don't acknowledge this illusory companion, your body—sooner or later it will return to impermanence. What is it you seek in this world that you think will bring you emancipation? You hunt about for a mouthful to eat and while away time patching your robe. You should be searching for a good teacher!

*hito ga katsudō suru samazama no hōben wa subete, hataraki to shite no atokata o issai todomenu*, "All of the various skillful means employed by that person leave absolutely no traces of their functioning" (1989, 63). Regarding the term 無處, Sasaki quotes a passage from the ZL:

> All places are no-place—just this is the place of the dharmas. The place where activity is carried on is the place of no-activity and of the dharma of no-activity—just this is seeing buddha. (T 48: 939c)

This passage originally appears in the *Anxin famen* 安心法門 (Dharma gate for pacifying the mind), one of the works in the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (Bodhidharma's six gates), a compilation of six short treatises attributed to Bodhidharma. The analogous passage in the presently existing *Xiaoshi liumen* version of the *Anxin famen* is:

> All places are no-place, and the place of activity is without any dharma of activity—just this is seeing buddha. (T 48: 370b)

**Thus the more… the more he turns away**. *Editor's note*: Yanagida suggests that this was a common proverb in China at the time of Linji (1977, 106).

**Sooner or later** translates 遲晚中間. In the colloquial language of the Tang, the compound 中間 was appended to various adverbs that indicate time relations. In the *Youxian ku* 遊仙窟 we find 俄爾中間 and 俄頃中間, both meaning "in an instant," or "soon." In the DB we find numerous examples: 頓食中間, "during, or after, the interval of a meal," i.e., "for, or after, a little while"; 不經旬日中間, "not until ten days have passed"; 時向 (or 食向 or 日向) 中間, "after a little while."

**It will return to impermanence**. A similar idea is expressed by Linji's teacher, Huangbo, in the WL:

> All practice [activities] in the end return to nought; all efforts have a final limit. Just as an arrow shot into the sky falls to the earth when its power is spent, so you, after all, will return to the round of birth-and-death. (T 48: 386b–c)

**Robe** translates the character 毳, defined in the *Zuting shiyuan* as "a garment of fine wool cloth." Later it came to be used for monks' robes in general.

**You should be searching for a good teacher** translates 且要訪尋知識. In the traditional Japanese reading of this line, *ikku no han o miyakushu shite kisshi, zei o oginai toki o sugoshite, shibaraku o bōjin sen koto o yōsu*, the imperative *yōsu* 要す is the main verb of the sentence, which would thus be translated, "Look for a mouthful of food to eat, pass the time patching your robe, and then search for a

莫因循逐樂。光陰可惜、念念無常。麁則被地水火風、細則被生住異滅四相所逼。道流、今時且要識取四種無相境、免被境擺撲。

Don't just drift along pursuing comfort. Value every second. Each successive thought-moment passes quickly away. The grosser part of you is at the mercy of [the four elements:] earth, water, fire, and wind; the subtler part of you is at the mercy of the four phases: birth, being, decay, and death. Followers of the Way, you must right now apprehend the state in which the four elements [and four phases] are formless, so that you may avoid being buffeted about by circumstances."

good teacher." However, the emphasis of Linji's statement is that the monk's life of asceticism and poverty, although generally considered praiseworthy in and of itself, is not what is centrally important in the monk's vocation—the sincere student must find a teacher and devote his time and efforts to carrying on his practice and attaining enlightenment.

Much the same idea is to be found in a passage from the *Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission), another of the short treatises attributed to Bodhidharma:

> Therefore know that the phenomenal dharmas are like dreams and illusions. If you do not quickly search for a teacher you will pass your lifetime in vain. Although all have of themselves the buddha-nature, if one does not rely upon a teacher, in the end one's understanding will not reach completion. It is rare to find a single person among ten thousand who has attained awakening without relying upon a teacher. (T 48: 373c)

Interesting similarities are also seen in the following lines in Yongjia's long poem, the *Song of Enlightenment*:

> Wandering over rivers and seas, traversing streams and mountains / I sought a teacher to ask about the Way, regarding this as studying Chan.
> From the moment I recognized the road of Caoxi [the Sixth Patriarch] / I knew I had no relationship with birth-and-death. (T 48: 396a)

**Buffeted about** translates 擺撲, a Tang colloquial word meaning "to knock down, to beat up, to push around."

XV

問、如何是四種無相境。師云、爾一念心疑、被地來礙。爾一念心愛、被水來溺。爾一念心嗔、被火來燒。爾一念心喜、被風來飄。若能如是辨得、不被境轉、處處用境。東涌西沒、南涌北沒、中涌邊沒、邊涌中沒、履水如地、履地如水。

Someone asked, "What is the state in which the four elements [and four phases] are formless?"

The master said, "An instant of doubt in your mind and you're obstructed by earth; an instant of lust in your mind and you're drowned by water; an instant of anger in your mind and you're scorched by fire; an instant of joy in your mind and you're blown about by wind. Gain such discernment as this, and you're not turned this way and that by circumstances; making use of circumstances everywhere—you spring up in the east and disappear in the west, spring up in the south and disappear in the north, spring up in the center and disappear at the border, spring up at the border and disappear in the center, walk on the water as on land, and walk on the land as on water.

## XV

**What is the state in which the four elements [and four phases] are formless?** Although Linji mentions the "four elements and the four phases" in his statement at the end of the previous section, and although the questioner obviously refers to this, in his answer Linji speaks only of the four elements 四種.

**You spring up in the east… and disappear in the center**. The phrases that Linji employs here to depict the free use of circumstances by the enlightened person are adapted from the stereotyped formula describing the "six earth-shakings" 六種振動, the six ways in which the earth shakes on the occasion of some momentous event, such as the enlightenment of a buddha. This formula is found in a number of the earlier as well as later sutras, and undoubtedly would have been well known to the members of Linji's audience.

An example of this formula is found in the following passage from the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經, Xuanzang's translation of the complete *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā Sutra*. The "six earth-shakings" here are said to have taken place on the occasion of the Buddha's entering the Samādhi of the Joyful Play of the Lion 師子遊戲:

> The universe shook in six ways, springing up in the east and sinking down in the west, springing up in the west and sinking down in the east, springing up in the south and sinking down in the north, springing up in the north and sinking down in the south, springing up in the center and sinking down on the borders, springing up on the borders and sinking down in the center. (T 6: 642c)

**Walk on the water as on land, and walk on the land as on water**. This expression, which further portrays the free use of circumstances by the enlightened person, may have been inspired by the following passage in the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩

緣何如此。爲達四大如夢如幻故。道流、爾祇今聽法者、不是爾四大、能用爾四大。若能如是見得、便乃去住自由。約山僧見處、勿嫌底法。爾若愛聖、聖者聖之名。有一般學人、向五臺山裏求文殊。早錯了也。五臺山無文殊。爾欲識文殊麼。祇爾目前用處、始終不異、處處不疑、此箇是活文殊。

"How is this possible? Because you have realized that the four elements are like dreams, like illusions. Followers of the Way, the *you* who right now is listening to my discourse is not the four elements; this *you* makes use of the four elements. If you can fully understand this, you are free to go or to stay [as you please]. From my point of view, there is not a thing to be disliked. If you love the 'sacred', what is sacred is no more than the name 'sacred'.

"There's a bunch of students who seek Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai. Wrong from the start! There's no Mañjuśrī on Wutai. Do you want to know Mañjuśrī? Your activity right now, never changing, nowhere faltering—this is the living Mañjuśrī.

訶般若波羅蜜經, Kumārajīva's translation of the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*:

> When the Bodhisattva Mahasattva practices the prajñā pāramitā he cultivates the prajñā pāramitā of supernatural power. By means of this prajñā pāramitā of supernatural power he receives various things according to his desire. He can shake the great earth, he can change one body into innumerable bodies and innumerable bodies into one body. He is free to conceal or reveal himself. As for mountains and trees, he passes through them as if walking in the void. He walks on water as though he were on the land, soars into the sky as though he were a bird, comes forth from and disappears into the earth as though going in and out of water. His body emits smoke and flames like a great conflagration, and from within his body flows forth water like the coursing streams of the Himalayas. (T 8: 228b)

**There is not a thing to be disliked**. This statement brings to mind the description attributed to Bodhidharma in BZ 8 of the person who has attained complete realization:

> On seeing evil he feels no hatred
> On observing good he is not encouraged.
> He neither turns away the stupid nor invites the wise
> Neither renounces delusion nor seeks awakening.
> Proficient in the Great Way, he is beyond measure
> Having penetrated the buddha-mind, he is beyond degree.
> Following after neither the secular nor the sacred
> Transcendent, he is called the patriarch.

**If you love the 'sacred'….** Here again there is a remarkable similarity between the words used by Linji and those recorded for his contemporary, the Chan master Deshan Xuanjian, in ZH 20:

> Do not love the sacred; "sacred" is just an empty name. If, in the three realms and the ten directions, there is an atom of dust or a single dharma that can be obtained, or anything to which you attach an arbitrary explanation or protect as valuable,

you will irretrievably fall into the hands of Māra Deva and the way of the heretics. (X 79: 173a)

**Mount Wutai** 五臺 is a famous mountain located in Wutaixian 五臺縣, Shanxi Province. The name Wutai, literally "five terraces," derives from the fact that the mountain consists of five rounded summits. Huayan doctrine identifies it with Mount Qingliang 清凉, "Mount Clear and Cool," the home of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊), as described in the "Pusa zhusuo pin" 菩薩住所品 (Chapter on the bodhisattvas' dwelling places) of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. It was believed that Mañjuśrī frequently appeared on the mountain to preach the Law, and through the centuries many laypeople and monks have made pilgrimages to the mountain to pay their respects to the bodhisattva.

From early times Mount Wutai has been regarded as the most sacred of China's four great Buddhist mountains, the others being Mount Putuo 普陀 in Zhejiang 浙江, which is sacred to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (C., Guanshiyin 觀世音); Mount Jiuhua 九華 in Anhui 安徽, which is sacred to Kśitigarbha (C., Dizang 地藏); and Mount Emei 蛾眉 in Sichuan 四川, which is sacred to Samantabhadra (C., Puxian 普賢). In the early Tang dynasty Mount Wutai served as an important center of the Huayan school.

The biography of the Kashmirian monk Buddhapāli (Fotuoboli 佛陀波利, n.d.) in the XG mentions that Buddhapāli journeyed from northern India to Mount Wutai in China in order to worship Mañjuśrī. When he arrived on the mountain in 676 the bodhisattva appeared to him and instructed him to transmit to the world the text of the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (Sutra of the victorious Buddha-crown dhāraṇī; T 19: #967).

There are many works relating to the geography and history of Mount Wutai and to the cult of Mañjuśrī there, among the most famous of them being the *Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳 (Old "Tales of [Mount] Qingliang"; T 51: #2098) by the Tang monk Huixiang 慧祥 (n.d.), who visited the mountain in 667; the *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清凉傳 (Comprehensive "Tales of [Mount] Qingliang)"; T 51: #2099), written in 1060 by the Song monk Yanyi 延一 (n.d.), who lived on the mountain; and the *Xu qingliang zhuan* 續清凉傳 (Supplementary "Biographies of [Mount] Qingliang"; T 51: #2100) by the Chinese official (and later prime minister) Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121), a devoted student of Chan, whose Buddhist name was Layman Wujin 無盡居士. Among the tales related in these works is that of the Huayan monk Wuzhuo and his pilgrimage to the mountain in 767, as related in the note on the Second Statement (see pages 145–147, above).

The Japanese Tendai monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), who made a long pilgrimage to Tang-dynasty China during the ninth century, left a vivid account of his visit to Wutai (see REISCHAUER 1955a). Edwin Reischauer, the translator of Ennin's account, also has many interesting remarks to make on this portion of the diary in his *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China* (REISCHAUER 1955b), 194–211.

The English writer John Blofeld also visited Wutai in the middle of the present century. His account of the mountain, its temples, and ceremonies in recent times, but prior to the suppression of Buddhism following the Communist takeover in 1949, is contained in his autobiographical *The Wheel of Life* (BLOFELD, 1959), 111–155.

**Your activity right now... the true Samantabhadra**. Compare the following passage from the master Huangbo Xiyun, as recorded in the CF:

Mañjuśrī represents principle, Samantabhadra represents activity. By principle

爾一念心無差別光、處處總是眞普賢。爾一念心自能解縛、隨處解脫、此是觀音三昧法。互爲主伴、出則一時出。一即三、三即一。如是解得、始好看教。

Your single thought's nondifferentiating light—this indeed is the true Samantabhadra. Your single thought that frees itself from bondage and brings emancipation everywhere—this is the Avalokiteśvara samādhi. Since these [three] alternately take the position of master and attendants, when they appear they appear at one and the same time, one in three, three in one. Gain understanding such as this, and then you can read the sutras."

> is meant the principle of the truly void and unimpeded; by activity is meant the inexhaustible activity beyond the sphere of form. Avalokiteśvara represents great compassion…. All the qualities typified by the great bodhisattvas are inherent in humans. They are not separate from One Mind. Awaken to *this* and that is all. (T 48: 380a)

**These [three] alternately… one in three, three in one**. Linji may have developed his idea from the following passage in the *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (Treatise on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), since his words resemble those of the author, the Huayan lay scholar Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (639–734), who expounds another, though related, point:

> For this reason the three virtuous beings, Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Avalokiteśvara, alternately act as master and attendants to complete the rules of dharma…. These three bodies alternately make up the body and functions of the single dharmakāya. (T 36: 739b)

The same general idea is later set forth in greater detail by the fourth Huayan patriarch, Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838), in his *San sheng yuanrong guanmen* 三聖圓融觀門 (Contemplation of the perfect identity of the three holy ones), though the "three sages" in this case are not Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, and Avalokiteśvara, but the typical Huayan trinity of Vairocana Buddha, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra (T 45: 671a–672a).

XVI

師示衆云、如今學道人、且要自信。莫向外覓。總上他閑塵境、都不辨邪正。祇如有祖有佛、皆是教迹中事。有人拈起一句子語、或隱顯中出、便即疑生、照天照地、傍家尋問、也大忙然。

The master addressed the assembly, saying, "You who today study the Way must have faith in yourselves. Don't seek outside or you'll just go on clambering after the realm of worthless dusts, never distinguishing true from false. [Notions] like 'there are buddhas, there are patriarchs' are no more than matters in the teachings. When someone brings forward a phrase or comes forth from the hidden and the revealed, you are at once beset by doubt. You appeal to heaven, appeal to earth, run to question your neighbors, and are utterly perplexed.

XVI

**Realm of worthless dusts** translates the term 閑塵境, which was apparently original with Linji. It is almost identical in meaning with another term first encountered in the LL, 閑機境, for which see comment on page 166.

**Brings forward** translates 拈起, an expression often used in Chan texts to speak of a master picking up his stick or other object to "show it *as it is*," without words. Here what Linji is speaking about "showing as it is" is a word or phrase, which is done by demonstrating or actualizing it rather than talking about it.

**The hidden and the revealed** translates 隱顯, a technical term that was much in use in the Chan school at this time. See the "transmission verses" attributed to the eleventh Indian patriarch of Chan, Punyayaśas (Funayeshe 富那夜奢), as given in BZ 3:

> Delusion and awakening are like the hidden and the revealed / Brightness and darkness are not separate from one another.
>
> Now I transmit to you the dharma of the Hidden and the Revealed / It is not one, neither is it two.

The term is used many times by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), the third patriarch of the Huayan school; a representative example is found in his important work *Huayan jing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門 (One hundred issues relating to the meaning of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), T 45: 627c. It is also found in the *Huayan fajie xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡 (Profound mirror on the *Avataṃsaka* dharma realm; e.g., T 45: 679b), a work by the fourth Huayan patriarch, Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838).

**Utterly perplexed** translates 也大忙然. The frequent use of the intensive adverb 大 "very," "much," which may be followed by either an adjective, adverb, or verb, is one of the characteristics of Tang colloquial language. Common examples include 大難, 大似, and 大有.

Earlier instances of this usage can be found in fascicle 18 of the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Investigations of the supernatural), a book on "the strange" 怪 by Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 323): "[He was] very much frightened" 大恐怖 (140); "[He was] really quick to decide" 大有才決 (141; twenty-fascicle edition, Shanghai, 1931).

大丈夫兒、莫祇麼論主論賊、論是論非、論色論財、論說閑話過日。山僧此間、不論僧俗、但有來者、盡識得伊。任伊向甚處出來、但有聲名文句、皆是夢幻。卻見乘境底人、是諸佛之玄旨。佛境不能自稱我是佛境。還是這箇無依道人、乘境出來。若有人出來、問我求佛、我即應清淨境出。有人問我菩薩、我即應慈悲境出。有人問我菩提、我即應淨妙境出。有人問我涅槃、我即應寂靜境出。境即萬般差別、人即不別。所以應物現形、如水中月。道流、爾若欲得如法、直須是大丈夫兒始得。若萎萎隨隨地、則不得也。

"Resolute men, don't pass your days in idle chatter this way, talking of rulers and talking of outlaws, discussing right and discussing wrong, speaking of women and speaking of money. As for me, whoever comes here, whether monk or layman, I discern him through and through. Regardless of where he comes from, his words and phrases are all just dreams and illusions. On the other hand, it's obvious that one in control of every circumstance [embodies] the mysterious principle of all the buddhas. The state of buddhahood does not of itself proclaim, 'I am the state of buddhahood!' Rather, this very man of the Way, dependent upon nothing, comes forth in control of every circumstance.

"If someone comes and asks about seeking buddha, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of purity; if someone asks about bodhisattvahood, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of compassion; if someone asks me about bodhi, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of pure mystery; if someone asks me about nirvana, I immediately appear in conformity with the state of serene stillness. Though there be ten thousand different states, the person does not differ. Therefore,

According with things he manifests a form,
Like the moon [reflecting] on the water.

"Followers of the Way, if you want to accord with dharma, just be men of great resolve. If you just shilly-shally spinelessly along, you're good for nothing.

**This way** translates 祇麼, also rendered as "thus," "like that." The word 麼 does not function as an interrogative but as an adverbial suffix, as in compounds like 恁麼 and 與麼 (see page 139, above). In the Dunhuang manuscripts and the ZJ, 麼 is replaced by its homophones 沒 or 摩.

**Talking of rulers and talking of outlaws….** The TG text of the LL has the character 王, meaning "king," instead of the present text's 主, translated here as "rulers." The TG version is probably correct.

There are several possible sources for Linji's list of subjects that constitute "idle talk." The *Da bore boluomiduo jing*, for example, says that the bodhisattva does

not enjoy talking about such matters as kings, outlaws, military affairs, men, women, villages, or towns (T 6: 675a). A similar list is found in the *Fo lin niepan ji fazhu jing* 佛臨涅槃記法住經 (Sutra of the abiding dharma, recorded as the Buddha was about to enter nirvana), the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* as translated by Xuanzang.

In this text the Buddha, after describing the decline, century by century, of the dharma following his death, states that in a thousand years the usual subjects of discussion will be "kings and outlaws, battles, food, drink, clothing, vehicles, self, debauchery, men, women, various countries, rivers, seas, and diverse heresies" (T 12: 1113b–c).

A third list is found in the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Sutra of the great treasure collection), compiled by Bodhiruci (T 11: 11c–12a); a shorter list is found in the *Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*), a work by the Chinese Zhenyan monk Yixing 一行 (d. 727) (T 39: 761c).

**According with things… on the water**. Here Linji is quoting a pair of lines from the metrical section of the "Si tianwang" 四天王 (Four heavenly kings) chapter of the *Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden light sutra), in which the kings extol the virtuous characteristics of the Buddha. The entire four-line gatha reads:

> The true dharmakāya of buddha / Is just like empty space;
> In response to the thing it manifests the form/ Like the moon [reflecting] on the water. (T 16: 344b.3–4)

The last two lines appear to have been popular in Chan, as they are often quoted in the school's writings.

**Accord with dharma** 如法. The famous Chan poet Layman Pang 龐居士 (740–808) composed the following verse concerning conscious efforts to "accord with dharma":

> When you sit erect and seek accordance with dharma / Accordance-with-dharma turns the other way.
> When you discard dharma with no intent to grasp it / Then of itself it returns.
> Don't seek to leave the three realms / Cherishing such thought simply makes you a fool.
> Imploring buddha for emancipation / Is not being a resolute man. (X 69: 140B)

**Just be** translates 直須…始得, where 直 is an emphatic adverb. Analagous examples of this usage are 直是, 直宜, 直饒, 直得, and 直要 (the last of these appears on page 208, below). 直須…始得 means literally "(you) should… then (you are) all right," and is equivalent to 總得…才好 in modern Chinese. Numerous examples of this expression are found in the ZJ.

**Shilly-shally spinelessly along** translates 萎萎隨隨地, another of Linji's originals. 萎萎 is usually used to describe drooping or withered plants, but it can also mean to be tame, gentle, obedient, meek, etc. 萎萎隨 means to go irresolutely this way and that, indicating a state of being timid, or scrupulous and devoid of spirit.

The Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 section of ZJ 4 has the similar phrases 癡癡拳拳 and 嬴嬴垂垂, whose literal meaning is "going about things meekly and timidly, in a trembly, shaky manner." In the following quotation, however, the phrases are used in a laudatory sense to describe an attitude that is at once gentle and humble in coping with all circumstances.

> The master [Yaoshan] asked Yunyan 雲嵓, "What do you do about the problem of life and death right here before your very eyes?" Yunyan answered, "Right here before my very eyes there is no problem of life and death." The master said, "You studied under Baizhang 百丈 for over twenty years, but you haven't rid yourself of vulgar ways."
>
> Then Yunyan said, "I've told you my view. Let me hear yours." The master said,

夫如甕嗄 [上音西下所嫁切] 之器、不堪貯醍醐。如大器者、直要不受人惑。隨處作主、立處皆眞。但有來者、皆不得受。爾一念疑、即魔入心。如菩薩疑時、生死魔得便。但能息念、更莫外求。物來則照。爾但信現今用底、一箇事也無。爾一念心生三界、隨緣被境、分爲六塵。爾如今應用處、欠少什麼。一刹那間、便入淨入穢、入彌勒樓閣、入三眼國土、處處遊履、唯見空名。

Just as a cracked jug is unfit to hold ghee, so he who would be a great vessel must not be taken in by the deluded views of others. Make yourself master everywhere, and wherever you stand is the true [place].

"Whatever comes along, don't accept it. One thought of doubt, and instantly the demon [māra] enters your mind. Even a bodhisattva, when in doubt, is taken advantage of by the demon of birth-and-death. Just desist from thinking, and never seek outside. If something should come, illumine it. Have faith in your activity revealed now—there isn't a thing to do.

"One thought of your mind produces the three realms and, in accordance with causal conditions and influenced by circumstances, the division into the six dusts takes place. What is lacking in your present responsive activity! In an instant you enter the pure, enter the dirty, enter the Tower of Maitreya, enter the Land of the Three Eyes, and everywhere you travel all you see are empty names."

"I live always trembling and shaking, so meekly and timidly, fussing over all kinds of worthless matters. This is the way I spend my time."

**Cracked jug**. The Southern *Nirvana Sutra* (the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* as translated by Huiyan 慧嚴 [363–443]), uses the metaphors of an earthenware jar and a diamond jar 金剛寶瓶 to compare ordinary people with the Tathāgata:

> An earthenware jar cracks with a breaking sound. A diamond jar is not like this, nor is an emancipated one. The diamond jar is a metaphor for emancipation…. The truly enlightened one is none other than the Tathāgata. Therefore the Tathāgata's body is indestructible. (T 12: 633a)

**Ghee** 醍醐 is a clarified butter used in India largely for sacrificial purposes. In Buddhism it has a metaphorical meaning, such as described. Consider also the following passage from the *Nirvana Sutra*:

> For example, son of a good family, from a cow comes fresh milk, from the milk comes cream, from cream comes curdled milk, from curdled milk comes butter, and from butter comes ghee. Ghee is the finest of all. Son of a good family, buddha is like this. From buddha issued forth the twelve divisions of the teachings, from the twelve divisions of the teachings issued the sutras, from the sutras issued the vaipulya scriptures, from the vaipulya scriptures issued the *Prajñāpāramitā*, from the *Prajñāpāramitā* issued the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*. It is just like ghee. What I mean is that ghee is a metaphor for the buddha-nature. And the buddha-nature is none other than the Tathāgata. (T 12: 690c–691a)

XVII

問、如何是三眼國土。師云、我共爾入淨妙國土中、著清淨衣、說法身佛。又入無差別國土中、著無差別衣、說報身佛。又入解脫國土中、著光明衣、說化身佛。此三眼國土、皆是依變。

Someone asked, "What about the 'Land of the Three Eyes'?"

The master said, "When you and I together enter the Land of Pure Mystery we put on the robe of purity and preach as the dharmakāya buddha; when we enter the Land of Nondifferentiation we put on the robe of nondifferentiation and preach as the saṃbhogakāya buddha; when we enter the Land of Emancipation we put on the robe of brightness and preach as the nirmāṇakāya buddha. These Lands of the Three Eyes are all dependent transformations.

**Great vessel** translates 大器, used here as similar in meaning to the more usual 法器, "vessel of the dharma," a person capable of following the buddha-way. The origin of the term is usually traced to the "Tipodaduo pin" 提婆達多品 (Chapter on Devadatta) of the *Lotus Sutra*, where the Dragon King's daughter appears before the Buddha and the assembly, and requests the Buddha to affirm her enlightenment. Śāriputra then says to her, "A woman's body is foul and not a fit vessel of dharma" (T 9: 35c). Fortunately the young lady, by the exercise of her magical powers, is able to instantly transform her woman's body into that of a man and, before the astounded assembly, to manifest as a bodhisattva preaching the dharma and receiving the homage of innumerable beings.

The term 大器 itself is purely Chinese and undoubtedly had its origin in section 41 of the *Daode jing* 道德經, where we find the term 大器晚成, "a great vessel takes long to complete." Linji has here given this Taoist term a Buddhist connotation.

**Six dusts** 六塵 (Skr., ṣaḍ viṣayā) are the six objects of cognition: form 色 (rūpa), sound 聲 (śabda), odor 香 (gandha), taste 味 (rasa), tangibles 觸 (spraṣṭavya), and objects of mind 法 (dharma). They are called "dusts" because they obscure the original purity of the mind. The term 六塵 is synonymous with 六境.

**The Land of the Three Eyes** 三眼國土 is the Land of Sudarśana bhikku (Shanxian biqiu 善現比丘), the twelfth teacher visited by Sudhana (Shancai tongzi 善財童子), as recounted in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* (T 9: 703c).

In the *Xin Huayan jing lun*, the term "three eyes" 三眼 refers to the dharma eye 法眼, the eye of knowledge 智眼, and the eye of prajñā 慧眼 (T 36: 787c). There are various other definitions, however; here Linji identifies the Three Eyes with the three buddha bodies.

XVII

**The Land of Pure Mystery** 淨妙國土 is another name for the pure land described in the sutra *Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經 (Sutra on the contemplation of eternal life), one of the three central sutras of the Pure Land Buddhist tradition.

**Dependent transformations** 依變, like the "threefold dependency" 三種依 explained in the comment on page 162, expresses the standpoint that the buddha is no more than a relative concept with no intrinsic or inherent nature.

約經論家、取法身爲根本、報化二身爲用。山僧見處、法身即不解說法。所以古人云、身依義立、土據體論。法性身、法性土、明知是建立之法、依通國土。空拳黃葉、用誑小兒。蒺藜菱刺、枯骨上覓什麼汁。心外無法、內亦不可得、求什麼物。爾諸方言道、有修有證。莫錯。設有修得者、皆是生死業。

"According to the masters of the sutras and śāstras, the dharmakāya is regarded as basic substance and the saṃbhogakāya and nirmāṇakāya as function. From my point of view the dharmakāya cannot expound the dharma. Therefore a man of old said, 'The [buddha-]bodies are posited depending upon meaning; the [buddha-]lands are postulated in keeping with substance.' So we clearly know that the dharma-nature body and dharma-nature land are fabricated things, based on dependent understanding. Empty fists and yellow leaves used to fool a child! Spiked-gorse seeds! Horned water chestnuts! What kind of juice are you looking for in such dried-up bones!

"Outside mind there's no dharma, nor is there anything to be gained within it. What are you seeking? Everywhere you say, 'There's something to practice, something to obtain.' Make no mistake! Even if there were something to be gained by practice, it would be nothing but birth-and-death karma.

**According to the masters….** Compare this passage to the words of Linji's teacher Huangbo in the CF:

> A buddha has three bodies. The dharmakāya preaches the dharma of the universal voidness of self-nature; the saṃbhogakāya preaches the dharma of the universal purity of things; the nirmāṇakāya preaches the dharmas of the six pāramitās [see page 211, below] and all other good practices. The dharma of the dharmakāya cannot be grasped through words, sounds, forms, or the written word. There is nothing to be said, nothing to be demonstrated; there is nothing other than the universal voidness of self-nature. Thus it is said, "There is nothing to be preached as the dharma; this is called preaching the dharma." The saṃbhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya both appear in response to particular circumstances, and the dharma they preach corresponds to outer conditions and to their listeners' capacities; in this way they guide sentient beings. None of this is the true dharma. Therefore it is said, "The saṃbhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya are not the true buddha, nor are they the ones who preach the dharma." (T 48: 382a)

**A man of old.** The master referred to here is thought to be Ci'en Dashi Kuiji 慈恩大師窺基 (632–682). With regard to Kuiji and this quote, see pages 162–163, above.

**Dependent understanding** translates 依通, an unusual term that is not found outside of Chan writings. Japanese commentators take it to be an abbreviation of the phrase 依倚通解, "understanding that depends upon something else." In the section of the GY devoted to Nanquan Puyuan, an exchange between Nanquan and a certain monk is recorded:

> The monk asked, "Is a student not permitted to understand the Way?" The master said, "To understand what Way? Also, how understand?" "I don't know," the monk said. The master said, "Not knowing is all right, but if you take my words you will be called one of dependent understanding." (X 68: 70a)

The WL of Huangbo Xiyun has:

> But to one who has seen into his own nature, what place is not his own original nature? Therefore the six gati (destinies); the four ways of birth; and the mountains, rivers, and great earth, all are the pure and bright substance of our own nature. Therefore it is said, "Seeing form is no other than seeing mind, because form and mind are not different."
>
> One who accepts form and, on this basis, sees, hears, and perceives, and who then tries to see into [nature] by rejecting things as such—such a one will fall into the ranks of those in the two vehicles [śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas], whose understanding is dependent 依倚通解. (X 68: 21B)

**Empty fists and yellow leaves used to fool a child!** translates the two expressions 空拳黃葉、用誑小兒, metaphors for something that is passed off for what it is not. They are found frequently in the *Nirvana Sutra* and other scriptures. The *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*, for example, uses the expression "empty fist" 空拳 as a metaphor for deceiving others with false views:

> It is like deceiving a young lad with an empty fist. Because he is ignorant he thinks there is something real in it. (T 7: 1104c)

And the Northern *Nirvana Sutra* uses "yellow leaf" 黃葉 to indicate expedient teachings:

> It is as, when a child cries and wails, its father and mother will pull a yellow leaf from a poplar tree and say, "Don't cry! Don't cry! We will give you a piece of gold." The child, on seeing the yellow leaf, imagines it to be pure gold and at once stops crying, though in truth this poplar leaf is not gold. (T 12: 485c)

**Dried-up bones** translates 枯骨, an expression likely deriving from an allegory that is found in texts like the *Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 (Sutra on contemplating the true dharma) and the *Da baoji jing*, in which a dog licking a dried bone mistakes its own saliva for juice from the bone.

**Outside mind… within it.** See the words of Huangbo Xiyun in the CF:

> It is much better immediately and of yourself to recognize the fundamental dharma. This dharma is none other than mind; outside mind there is no dharma. This mind is none other than dharma; outside dharma there is no mind. (T 48: 380b)

Note also that the JC reports Mazu Daoyi, three generations before Huangbo, as having said:

> Each and every one of you should believe that his own mind, just this is buddha. Outside mind there is no other buddha, outside buddha there is no other mind. (T 51: 246a)

**Everywhere you say** translates 爾諸方言道, a sentence that is traditionally read by Japanese commentators as *nanji shohō ni iu, dō ni*… ("You are all saying that in the Way there is something to…"). This reading is difficult to justify grammatically, however, since the term 言道 here is a compound verb meaning simply "to say." The term appears several times in the present text, and a number of examples can also be found in the DB. After the Song dynasty it was largely superseded by the compound 說道.

**Six pāramitās**, often translated as the "six perfections," are the practices by means of which one crosses over from the world of birth-and-death to the other shore, or nirvana. The six are:

1. dāna 布施: charity or almsgiving
2. śīla 持戒: maintaining the precepts

爾言六度萬行齊修。我見皆是造業。求佛求法、即是造地獄業。求菩薩、亦是造業。看經看教、亦是造業。佛與祖師、是無事人。所以有漏有爲、無漏無爲、爲淸淨業。

You say, 'The six pāramitās and the ten thousand [virtuous] actions are all to be practiced.' As I see it, all this is just making karma. Seeking buddha and seeking dharma is only making hell-karma. Seeking bodhisattvahood is also making karma; reading the sutras and studying the teachings are also making karma. Buddhas and patriarchs are people with nothing to do. Therefore, [for them] activity and the defiling passions and also nonactivity and passionlessness are 'pure' karma.

3. kṣānti 忍辱: patience and forbearance
4. vīrya 精進: zeal and devotion
5. dhyāna 禪定: meditation
6. prājñā 智慧: wisdom

When the number of pāramitās is given as ten, to the six already mentioned are added the following four:

7. upāya 方便: skillful means suitable to the person and/or occasion
8. praniḍhāna 願: the vow "to seek bodhi above and save all sentient beings below"
9. bala 力: strength or purpose
10. jñāna 智: the knowledge that profits oneself and profits others

In Mahayana Buddhism the practice of all the pāramitās is considered necessary for the attainment of bodhisattvahood.

**Activity and the defiling passions and also nonactivity and passionlessness.** "Activity" translates 有爲 (Skr., saṃskṛta), meaning the processes resulting from the laws of karma, something active, creative, productive, functioning, phenomenal. It contrasts with 無爲 (Skr., asaṃskṛta), meaning that which is nonactive, passive; *laissez-faire*; spontaneous, natural; uncaused, not subject to cause, condition, or dependence; transcendental, not in time, unchanging, eternal, inactive, and free from the passions or senses; nonphenomenal, noumenal; also interpreted as indicating nirvana, dharma-nature, reality, and dharma realm. "Defiling passion" translates 有漏 (āsrava), meaning, literally, "flow, drip, discharge." 有漏 is one translation of the Sanskrit word "kleśa," meaning "defilement, passion, distress, pain, affliction," usually rendered in Chinese as 煩惱. Its opposite is 無漏 (anāsrava), translated later in this sentence as "passionlessness," and meaning, literally, "no drip, leak, or flow." 無漏 thus indicates "outside the passion-stream; outside the stream of transmigratory suffering; away from the downflow into lower forms of rebirth," etc.

These four concepts—āsrava, anāsrava, saṃskṛta, and asaṃskṛta—are discussed in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> [The Buddha said, "What is meant by bodhisattvas not abiding in the unconditioned [asaṃskṛta]?"] "They discern anāsrava [purity] yet do not cut off the āsravas [impurities]; they discern that there is nothing to be practiced, yet by the practice of dharma transform sentient beings through instructing them; they discern the unreality of things, yet do not renounce great compassion; they discern the [correct] dharma degrees, yet do not follow the Hinayana; they discern that all dharmas are false, without substantiality, without self, without a master, and without form, yet because their original vow is not fulfilled they do not empty [themselves] of merit, meditation, and wisdom. To practice such dharma as this

is called 'the bodhisattva does not abide in the unconditioned.'

"Also, because they are provided with merit they do not abide in the unconditioned; because they are provided with wisdom they do not extinguish the conditioned [saṃskṛta]; because they have great compassion they do not abide in the unconditioned; because they fulfill their original vow they do not extinguish the conditioned; because they accumulate the medicine of dharma they do not abide in the unconditioned; because they administer the medicine according to [need] they do not extinguish the conditioned; because they know the ills of sentient beings they do not abide in the unconditioned; because they cure the ills of sentient beings they do not extinguish the conditioned.

"All virtuous bodhisattvas, in practicing this dharma, neither extinguish the conditioned nor abide in the unconditioned. This is called the doctrine of emancipation through the extinguishable and the nonextinguishable." (T 14: 554c)

A related passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* is as follows:

Simhaṃati Bodhisattva said, "Āsrava and anāsrava make two. If one knows that the nature of all dharmas is equal [dharmāṇāṃ samat], one does not produce the notions [saṃjñā] of āsrava and anāsrava; one does not attach oneself either to forms [nimitta] or to formlessness. This is to enter into the doctrine of nonduality….

Bodhisattva Śuddhādhimukti said, "Saṃskṛta and asaṃskṛta make two. If one abandons all calculations [gaṇan] the mind [citta] becomes like space, and thanks to pure wisdom [viśuddhaprajñā] there are no more hindrances [āvaraṇa]: this is to enter into the [doctrine] of nonduality. (T 14: 550c–551a; translation follows Lamotte 1962, 306)

**Pure karma** 清淨業 can be interpreted to mean karma as it applies to those who have seen into the underlying emptiness of all dharmas. The *Da bore boluomiduo jing*, for example, comments as follows:

[What is the doctrine of the bodhisattva?]…. The doctrine is that all dharmas, whether good or not good, are immaterial and pure. This is the doctrine of the bodhisattva. The doctrine that all dharmas, whether recordable or unrecordable, whether phenomenal [āsrava) or nonphenomenal [anāsrava), whether conditioned [saṃskṛta) or unconditioned [asaṃskṛta), whether mundane or supramundane, are immaterial and pure; this is the doctrine of the bodhisattva. Because the self-nature of all dharmas is void, it is far removed [from the phenomenal]; because this self-nature is far removed [from the phenomenal] it is tranquil; because this self-nature is tranquil it is pure; and because this self-nature is pure, the profound prajñā pāramitā is of the utmost purity. This prajñā pāramitā, you must know, is the doctrine of the bodhisattva. (T 7: 987b)

Nevertheless, the concept of purity is an ambivalent one in Mahayana thought, as shown in the following passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

He who, by observing the unconditioned [asaṃskṛta], enters the level of true enlightenment [niyāma] cannot initiate the resolve to attain the supreme and perfect enlightenment [anuttarā samyak saṃbodhi]. Just as lotus flowers do not grow on high plateaus or on dry land but on low-lying wet mud, so the buddhadharma is produced, not by those sentient beings who observe the unconditioned [asaṃskṛta] dharmas and enter the level of true enlightenment, but by those in the midst of the defiling passions [kleśa]. Also, just as seeds will never grow if sown in the void but will flourish if sown in richly manured earth, so he who observes the unconditioned [asaṃskṛta] dharmas and enters the level of true enlightenment cannot produce the buddhadharma, while even he who gives rise to a consciousness of self as high as Mount Sumeru can initiate the resolve to attain supreme and

有一般瞎禿子、飽喫飯了、便坐禪觀行、把捉念漏、不令放起、厭喧求靜、是外道法。祖師云、爾若住心看靜、擧心外照、攝心內澄、凝心入定、如是之流、皆是造作。

"There are a bunch of blind shavepates who, having stuffed themselves with food, sit down to meditate and practice contemplation. Arresting the flow of thought they don't let it rise; they hate noise and seek stillness. This is the method of the heretics. A patriarch said, 'If you stop the mind to look at stillness, arouse the mind to illumine outside, control the mind to clarify inside, concentrate the mind to enter samādhi—all such [practices] as these are artificial striving.'

perfect enlightenment and produce the buddhadharma.

Therefore you must know that all the defiling passions [kleśa] are seeds for tathāgatahood. Just as he who does not dive deep into the ocean cannot gain the priceless pearl, so too he who does not enter the great sea of the defiling passions cannot gain the treasure of all wisdom. (T 14: 549b)

There is also the following passage from the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, in the chapter "The Bodhisattva of Pure Wisdom" 清淨慧菩薩:

Again, if there is a man who, having cut off the afflictions forever, attains the purity of the dharma realm, his realization of purity constitutes a hindrance in itself, and therefore he does not attain the freedom of perfect awakening. This is called "the ordinary person's [way of] according with the nature of awakening."

Good young man, all the bodhisattvas, upon observing that emancipation itself constitutes a hindrance, cut off this hindrance of emancipation. Yet they still remain aware of awakening. Thus the awareness of awakening constitutes a hindrance and they cannot attain the freedom of perfect awakening. This is called "the bodhisattva-who-has-not-entered-the-first-stage-of-true-bodhisattvahood's [way of] according with the nature of awakening."

O good young man, having illumination and having awakening are both hindrances. Hence the [true] bodhisattva is always awakened yet does not abide [in awakening]; illumination and he who is illumined are together extinguished. (T 17: 917a)

**Arresting the flow of thought… seek stillness.** See the opening lines of "Jingluan bu'er" 淨亂不二 (Quietude and confusion are not two), the fifth in a series of poems entitled *Shisike song* 十四科頌 (Verses on fourteen themes), attributed to Baozhi 寶誌 (418–514):

The śrāvaka's hating noise and seeking quietude / Is like rejecting flour and looking for bread.
Bread originally is none other than flour / Prepared by people in a hundred different ways. (T 51: 451a)

**This is the method of the heretics.** See the section on Jueduo Sanzang 崛多三藏 (n.d.) in ZJ 3:

The master (Jueduo Sanzang), an heir of the Sixth Patriarch, was a native of India. He once traveled to the village of Li 曆 in the district of Dingxiang 定襄 in Dayuan 大原, where he came upon a disciple of Great Teacher Shen 神大師 (Shenxiu 神秀; 606?–706, founder of the Northern, or Gradual, school of Chan), who had built a grass hut and was sitting alone contemplating the mind.

The master asked, "What are you doing?" The disciple replied, "I am observing stillness." "Who is he who is observing, and what is stillness?" asked the master. The monk rose from his place, bowed deeply, and said, "What do you mean? I beg you to instruct me." The master then said, "Why don't you observe yourself? Why don't you still yourself?"

The monk had no reply to this, and the master, seeing that he was of a hesitant and indecisive nature, asked, "Who is your teacher?"

"Ven. Shenxiu," replied the monk. "And is this the only method your teacher has taught you, or does he have some other ideas as well?" asked the master. "No," replied the monk, "he taught me only observing stillness." "This," said the master, "is the sort of method practiced in India by the most worthless of heretics. In this country it is considered to be the way of the Chan school, but it greatly misleads people."

**If you stop the mind… artificial striving**. This quotation is from Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758), the heir of the Sixth Patriarch through whose efforts the teachings of Huineng emphasizing sudden enlightenment 頓悟 came to be known as the Southern school of Chan, to distinguish them from Shenxiu's gradual-enlightenment 漸教 teachings, known as the Northern school. Note that, whereas Linji usually introduces quotations from earlier Buddhist masters with the words "a man of old" 古人, he here shows special respect for Shenhui by using the term "patriarch" 祖師.

A number of works and fragments discovered at Dunhuang and ascribed to Shenhui have been collected and edited by Hu Shi 胡適 (1930 and 1958). In the first of these collections three instances occur in which Shenhui describes the practices of the Northern school in words paralleling those of Linji: 125.6–7, 133.11–134.2, and 175.7–176.2. In the second collection two such instances are found: 832.17–18 and 846.15. (Note that, throughout, Hu Shi has mistakenly given the character 證, "to prove," for 澄, "to clarify," the character used in the Linji text.)

The following excerpt taken from Hu 1930 gives not only the Northern school views just as Linji describes them, but also Shenhui's criticism and a clear statement of his own position:

> Master [Chong]yuan asked, "The two great virtuous ones, Chan Master Songyue Puji and Chan Master Dongyue Xiangmo [disciples of Shenxiu], both taught men to freeze the mind in order to enter samādhi, to stop the mind in order to observe purity, to arouse the mind in order to illumine the outside, and to concentrate the mind in order to clarify the inside. They pronounced this to be the principle of the teaching. For what reason do you today, in speaking about Chan, not teach men to freeze the mind in order to enter samādhi, to stop the mind in order to observe purity, to arouse the mind in order to illumine the outside, and to concentrate the mind in order to clarify the inside? What do you call [true] sitting meditation 坐禪?"
>
> The venerable priest [Shenhui] replied, "If you teach men to freeze the mind in order to enter samādhi, to stop the mind in order to observe purity, to arouse the mind in order to illumine the outside, and to concentrate the mind in order to clarify the inside, this is a hindrance to [the attainment of] bodhi. What I now call 'sitting' 坐 is [the state when] thought is not aroused. What I now call 'meditation' 禪 is seeing into one's own original nature. Therefore I do not teach men to seat the body or to stop the mind in order to enter samādhi." (175.7–176.2)

**Take them to be the true Way** translates 爲是眞道, where the compound 爲是 means "to regard" or "to consider." Taking into consideration the quadrisyllabic (i.e., the double disyllabic) rhythm of this phrase, the fourth character 道 necessarily forms a compound with the preceding

是爾如今與麼聽法底人、作麼生擬修他證他莊嚴他。渠且不是修底物、不是莊嚴得底物。若教他莊嚴、一切物即莊嚴得。爾且莫錯。道流、爾取這一般老師口裏語、爲是眞道、是善知識不思議、我是凡夫心、不敢測度他老宿。瞎屡生、爾一生祇作這箇見解、辜負這一雙眼。冷噤噤地、如凍凌上驢駒相似。我不敢毀善知識、怕生口業。道流、夫大善知識、始敢毀佛毀祖、是非天下、排斥三藏教、罵辱諸小兒、向逆順中覓人。

"This very *you*, the man who right now is thus listening to my discourse, how is he to be cultivated, to be enlightened, to be adorned? He is not one to be cultivated, he is not one to be adorned. But if you let him do the adorning, then everything would be adorned. Don't be mistaken!

"Followers of the Way, you seize upon words from the mouths of those old masters and take them to be the true Way. You think, 'These good teachers are wonderful, and I, simple-minded fellow that I am, don't dare measure such old worthies.' Blind idiots! You go through your entire life holding such views, betraying your own two eyes. Trembling with fright, like donkeys on an icy path, [you say to yourselves,] 'I don't dare disparage these good teachers for fear of making karma with my mouth!'

"Followers of the Way, it is only a great teacher who dares to disparage the buddhas, dares to disparage the patriarchs, to determine the right and the wrong of the world, to reject the teachings of the Tripiṭaka, to revile all infantile fellows, and to look for a Person amidst fortunate and unfortunate circumstances.

character 眞 to form 眞道, "true Way," so that the entire phrase reads, as above, "take them to be the true Way." This contrasts with the traditional Japanese reading of 道 as *iu*, "to say," which would give, *kore shin nari to nashite iu*, "taking them to be true, say…."

**I don't dare… my mouth** 我不敢毀善知識怕生口業. Japanese commentators have traditionally taken these words to express Linji's own attitude, yielding the Japanese reading, *ware aete zenchishiki o soshirite, kugō o shōzen o osoruru ni arazu*, "I do not fear to make karma with my mouth by abusing these learned men." Here 不敢, "not to dare," is taken to control both the verb 毀 "to disparage," in the first clause and also 怕, "to fear," in the second clause. The expression 不敢, however, cannot control such a negative word as 怕, since 不敢 is invariably followed by words with strongly positive meanings. We have preferred to take these words as Linji's mocking criticism of his listeners, and to read 不敢 with the first verb 毀 only, as above.

所以我於十二年中、求一箇業性、知芥子許不可得。若似新婦子禪師、便即怕趁出院、不與飯喫、不安不樂。自古先輩、到處人不信、被遞出、始知是貴。若到處人盡肯、堪作什麼。所以師子一吼、野干腦裂。道流、諸方說、有道可修、有法可證。爾說證何法、修何道。爾今用處、欠少什麼物、修補何處。

"Therefore, when I look back over the past twelve years for a single thing having the nature of karma, I can't find anything even the size of a mustard seed. The Chan master who is like a new bride will fear lest he be thrown out of his temple, be given no food to eat, and have no contentment and ease. From olden days our predecessors never had people anywhere who believed in them. Only after they had been driven out was their worth recognized. If they had been fully accepted by people everywhere, what would they have been good for? Therefore it is said, 'The lion's single roar splits the jackals' skulls.'

"Followers of the Way, people everywhere say that there is a Way to be practiced, a dharma to be confirmed. Tell me, what dharma will you confirm, what Way will you practice? What is lacking in your present activity? What still needs to be patched up?

**The past twelve years**. From ancient times the Chinese have measured time in twelve-year periods, the approximate time that it takes Jupiter to complete one cycle through the heavens. There are also twelve animals, one for each year, in the Chinese zodiac. "Twelve years" is thus a loose designation for "a number of years." For instance, there is in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* the following conversation between Śāriputra and the goddess:

> Śāriputra said to the goddess, "Why do you not change your woman's body?" The goddess replied, "For the past twelve years I have sought for a woman's form, but have never been able to attain one. Into what form shall I then change?" (T 14: 548b)

**The lion's single roar splits the jackals' skulls**. Linji may here be paraphrasing a verse from Yongjia's *Song of Enlightenment*: "The lion's roar, preaching of fearlessness—hearing this, the timid animals' brains are torn in pieces" (T 48: 396a).

Among the other possible sources of this term is a fable found in the *Wufen lü* 五分律 (The five-part vinaya) that tells of a fox that lived close to the mountain cave of a hermit. This hermit was accustomed to reciting the books of the Kṣatriyas aloud, and thus the fox, listening to him, gradually attained some understanding. One day the fox thought to himself, "I now know enough book language to make myself king of the beasts." He set forth on his travels, and through various tricks succeeded in getting all the foxes to follow him. With his pack of foxes he subdued all the elephants; with the elephants he subdued all the tigers; and with the tigers he subdued all the lions. He then declared himself king of the beasts.

Having become king, he thought, "I am now king of the beasts. It is not fitting that I take a beast for a wife." So, mounted upon a white elephant and leading all the beasts, he surrounded the citadel of Kapilavastu. When the king of Kapilavastu sent a messenger to inquire what this was

後生小阿師不會、便即信這般野狐精魅、許他說事、繫縛人、
言道理行相應、護惜三業、始得成佛。如此說者、如春細雨。
古人云、路逢達道人、第一莫向道。

"The immature young monk, not understanding this, believes in these fox-spirits and lets them speak the kind of nonsense that binds other people, such as, 'Only by harmonizing the principle and practice and by guarding [against] the three karmas can buddhahood be attained.' People who talk like this are as common as spring showers. A man of old said,

If on the road you meet a man who has mastered the Way,
Above all do not speak of the Way.

all about, the fox replied, "As I am king of all the beasts, it is fitting that I receive your daughter for my wife. If you give her to me, then good; if you do not, I will destroy your country."

The king hastily called a council of his ministers. All but one urged him to assent to the fox's demand. The sole dissenter, who was farseeing and clever in the ways of the world, said, "O King, you have only to dispatch an envoy to set a time for the battle, but on this condition, that the fox order the lions to fight first, then to roar. The fox will think that we are afraid and certainly will order the lions to roar first, then fight. But when the day of battle arrives you must be sure to order everyone within the citadel to cover their ears."

Everything turned out just as the minister had planned. As soon as the vanguard of the army went forth from the citadel to do battle, sure enough, the lions let out a great roar. When the fox heard this awesome sound, his heart burst into seven pieces and he fell to the ground. Thereupon the hordes of beasts all fled in confusion. (T 22: 18b–c)

For 野干, translated here as "jackal," see *Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 7 (X 64: 423b).

**Three karmas** 三業 refers to several different groups of so-called "karmas" (activities), most commonly being: 1) activities of the body 身, i.e., deeds; 2) activities of the mouth 口, i.e., speech; and 3) activities of the mind 意, i.e., thoughts.

**If on the road… do not speak of the Way**. *Editor's note*: The second line, "Above all do not speak of the Way" 第一莫向道, has been retranslated from Sasaki's original "Above all do not try to approach the Way," on the basis of YANAGIDA 1977, 127.

This couplet is Linji's adaption of the last two lines of a verse by Sikongshan Benjing 司空山本淨 (667–761), an heir of the Sixth Patriarch. The master had been asked about the Way, and concluded his reply with the following verse:

Regarding the substance of the Way, fundamentally there's nothing to practice
Without practice, one naturally accords with the Way.
He who conceives the idea of practicing the Way
Has never understood the Way.
He has abandoned his one true nature
And entered the noisy, bustling world.
If you meet one who practices the Way
Don't ever speak of the Way. (X 80: 59c)

This couplet seems to have been popular at the time, for it is found, with variations, in several of the early "recorded sayings."

In this sentence 第一 is an intensive adverb lacking its usual meaning of "first."

所以言、若人修道道不行、萬般邪境競頭生。智劍出來無一物、明頭未顯暗頭明。所以古人云、平常心是道。

Therefore it is said,

When a man tries to practice the Way, the Way does not function,
And ten thousand evil circumstances vie in raising their heads.
But when the sword of wisdom flashes forth, nothing remains;
Before brightness is manifest, darkness is bright.

For that reason a man of old said, 'Ordinary mind is the Way.'

It is usually, though not always, employed in a negative imperative sentence; used with 莫, it indicates a strong interdiction. The expression is found, for example, in the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* 25: "Don't ever be attached to emptiness" 第一莫著空 (Suzuki and Kōda 1934, 34). Other examples are found in the JC (T 51: 335c), GY (X 68: 46a), ZH (X 79: 192a), etc. A rare occasion when this expression is used as a positive imperative is found in the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* 40: "Come back quickly and don't let me have to reprimand you" 汝第一早來, 勿令恠 (Suzuki and Kōda 1934, 41.7).

At times, as above, the character 勿 is used to replace 莫. For example. the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, section 13: "Don't ever make the mistake of saying that samādhi and prajñā are different from one another 第一勿言定惠別 (Suzuki and Kōda 1934, 11.6). Another common variation is 第一不得, "above all you shouldn't…" (e.g., JC [T 51: 440c], GY [X 68: 14c], ZH [X 79: 148c], WH [X 80: 425c]).

This colloquial expression seems to have disappeared after the Song, but a vestige can still be found in the Qing novel *Guanchang xianxing ji* 宮場現形記 (Panorama of officialdom), by Li Baojia 李寶嘉 (1867–1906), written at the very end of the dynasty. In chapter 5 is the sentence 爾第一別答應他的錢, "Don't ever comply with his claim for payment."

**When a man… darkness is bright.** The source of this quote is unknown. However, the expression "sword of wisdom" 智劍 may derive from a line in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* where the Buddha, in the course of enumerating the activities of the bodhisattva, says, "With the sword of wisdom he fells the thieves of the deluding passions" (T 14: 554b).

In connection with the terms "brightness" 明 and "darkness" 暗, see the following lines from the poem *Cantong qi* 參同契 (Harmony of difference and equality) by Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790), as quoted in the JC:

> Within brightness there is darkness / So don't treat brightness as mere brightness.
> Within darkness there is brightness / So don't view darkness as mere darkness.
> Brightness and darkness are relative to one another / As steps ahead are relative to steps behind. (T 51: 459b)

**Ordinary mind is the Way** 平常心是道. The "man of old" who made this famous statement was Mazu Daoyi. In a sermon recorded in the JC the master sets forth his concept of what this expression means:

> Chan Master Daji Daoyi of Jiangxi addressed the assembly thus: "The Way does not need to be cultivated. Just don't stain it. What is 'staining it'? Just having a samsara mind [as regards it] and artificially striving toward it—this is 'staining it.' If you want to understand this Way

大德、覓什麼物。現今目前聽法無依道人、歷歷地分明、未曾欠少。爾若欲得與祖佛不別、但如是見、不用疑誤。爾心心不異、名之活祖。心若有異、則性相別。心不異故、即性相不別。

"Virtuous monks, what are you looking for? [You] nondependent people of the Way who listen to my discourse right now before my eyes, [you are] bright and clear and have never lacked anything. If you want to be no different from the patriarch-buddha, just see things this way. There's no need to waver.

"Your minds and Mind do not differ—this is called [your] living patriarch. If mind differs, its essence will differ from its manifestations. Since mind does not differ, its essence and its manifestations do not differ."

completely, the ordinary mind is the Way. What is called the 'ordinary mind' is without artificially created activity, without right or wrong, without grasping or relinquishing, without annihilation or permanence, without secular or sacred. The sutra says, 'That which is neither the secular man's practice nor the sage's practice is the "bodhisattva practice"'. Your present walking, staying, sitting, lying, responding to the occasion, accepting existing things—all these are the Way. The Way is the very Dharma realm, and everything, including marvelous activities as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, is within the dharma realm." (T 51: 440a)

This passage shows that the usual attribution of the statement "ordinary mind is the Way" to Mazu's disciple Nanquan is mistaken. This is made explicit in the following passage (also in the JC):

At this time there was a monk who asked, "From the earliest patriarch to Great Teacher Jiangxi [Mazu], all have said, 'This mind is buddha, the ordinary mind is the Way.' Now you, Reverend Priest [Nanquan], say, 'Mind is not buddha, wisdom is not the Way.' Thus all the students have doubts. I beg of you, out of your compassion, to explain to us." (T 51: 445b)

The association of Nanquan's name with the expression may owe to the fact that when his disciple Zhaozhou Congshen asked him, "What is the Way?" Nanquan replied with the words of his master Mazu:

The master [Zhaozhou] asked Nanquan, "What is the Way?" Nanquan said, "Ordinary mind is the Way." The master said, "Can one strive for it?" "To strive is to diverge from it," Nanquan replied. "But if one doesn't strive, how is the Way to be known?" the master asked. Nanquan said, "The Way is not related to knowing or not-knowing. Knowing is false understanding; not-knowing is indifference. If you truly penetrate the Way that is not to be striven for, it is like the vast void extending without limit. How can one talk of affirmation and negation?" At these words the master was awakened to the abstruse principle. (T 51: 276c)

**Your minds and Mind** translates 心心, traditionally taken to mean "from one instant of mind to the next," so that 心心不異 would mean, "the mind that does not differ from one instant to the next." Another interpretation, albeit less frequent, reads the phrase as "the mind that does not differ from every other mind." We based our translation, "your minds and Mind do not differ," upon the words of Linji's teacher Huangbo Xiyun, as found in the JC:

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問、如何是心心不異處。師云、爾擬問、早異了也、性相各分。道流、莫錯。世出世諸法、皆無自性、亦無生性。但有空名、名字亦空。

Someone asked, "What about the state where 'mind and Mind do not differ'?"

The master said, "The instant you ask the question they are already separate, and essence differs from its manifestations.

"Followers of the Way, make no mistake! All the dharmas of this world and of the worlds beyond are without self-nature. Also, they are without produced nature. They are just empty names, and these names are also empty.

> From the time the Tathāgata transmitted his dharma to Mahākāśyapa up to the present, mind has been sealed by Mind, and mind and Mind do not differ. When the seal is impressed upon the void it does not make a mark; when the seal is impressed upon things, it does not make dharma. Therefore mind is sealed by Mind, and mind and Mind do not differ. (T 51: 272c)

Also, in the WL we find the following:

> When [Bodhidharma] came from the west he transmitted only mind-buddha. He pointed directly to the truth that the minds of you all are fundamentally none other than buddha and that mind and Mind do not differ. This is what is meant by "patriarch." (T 48: 384b)

**If mind differs… manifestations do not differ**. *Editor's note:* Sasaki's original translation for this passage was, "If mind differs, the essential nature and forms will be different. Since mind does not differ, therefore the essential nature and forms are not different." YANAGIDA, however, came to interpret 性 and 相, rendered by Sasaki as "essential nature" and "forms," as, respectively, 心性, "mind essence," and 心識, "the mind in its various manifestations" (1977, 128). I have followed this interpretation.

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**Also, they are without produced nature** 亦無生性. See the Northern *Nirvana Sutra*:

> The impure dharmas, even before they come into being, already have birth-nature 生性; hence it is through birth that they can come into being. The pure dharmas are originally without birth-nature 無生性; for this reason their coming into being cannot be through birth. Like fire, which has an original [burning-]nature and which, on chancing to meet a cause, bursts into flame; like the eye, which has a seeing nature and because of color, light, and mind, therefore sees; so too are sentient beings. Because they originally possess [birth-]nature, on chancing to meet the causal conditions and come in contact with karma, they are conceived when their fathers and mothers are in harmonious union. (T 12: 490c)

For these terms as used in the Weishi 唯識 (Consciousness-Only) school, see the entry 三無性 in *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 2:1686c–1687a.

**They are just empty names, and these names are also empty**. See Vimalakīrti's reply to Mañjuśrī's questions regarding his illness:

> When [the Bodhisattva] attains to this sameness, there is no other illness; there

爾祇麼認他閑名爲實。大錯了也。設有、皆是依變之境。有箇菩提依、涅槃依、解脫依、三身依、境智依、菩薩依、佛依。爾向依變國土中、覓什麼物。乃至三乘十二分教、皆是拭不淨故紙。佛是幻化身、祖是老比丘。

All you are doing is taking these worthless names to be real. That's all wrong! Even if they do exist, they are nothing but states of dependent transformation, such as the dependent transformations of bodhi, nirvana, emancipation, the threefold body, the [objective] surroundings and the [subjective] mind, bodhisattvahood, and buddhahood. What are you looking for in these lands of dependent transformations! All of these, up to and including the Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of teachings, are just so much waste paper to wipe off privy filth. The buddha is just a phantom body, the patriarchs just old monks.

is only the illness of emptiness, and the illness of emptiness is also empty." (T 14: 545a)

The interpretation of these lines is based upon the *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經, the commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* said to have been compiled by Sengzhao from notes on Kumārajīva's lectures given during the translation of the sutra, plus the comments of Sengzhao and several other disciples (T 38: 377a). Just as Linji in the previous section characterized the dharmakāya, saṃbhogakāya, and nirmāṇakāya as "dependent transformations" (see pages 162 and 209, above), so here he uses the same term to characterize the states of nirvana, bodhi, etc.—all generally considered to be absolute or transcendental—as relative or dependent states.

**The objective surroundings and the subjective mind** translates 境智, a term explained at length by the Tiantai master Zhiyi in his *Si nianchu* 四念處 (Four foundations of mindfulness) (T 46: 575a). It was apparently familiar to the compilers of the Dunhuang *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, where, in section 17, we find:

> No-thought 無念 means not to be defiled by external objects. It is to free thought from external objects and not to arouse thoughts about dharmas. But do not stop thinking about things, nor eliminate all thoughts. [If you do so] as soon as a single thought stops you will be reborn in other realms. Take heed of this! Do not cease objective things nor subjective mind (境智). (See YAMPOLSKY 1967, 51.)

The term may have been introduced into the Chan school by Yongjia Xuanjue, who was a student of Tiantai before studying under the Sixth Patriarch, since we find the following in the *Chanzong Yongjia ji* 禪宗永嘉集 (Anthology of Yongjia of the Chan School):

> He who aspires to seek the great Way must first of all make pure the three acts [of body, word, and thought] through pure practice. Then, in the four forms of demeanor—sitting, standing, walking, and lying—he will enter the Way by degrees. When he has reached the state where the objects of the six roots have been thoroughly penetrated while conforming with conditions, and the objective world and the subjective mind 境智 both have been stilled, he will mysteriously meet with the marvelous principle. (T 48: 388b)

爾還是娘生已否。爾若求佛、即被佛魔攝。爾若求祖、即被祖魔縛。爾若有求皆苦。不如無事。有一般禿比丘、向學人道、佛是究竟、於三大阿僧祇劫、修行果滿、方始成道。道流、爾若道佛是究竟、緣什麼八十年後、向拘尸羅城、雙林樹間、側臥而死去。佛今何在。明知與我生死不別。

"But you, weren't you born of a mother? If you seek buddha, you'll be held in the grip of Buddha-Māra. If you seek the patriarchs, you'll be bound by the ropes of Patriarch-Māra. If you engage in any seeking, it will all be pain. Much better to do nothing.

"There are a bunch of shavepate monks who say to students, 'The Buddha is the Ultimate; he attained buddhahood only after he came to the fruition of practices carried on through three great asaṃkhyeya kalpas.' Followers of the Way, if you say that the Buddha is the ultimate, how is it that after eighty years of life the Buddha lay down on his side between the twin śāla trees at Kuśinagara and died? Where is the Buddha now? We clearly know that his birth and death were not different from ours.

Another example of its usage in Chan is in ZJ 18. Guishan Lingyou asks his disciple Yangshan Huiji if he can judge the teachers and disciples who come to see him.

> "There are students coming from everywhere. When they ask you about Caoxi's (the Sixth Patriarch's) cardinal principle, how do you answer them?" [Yangshan] said, "[I ask,] 'Virtuous one, where have you come from recently?' The student may answer, 'Recently I have come from visiting old worthies everywhere.' I shall thereupon bring forward an objective circumstance and ask, 'Do the old worthies everywhere speak about this or not?' Another time I bring out an objective circumstance and say, 'Putting aside this for the time being, tell me what is the cardinal principle of the old worthies everywhere?' The above two are cases of objective circumstance and subjective mind 境智."

**Waste paper to wipe off privy filth.** A similarly iconoclastic statement by Linji's contemporary Deshan Xuanjian is recorded in ZH 20: "The twelve divisions of the teachings are the census-records of demons and spirits, paper [fit only] for cleaning running sores" (X 79: 173a). For a translation of the entire passage, see page 169, above.

**But you, weren't you born of a mother?** This rather cryptic remark undoubtedly refers to the "original nature" or "original face" with which everyone is born. See the following lines in Nanyue Mingzan's poem *Ledao ge* 樂道歌 (Song of enjoying the Way):

> Don't blindly seek the true buddha / The true buddha cannot be seen.
> The wondrous nature and the marvelous mind / How could they ever have been tempered and refined!
> My mind is the nothing-to-do mind / My face, the face born of my mother.
> Though the kalpa-stone may be worn away / *This* is changeless forever.
> (T 51: 461b)

**How is it** translates 緣什麼, corresponding to 爲什麼 in present-day Chinese. In the colloquial language of the Tang it had

爾言、三十二相八十種好是佛。轉輪聖王應是如來。明知是幻化。古人云、如來擧身相、爲順世間情。恐人生斷見、權且立虛名。假言三十二、八十也空聲。有身非覺體、無相乃眞形。

"You say, 'The thirty-two [primary] features and the eighty [secondary] features indicate a buddha.' Then must the cakravartin also be considered a tathāgata? We clearly know that these features are illusory transformations. A man of old said,

The Tathāgata's various bodily features were assumed to conform with worldly sensibilities.
Lest men conceive annihilist views, he provisionally provided unreal names.
Temporarily we speak of the 'thirty-two,' the 'eighty,' also, are but empty sounds.
The mortal body is not the awakened body, featurelessness is the true figure.

the following synonyms: 緣甚; 緣沒; 緣阿沒; 著甚; 因甚; 爲甚; and 爲什 (or 甚) 沒.

**The thirty-two… a tathāgata?** In these lines Linji no doubt had in mind the following passage in the *Jin'gang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the *Diamond Sutra*:

> [The Buddha questioned Subhūti], saying, "Subhūti, what do you think? Can the Tathāgata be discerned by the thirty-two auspicious bodily marks?" Subhūti replied, "Even so, even so. The Tathāgata is discerned by the thirty-two auspicious bodily marks." The Buddha said, "Subhūti, if the Tathāgata is discerned by the thirty-two auspicious bodily marks, then a cakravartin is a tathāgata." Subhūti addressed the Buddha, saying, "World-Honored One, as I understand the meaning of what you have said, the Tathāgata must not be discerned by the thirty-two auspicious bodily marks." Then the World-Honored One spoke this gatha:
>
> He who sees me in visible forms / Or seeks me through audible sounds,
> Is walking the heretical path / And cannot see the Tathāgata. (T 8: 752a)

There are various lists of the thirty-two primary physical characteristics 三十二相 of a buddha (tathāgata), characteristics also possessed by a cakravartin ("wheel-king" or universal monarch). One of the most detailed descriptions is in HURVITZ 1962, appendices K and L, listing the characteristics according to *Mahāvyutpatti* XVII and *Mahāvyutpatti* XVIII.

**A man of old** refers to Fu Dashi 傅大士, a famous layman of the Liang dynasty (for a biography of Fu, see page 142, above). The verse that follows is found in the Dunhuang MS entitled *Liangchao Fu Dashi song jingang jing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經 (Verses on the *Diamond Sutra*, by Fu Dashi of the Liang dynasty), a work composed of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Diamond Sutra* interspersed with verse comments attributed to Fu Dashi. Fu's verse is preceded in the original work by the following passage from the *Diamond Sutra*:

> [The Buddha questioned Subhūti], saying, "Subhūti, what do you think? Can the Tathāgata be perceived by his bodily form?" "No, World-Honored One! The Tathāgata cannot be perceived by his

爾道、佛有六通、是不可思議。一切諸天、神仙、阿修羅、大力鬼、亦有神通。應是佛否。道流、莫錯。

"You say, 'A buddha has six supernatural powers. This is miraculous!' All the gods, immortals, asuras, and mighty pretas also have supernatural powers—must they be considered buddhas? Followers of the Way, make no mistake!

> bodily form. Why? Because what has been referred to by the Tathāgata as 'bodily form', just this is not bodily form." The Buddha said, "Subhūti, every form is unreal and false. When you perceive all forms to be no-form, then this is perceiving the Tathāgata." (T 85: 2b; for the *Diamond Sutra* passage, see T 8: 749a)

Since Fu Dashi was considered an incarnation of Maitreya, each verse in the text is preceded by the line 彌勒頌曰, "Maitreya's verse says."

**Six supernatural powers** translates the term 六通 (also written as 六神通), which in turn translates the Sanskrit "ṣaḍabhijñāḥ," the six supernatural powers traditionally said to be possessed by sages, bodhisattvas, and buddhas.

The first five, known collectively as the 五神通 (pañcābhijñāh), may also be possessed by various beings other than enlightened sages, such as immortals, gods, certain humans (including non-Buddhists), and even some animals. Normally these powers are gained through the practice of meditation, or are possessed as intrinsic to the state in which the being is born as a reward for past merits; they may also be gained in part through the use of prayers, incantations, drugs, and amulets (hence the inclusion of non-Buddhists among their possessors). The sixth power is limited to holy sages who have already gained the first five powers.

The six supernatural powers were known to pre-Mahayana Buddhists, and are mentioned in the early scripture *Dīrgha Āgama* (see the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, T 1: 58a). The names given to these powers and the sequence in which they are listed vary with different texts, and even within the same text. The respective powers are discussed at length in the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā śāstra* (*Dazhidu lun* 大智度論) of Nāgārjuna (see T 25: 97c–98b and T 25: 264a–265b) and the *Abhidharmakōśa śāstra* (*Jushe lun* 俱舍論) of Vasubandhu (see T 29: 142c–143b). In the following list the individual powers are given under their names and in the order found in DL 5:

1. 如意通 (Skr., ṛddhividhi-jñāna): the ability to transform or manifest the body at will, and to move or fly to any place whatsoever;
2. 天眼通 (divyacakṣus): the ability to see anything anywhere, whether large or small, near or far, as well as to see the future births and destinies of all beings;
3. 天耳通 (divyaśrotra): the ability to hear any sound anywhere and to understand all speech in the form worlds;
4. 他心通 (paracitta-jñāna): the ability to know the thoughts of all other beings;
5. 宿命通 (pūrvanivāsānusmṛti-jñāna): knowledge of all the previous existences of oneself and other beings;
6. 漏盡通 (āśravaksaya-jñāna): the supernatural knowledge of the subsiding of the outflowing of the kleśas, or defiling passions. This is the power attained only by sages, bodhisattvas, and buddhas.

祇如阿修羅、與天帝釋戰、戰敗領八萬四千眷屬、入藕絲孔中藏。莫是聖否。

For instance, when Asura fought against Indra and was routed in battle he led his entire throng, to the number of eighty-four thousand, into the tube in a fiber of a lotus root to hide. Wasn't he then a sage?

**When Asura fought against Indra… lotus root to hide.** Linji's statement refers to the battles waged between the asuras (titans) and Indra (the supreme deity of the Vedic literature), which are frequently described in the Buddhist literature. An example of these stories, possibly the one Linji is here referring to, is found in the *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 (Sutra on the samādhi-ocean of contemplating buddha):

> When the world again began to take form after one of the great cyclic cataclysms, an egg was spontaneously produced, and from this egg a monstrous woman was born. This woman gave birth to a son more monstrous than herself and four times as large. He had nine hundred heads; in each head were a thousand eyes, and from his mouths he emitted fire. He had nine hundred and ninety-nine hands and stood on eight legs. He ate only mud and the roots of lotuses, and his voice was produced from the depths of the sea. His name was Vimalacitra, and he was the king of the asuras.
>
> When he was grown his mother arranged for him a marriage with a daughter of Gandharva, and after a period of time the young wife gave birth to a girl. The girl was of ravishing beauty, having 84,000 charming points in her face, 84,000 on her left side, 84,000 on her right side, 84,000 on the front of her body, and 84,000 on the back of her body. Lord Indra, on hearing of the girl's beauty, besought Asura to give her to him as his wife. For a time she lived happily with Indra in a wonderful palace, in the garden of which was a lotus plant that produced 84,000 jeweled ladies-in-waiting. But soon Indra began to bestow his favors upon the ladies-in-waiting. His bride, becoming jealous, informed her father, and Asura, exceedingly angry, mobilized four great armies and attacked Indra.
>
> Asura caused the water in all the seas to rise and engulf even Mount Sumeru; with his nine hundred and ninety-nine hands he shook Indra's castle and even Mount Sumeru itself. Indra, greatly frightened, was at a loss what to do. Then a deva residing in his palace reminded him that in the past Buddha had preached the *Prajñāpāramitā*. "You must recite it now," the deva said, "and Asura's soldiers will be destroyed of themselves." So Indra seated himself in the Hall of the Good Dharma, and, burning incense, made a great vow, saying, "*Prajñāpāramitā* is the great bright mantra. It is the incomparable mantra; it is the unrivaled mantra. It is completely true and is never false. I will hold to this dharma and achieve the buddha Way. Let Asura be defeated of himself."
>
> As soon as Indra had uttered these words, by virtue of his meritorious vow, a great wheel having four swords came out of the sky and fell upon Asura, causing all his ears, noses, arms, and legs to fall off at once, and the seas to become as scarlet as red juice. Asura was terrified. Finding no place of escape, he went into the tube of the fiber of a lotus root. (T 15: 646c–647b)

**Wasn't he** translates 莫是…否, in which 莫是 serve to introduce a negative question. Occasionally an interrogative particle such as 否, 不, or 麼 completes the sentence, as in the present example. From the Yuan dynasty, the construction 莫

如山僧所擧、皆是業通依通。夫如佛六通者、不然。入色界不被色惑、入聲界不被聲惑、入香界不被香惑、入味界不被味惑、入觸界不被觸惑、入法界不被法惑。所以達六種色聲香味觸法皆是空相、不能繫縛此無依道人。

Such supernatural powers as these I have just mentioned are all reward powers or dependent powers.

"Those are not the six supernatural powers of a buddha, which are entering the world of color yet not being deluded by color; entering the world of sound yet not being deluded by sound; entering the world of odor yet not being deluded by odor; entering the world of taste yet not being deluded by taste; entering the world of touch yet not being deluded by touch; entering the world of dharmas yet not being deluded by dharmas. Therefore, when it is realized that these six—color, sound, odor, taste, touch, and dharmas—are all empty forms, they cannot bind the man of the Way, dependent upon nothing.

是 was for the most part superseded by expressions such as 莫不是 or 莫非是. In such usages the character 莫 lost its literal meaning of "nothing" or "none" and became merely a sign of interrogation.

**Reward powers or dependent powers** translates 業通依通, in which the conjunction 業通 refers to supernatural powers obtained from past karma, while 依通 seemingly corresponds to terms 報通 and 依通 described in the following passage from the *Baozang lun* (as the original is couched in very obscure language, the following translation must be regarded as highly tentative):

> Within the spirit 神 there is wisdom 智, and in wisdom there is power 通. Power is of five kinds. What are these five powers? The first is called "Way power" 道通; the second is called "spirit power" 神通; the third is called "dependent power" 依通; the fourth is called "reward power" 報通; and the fifth is called "magic power" 妖通.
>
> What is meant by "magic power"? When the transformed spirits of aged foxes and badgers or the spirits of trees and rocks take possession of a human body, endowing it with extraordinary cleverness—this is called "magic power."
>
> What is meant by "reward power"? The foreknowledge of ghosts, [the ability] of all gods and humans in the intermediate state to transform themselves, of holy dragons to transform themselves—this is called "reward power."
>
> What is meant by "dependent power"? Knowledge [gained] through occult arts, making use of the body in special ways, going and coming at will through the use of charms, accomplishing transformations by the use of special potions—this is called "dependent power."
>
> What is meant by "spirit power"? By stilling the mind to illumine all things, to control one's own destiny, to discriminate in various ways—this is called "spirit power."
>
> What is meant by "Way power"? In no-mind, to respond to things and to convert all beings, just like the moon in the water and the flowers in the sky, shadow-forms without a master—this is "Way power." (T 45: 147a–b)

雖是五蘊漏質、便是地行神通。道流、眞佛無形、眞法無相。爾祇麼幻化上頭、作模作樣。設求得者、皆是野狐精魅、並不是眞佛、是外道見解。夫如眞學道人、並不取佛、不取菩薩羅漢、不取三界殊勝。迥無獨脫、不與物拘。乾坤倒覆、我更不疑。十方諸佛現前、爲一念心喜、三塗地獄頓現、無一念心怖。緣何如此。我見諸法空相、變即有、不變即無。三界唯心、萬法唯識。

Constituted though he is of the seepage of the five skandhas, he has the supernatural power of walking upon the earth.

"Followers of the Way, true buddha has no figure, true dharma has no form. All you're doing is devising models and patterns out of phantoms. Anything you may find through seeking will be nothing more than a wild fox-spirit; it certainly won't be the true buddha. It will be the understanding of a heretic.

"The true student of the Way has nothing to do with buddhas and nothing to do with bodhisattvas or arhats. Nor has he anything to do with the good things of the triple world. Having transcended these, solitary and free, he is not bound by things. Heaven and earth could turn upside down and he wouldn't have a doubt; the buddhas of the ten directions could appear before him and he wouldn't feel an instant of joy; the three hells could suddenly yawn at his feet and he wouldn't feel an instant of fear. Why is this so? Because, as I see it, all dharmas are empty forms—when transformation takes place they are existent, when transformation does not take place they are nonexistent. The three realms are mind-only, the ten thousand dharmas are consciousness-only.

**The supernatural power of walking upon the earth** brings to mind the famous lines of a poem by Layman Pang:

> Supernatural power and marvelous activity—these are drawing water and carrying firewood. (X 69: 131a)

**It certainly won't be** translates 並不是, where the compound 並不 is a form of negation, as in present-day Chinese. Usually the character 並 is an intensive article affixed to a negative word and serves to emphasize the negation, but occasionally, as here, it forms a disyllabic compound with 不 merely for the purpose of phonetic harmony. This is also true of such compounds as 都不, 更不, 總不, 曾不, etc.

**The true student of the Way… is not bound by things**. Baizhang Huaihai, several generations before Linji, gives a similar description of the emancipated person in the BG:

> His mind is completely empty of impurity and purity; he does not dwell in bondage nor does he dwell in emancipation. He is without any understanding of the conditioned or the unconditioned. His mind's measure being universal sameness, while abiding in samsara he is free. He does not make any relation whatsoever with false

> illusions, the worldly passions, the realm of the skandhas, birth and death, or any of the sense-entrances. Having transcended these, there is nothing he depends upon; he is bound to nothing at all. He leaves or stays without hindrance; he goes and comes in birth and death as through an open door. (UI 1939–1943, 2: 421)

**Heaven and earth could turn upside down**. This phrase probably originated in the following passage from the "Wubuqian lun" 物不遷論 (Treatise on the immutability of things) of the *Zhao lun* 肇論:

> Were heaven and earth to turn upside down, this does not mean that they are not still; were the foaming billows to dash to heaven, this does not mean that they move. (T 45: 151c)

**The buddhas of the ten directions… an instant of fear**. Linji here speaks of the emancipated person using words in part derived from a passage in the CF:

> When about to die, one has only to observe that all five skandhas are empty and that the four elements have no ego, that true mind is formless and neither comes nor goes, that [essential] nature does not come into being with birth nor go away with death, and thus that in deep serenity and utter stillness the mind and surroundings become one suchness. One who can directly and immediately understand in this way will not be bound by the three realms; he will be one who has transcended the world. Never should one have the slightest partiality. Though one were to see the lovely forms of all the buddhas coming in welcome and manifesting themselves in various ways, have no thought of following them; though one were to see evil forms of various kinds appearing, be without a thought of fear. If one just naturally forgets one's mind and merges with the dharma realm, then one will gain freedom. This, indeed, is the pivotal point. (T 48: 381c)

**The three realms… consciousness-only**. In the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (Discourse on the establishment of consciousness-only), Xuanzang's translation of the *Vijñaptimātratā siddhi*, the following passage appears:

> As the sutra says, "The three realms are mind-only." It also says, "Whatever is caused [objects of perception] is the manifestation of consciousness-only." Furthermore it says, "All dharmas are not separate from mind." Also, "According to [their] minds, sentient beings are defiled or pure." Also, "The bodhisattva who has completed the four wisdoms therewith enters the consciousness-only in which there is no objective existence." (T 31: 39a)

Though only the first statement is the same as Linji's, the meaning of the following statement accords with that of Linji's second statement.

ZJ 3 records an interesting discussion between National Teacher Huizhong 慧忠國師 (?–775), an heir of the Sixth Patriarch, and a "man from the south," in which Linji's statements in exactly the same form are attributed to "a sutra":

> A Chan adherent from the south asked, "What about the mind of the old [buddhas]?" The master said, "Walls and tiles, things without sentiency—all these are the mind of the old buddhas." The southerner said, "This differs greatly from the words of the *Nirvana Sutra*, which says, '[Because it] has nothing to do with walls and tiles, things without sentiency, therefore we call it "buddha-nature".' Now you say that everything without sentiency is buddha-mind. I wonder if 'mind' and 'nature' are different or not." The master said, "To the deluded they are different; to the enlightened they are not different." "This again contradicts the sutra," said the southerner, "for it says, 'Mind is not buddha-nature because buddha-nature is permanent and mind is without permanence.' Now you say they are not different. What is the meaning of this?" The master said, "[The *Nirvana Sutra* states,] 'You depend upon the words, not upon the meaning.' For example, in the winter

所以夢幻空花、何勞把捉。唯有道流、目前現今聽法底人、入火不燒、入水不溺、入三塗地獄、如遊園觀、入餓鬼畜生、而不受報。緣何如此。無嫌底法。

Hence,

Illusory dreams, flowers in the sky,
Why trouble to grasp at them!

"Only you, the follower of the Way right now before my eyes listening to my discourse, [only you] enter fire and are not burned, enter water and are not drowned, enter the three hells as though strolling in a pleasure garden, enter the realms of the hungry ghosts and the beasts without suffering their fate. How can this be? There are no dharmas to be disliked.

freezing water becomes ice; in the spring melting ice becomes water. When sentient beings are deluded their nature is frost-bound and becomes mind; when sentient beings are enlightened, their mind melts and becomes nature. If you are correct in insisting that what is without sentiency is without buddha-nature, then the sutra ought not to say, 'The three realms are mind-only, the ten thousand dharmas are consciousness-only.' Hence the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* says, 'Every existent dharma in the three realms is only mind-created.' Now on the other hand, let me ask you, do things without sentiency exist inside the three realms or outside them? Are they mind or are they not mind? If they are not mind, the sutra ought not to say, 'The three realms are mind-only.' If they are mind, the sutra ought not to say, 'The nonsentient are without buddha-nature.' You yourself contradict the sutra; I do not contradict it."

This passage is from the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* "old" translation, fascicle 25; "new" translation, fascicle 37. The words are spoken by Diamond-Storehouse Bodhisattva 金剛藏菩薩: "Within the First Truth there is nothing created and no act of creating.… The three realms are empty, and this in itself is mind-created" (T 9: 558c); "Everything existent in the three realms is only One Mind" (T 10: 194a).

Huangbo makes the same two statements as Linji makes here, but indicates that these are merely expedient teachings.

> If at any time you hold the view that [the personality] is permanent, this is the heretical view of permanency. If, by observing that all dharmas are empty, you conceive the empty view, this is the heretical view of extinction. Hence, [the teaching that] "the three realms are mind-only and the ten-thousand dharmas are consciousness-only"—even this is set forth merely in reply to heretics and men of wrong views. (X 68: 19c)

**Illusory dreams… grasp at them**. These lines are from the *Xinxin ming*:

> Illusory dreams, flowers in the sky / Why trouble to grasp at them?
> Gain and loss, right and wrong / Away with them once and for all! (T 48: 376c)

Later in this section Linji quotes these lines with slight variations. The verse was apparently quite popular during this period. Zhaozhou Congshen also quotes them (T 51: 446b).

**To enter fire… not be drowned** is a stock expression found in many Taoist works from the *Zhuangzi* on, as well as in Buddhist scriptures and Chan writings. In

爾若愛聖憎凡、生死海裏沈浮。煩惱由心故有、無心煩惱何拘。不勞分別取相、自然得道須臾。爾擬傍家波波地學得、於三祇劫中、終歸生死。不如無事、向叢林中、床角頭交腳坐。

If you love the sacred and hate the secular,
You'll float and sink in the birth-and-death sea.
The passions exist dependent on mind;
Have no-mind, and how can they bind you?
Without troubling to discriminate or cling to forms,
You'll attain the Way naturally in a moment of time.

"But if you try to get understanding by hurrying down this byway and that, you'll still be in the round of samsara after three asaṃkhyeya kalpas. Better take your ease sitting cross-legged on a meditation platform in the monastery.

the *Lotus Sutra* these marvelous abilities are said to be the reward for devotion to the sutra and its teachings:

> Good young man! You have been able in the dharma of Śākyamuni to keep, read, reflect upon, and expound this sutra to others. The blessed merit you have obtained is beyond measure and without limit. Fire cannot burn you, nor can water wash you away. (T 9: 54c)

An example from a Chan work predating the LL is found in the BG:

> The early elders entered fire and did not burn, entered water and did not drown. When they themselves wanted to burn they burned, when they wanted to drown they drowned, when they wanted to live they lived, when they wanted to die they died. They had freedom to go or to stay. Such men as these are qualified to have complete freedom. (X 68: 10b)

**Enter the three hells as though strolling in a pleasure garden**. There is a similar line in a verse recapitulation in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Lotus Sutra*, but used in a totally different context. There the phrase is included in a description of the terrible fate in store for those who revile the sutra:

> Evil men such as these…. / Dwell perpetually in the hells,
> Considering them their pleasure garden / Or stay in the other evil paths / As their own abiding places. (T 9: 15c–16a)

A usage closer in meaning to that of Linji is found in the "New" *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, in the explanation of the ten distinctive characteristics of the bodhisattva 十種不共法. The fourth characteristic, the bodhisattva's ability to use various expedients to convert people, is described as follows: "He goes and comes in samsara as though in a pleasure garden, and never has even a passing thought of weariness or fatigue" (T 10: 296c). The *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, in describing the activities of the bodhisattva, echoes the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*: "To regard being in the midst of the dhyānas as being in the hells, and to regard being in the midst of samsara as being in a pleasure garden" (T 14: 554b).

**If you love the sacred… a moment of time**. The quotation is taken from the second of ten poems, entitled *Dasheng zan* 大乘讚 (In praise of the Mahayana). See pages 172 and 189, above.

**Monastery** translates 叢林, lit., "thicket" or "grove." Since in the early days Bud-

道流、如諸方有學人來、主客相見了、便有一句子語、辨前頭善知識。被學人拈出箇機權語路、向善知識口角頭攛過、看爾識不識。爾若識得是境、把得便抛向坑子裏。學人便即尋常、然後便索善知識語。依前奪之。學人云、上智哉、是大善知識。即云、爾大不識好惡。如善知識、把出箇境塊子、向學人面前弄。前人辨得、下下作主、不受境惑。善知識便即現半身、學人便喝。善知識又入一切差別語路中擺撲。學人云、不識好惡老禿奴。善知識歎曰、眞正道流。

"Followers of the Way, students come from every quarter, and after host and guest have met the student will test the teacher with a phrase. Some tricky words are chosen by the student and flung at the corner of the teacher's mouth. 'Let's see if you can understand this!' he says. If you teachers recognize it as a device, you seize it and throw it into a pit. Whereupon the student quiets down and asks the teacher to say something. As before, the teacher robs him of his attitude. The student says, 'What superlative wisdom! A great teacher, indeed!' To which you teachers instantly retort, 'You can't even tell good from bad.'

"Or a teacher may take out a bunch of stuff and play with it in front of a student. The latter, seeing through this, makes himself master in every case and doesn't fall for the humbug. Now the teacher reveals half of his body, whereupon the student gives a shout. Again the teacher tries to rattle the student by using all sorts of expressions having to do with differentiation. 'You can't tell good from bad, you old shavepate!' exclaims the student. And the teacher, with a sigh of admiration, says, 'Ah, a true follower of the Way!'

dhist monks gathered in the cool shade of groves and woods, this term came to mean a gathering place for monks—hence, a monastery.

**Host and guest** 主客 is a colloquial term referring, in this case, to teacher and student (for the similar expression "guest and host" 賓主, used earlier by Linji, see page 134, above). There now follows a description of four types of encounter between teachers and students: the first and second, between a good teacher and a good student; the third and fourth, between a poor teacher and a poor student. Later in this same lecture we find four other examples of similar encounters. The classification of teacher-student encounters into types was later elaborated in great detail by Fenyang Shanzhao, in the sixth generation of the Linji line. Fenyang's classification, known as Fenyang's Eighteen Questions 汾陽十八問, is found in the RY (T 48: 307c–308a).

**Some tricky words… understand this** 被學人…攛過、看爾識不識. In the traditional Japanese reading, the final clause is taken to be indirect narration: *gakunin ni… zanka shite, nanji shiru ya shirazu ya to miraru*, "having been thrown by the student, it will be seen whether you can understand or not." However, the last clause is obviously direct narration, even

though it is not accompanied by a reporting verb such as 云, 說, or 道, "to say." It should be noted that this passage as a whole is very colloquial, and that in the colloquial language reporting verbs are often omitted with expressions of direct narration. This is why the verb "say" is supplied in the English text.

**A bunch of stuff** translates 境塊子, a colloquialism of uncertain meaning. It is used by Linji on this occasion only, and has not been found elsewhere. The word 塊子in this case seems to have the feeling of 土塊 ("clod of earth," "lump of clay") or 石塊 ("chunk of stone"), both of which are often used to indicate something trivial or worthless. Here it appears to indicate a series of actions such as raising a whisk, holding up a stick or shouting, or gestures such as snapping the fingers or winking the eye, which in this case are used by the teacher as mere tricks to test the student's ability to distinguish the sham from the real.

**In every case** translates 下下, a colloquial expression that became obsolete after the Tang. The Ming editions of the LL substitute the words 了不 in an apparent attempt to make better sense of the passage, interpreting it as "[the student] never tries to make himself master." Japanese commentators, in their efforts to be faithful to the older editions of the work, all of which read 下下, have offered various interpretations of the passage. In light of our present knowledge, these may now be dismissed.

The Beijing edition (1957) of the DB contains a version of the Dunhuang manuscript "Kongzi Xiang Tuo xiangwen shu" 孔子項託相問書 (Chronicle of the interview between Confucius and Xiang Tuo) with the following passage: "When Confucius replied to Xiang Tuo, in every case he failed to get the better of Xiang Tuo" 夫子共項託對答下下不如項託 (DB 1:233.12). The editor's note on the term 下下 reads, "The meaning of 下下 is similar to that of 一一 ('in every case'). 下下 is still in the spoken language of north China." See SOYMIÉ 1954, where all the various versions of this text are described, discussed, and in part translated; the passage under consideration is to be found on page 340.

The only other known example of this expression in Zen literature appears in the following passage from the *Record of Zhaozhou*, contained in the GY:

> The king of Zhenzhou asked [Zhaozhou], "Master, you are well along in years. May I ask how many teeth you have left?" "I have only one tooth," said the master. "But how can you eat anything?" asked the king. To which the master replied, "Though I have but one tooth, I never fail 下下 to chew everything up." (X 68: 85c)

**Half of his body** translates 現半身, a very old expression in Buddhism. The ability to "reveal half of his body" is listed as one of the powers of the Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana (Mulian 目連), who was famous for his ability in supernatural manifestations. In the *Misha saibu hexi wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律 (Mahīśāsaka-vinaya) it says:

> At this Maudgalyāyana made manifest his supernatural transformations. He divided his body into a hundred thousand [bodies], then united them into one. He passed through all stone walls. He walked on the water as he walked on the earth; he sat and lay down in the midst of the empty sky; he flew like a bird. His body entered the Brahma Heaven, and his hands stroked the sun and moon. Above his body fire burst forth, below his body water gushed forth; above his body water gushed forth, below his body fire burst forth. Sometimes he manifested half his body, sometimes he manifested his entire body. He leapt up in the east and disappeared in the west, he leapt up in the west and disappeared in the east. (T 22: 22a)

In the Southern *Nirvana Sutra*, in the section in which the Buddha describes

如諸方善知識、不辨邪正。學人來問、菩提涅槃、三身境智、瞎老師便與他解說。被他學人罵著、便把棒打他、言無禮度。自是爾善知識無眼、不得嗔他。有一般不識好惡禿奴、即指東劃西、好晴好雨、好燈籠露柱。爾看、眉毛有幾莖。

"There are teachers all around who can't distinguish the false from the true. When students come asking about bodhi, nirvana, the trikāya, or the [objective] surroundings and the [subjective] mind, the blind old teachers immediately start explaining to them. When they're railed at by the students they grab their sticks and hit them, [shouting,] 'What insolent talk!' Obviously you teachers yourselves are without an eye so you've no right to get angry with them.

"And then there're a bunch of shavepates who, not knowing good from bad, point to the east and point to the west, delight in fair weather, delight in rain, and delight in lanterns and pillars. Look at them! How many hairs are left in their eyebrows!

the esoteric meaning of the letters of the alphabet, we find the character 咤 used to transliterate the Sanskrit *t* or *ṭ*, described as follows: "咤: to reveal the half of the body in the land of the Jambudvīpa and preach the dharma, just like the half-moon" (T 12: 654c).

In Chan the expression was used with a somewhat different though not entirely unrelated meaning. A master is said to "reveal the half of his body" when, through cryptic words or gestures, he partially discloses a profound truth in such a way as to obscure it from any but one with the truly perceiving eye, and elicits an equally cryptic response. The interview between Mayu and Linji in Critical Examinations 19 is considered an example of this by Japanese commentators.

**The [objective] surroundings and the [subjective] mind**. For further explanation, see pages 222–223, above.

**They grab their sticks… 'What insolent talk'** translates 便把棒打他言無禮度, traditionally read in Japanese as *kore o utte iwaku,"reido nashi" to*, "grabbing his stick and hitting him, he says,'You have no manners'," thus making 言 the main verb of the sentence. This reading misses the stylistic structure of the sentence, which basically consists of two four-character clauses (便 is to be disregarded). 言 naturally belongs to the second clause, which in its entirety is a kind of objective complement of 打.

**Lanterns and pillars**. *Editor's note:* IRIYA (1989, 94) suggests that in this case the 露柱, meaning, literally, "outdoor pillar," indicates actual pillars that stood in the gardens in front of the dharma hall and meditation hall. JC 23, in the section on Qianming Huiche 乾明慧徹, mentions "the hanging of lanterns 燈籠 on the outdoor pillar," suggesting that the pillars were set up for purposes of nighttime illumination (T 51: 396a). For 露柱 used in another sense, see page 298, below.

**How many hairs are left in their eyebrows**. It was popularly believed at the time that the retribution for false preaching of the dharma was to have one's eyebrows fall out. A famous example con-

這箇具機緣。學人不會、便即心狂。如是之流、總是野狐精魅魍魎。被他好學人嗌嗌微笑、言瞎老禿奴惑亂他天下人。道流、出家兒且要學道。祇如山僧、往日曾向毘尼中留心、亦曾於經論尋討。後方知是濟世藥、表顯之說、遂乃一時拋卻、即訪道參禪。後遇大善知識、方乃道眼分明、始識得天下老和尚、知其邪正。不是娘生下便會、還是體究練磨、一朝自省。

There is a good reason for this [loss of eyebrows]. Lacking understanding, students become infatuated with them. Such [shavepates] as these are all wild fox-spirits and nature-goblins. Good students snicker and say, 'Blind old shavepates, deluding and bewitching everyone under heaven!'

"Followers of the Way, he who is a renouncer of home must needs study the Way. Take me, for example—in bygone days I devoted myself to the vinaya and also delved into the sutras and śāstras. Later, when I realized that they were only remedies to help the world and displays of opinion, I threw them all away, and, searching for the Way, I practiced meditation. Still later I met a great teacher. Then, indeed, my dharma-eye became clear and for the first time I was able to understand all the old teachers of the world and to tell the true from the false. It is not that I understood from the moment I was born of my mother, but that, after exhaustive investigation and grinding practice, in one instant I knew for myself.

cerns the master Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (738–823):

> When Danxia was at the temple Huilin si 慧林寺 it was so cold that he took a wooden buddha image from the hall, set it on fire, and warmed himself by the blaze. The temple master saw this and scolded him, saying, "How can you burn our wooden buddha?" Danxia stirred the ashes with his staff and said, "I burned it to retrieve the holy relics (śārira)." The temple master responded, "How could there be relics in a wooden buddha?" "If there are no relics, please give me the two attendant images to burn," Danxia retorted. The temple master's eyebrows fell out. (x 67: 15c)

The śārira of which Danxia speaks are the relics—sometimes described as indestructible, pebble-like substances—that supposedly remain after the cremation of a buddha or holy sage. The implication of the story is that if there are no śārira, then the image is no more and no less than an ordinary piece of wood. For a biography of Danxia, see pages 255–256, below.

**There is a good reason for this [loss of eyebrows]**. This sentence is clearly the remark of someone other than Linji which was later inserted into the text.

**I devoted myself to the vinaya**. In China at the time it was customary for Buddhist clerics to begin their training with a lengthy period of basic study leading to ordination in accordance with the precepts (vinaya) of Theravada Buddhism. The word for vinaya that appears in the text is 毘尼, a shortened form of 毘奈耶, the Chinese transliteration of the original Sanskrit "vinaya."

**[I…] delved into the sutras and śāstras**. According to Chan tradition, Linji, in his

道流、爾欲得如法見解、但莫受人惑。向裏向外、逢著便殺。逢佛殺佛、逢祖殺祖、逢羅漢殺羅漢、逢父母殺父母、逢親眷殺親眷、始得解脫、不與物拘、透脫自在。

"Followers of the Way, if you want insight into dharma as it is, just don't be taken in by the deluded views of others. Whatever you encounter, either within or without, slay it at once. On meeting a buddha slay the buddha, on meeting a patriarch slay the patriarch, on meeting an arhat slay the arhat, on meeting your parents slay your parents, on meeting your kinsman slay your kinsman, and you attain emancipation. By not cleaving to things, you freely pass through.

youth, devoted himself particularly to the study of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* and the treatises of the fourth Huayan patriarch, Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838).

**After exhaustive investigation and grinding discipline, in an instant I knew for myself** translates 體究練磨一朝自省, where 體究 (exhaustive investigation) is the equivalent of 體會 or 體得. The compound 一朝 means "immediately" or "at once"; 自省 means "to realize, to have witness within."

**Whatever you encounter… you freely pass through**. Radical though they may sound, Linji's statements have their precedents in the traditional teachings of the Mahayana sutras. For example, the *Dafangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 (Great collection sutra) contains the following passage:

> [Bodhisattva Aruṇa asked,] "World-Honored One! How is relinquishment to be practiced?" [The Buddha answered,] "Good young man, if there is a bodhisattva who does not practice compassion as well as a rejoicing mind, but practices relinquishment and ponders on relinquishment, beginning with his father and mother and continuing up to the śrāvakas, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and all buddhas, when he practices this relinquishment he will be far removed from all kinds of desire and anger, and from attachment to dharmas. (T 13: 170c)

Renunciation was a concept that was also central to the teaching of Linji's teacher, Huangbo:

> The bodhisattva's mind is like the empty sky. He has completely relinquished everything, and is not attached even to the merit that he has acquired. There are three kinds of renunciation. If the inside and the outside, the body and the mind, have been completely relinquished and, just as in the empty sky, there is nothing to be grasped or attached to; if all action is carried out in accordance with the place and the circumstances; and if both the doer and the what-is-done are forgotten, then this is great renunciation. If the Way is followed and virtuous acts performed, and at the same time they are relinquished without hope of reward, then this is medium renunciation. If all kinds of good acts are widely practiced with the hope of reward, but no attachment is left upon hearing about the dharma and understanding its emptiness, then this is small renunciation.
>
> Great renunciation is like having a lighted candle in front of you: there is no longer either delusion or enlightenment. Medium renunciation is like having a lighted candle to your side: sometimes there is brightness, sometimes there is darkness. Small renunciation is like hav-

如諸方學道流、未有不依物出來底。山僧向此間、從頭打。手上出來手上打。口裏出來口裏打。眼裏出來眼裏打。未有一箇獨脫出來底。皆是上他古人閑機境。山僧無一法與人、祇是治病解縛。爾諸方道流、試不依物出來、我要共爾商量。十年五歲、並無一人。皆是依草附葉、竹木精靈、野狐精魅、向一切糞塊上亂咬。

"Among all the students from every quarter who are followers of the Way, none has yet come before me without being dependent on something. Here I hit them right from the start. If they come forth using their hands, I hit them on the hands; if they come forth using their mouths, I hit them on the mouth; if they come forth using their eyes, I hit them on the eyes. Not one has yet come before me in solitary freedom. All are clambering after the worthless contrivances of the men of old. As for myself, I haven't a single dharma to give to people. All I can do is to cure illnesses and untie bonds. You followers of the Way from every quarter, try coming before me without being dependent upon things. I would confer with you.

"Five years, nay ten years, have passed, but as yet not one person [has appeared]. All have been [ghosts] dependent upon grasses or attached to leaves, souls of bamboos and trees, wild fox-spirits. They recklessly gnaw on all kinds of dung clods.

ing a lighted candle behind you: you cannot see the pitfalls.

Hence the bodhisattva's mind is like the empty sky, for he has completely relinquished everything. His past mind being unobtainable, there is renunciation of the past; his present mind being unobtainable, there is relinquishment of the present; his future mind being unobtainable, there is renunciation of the future. This is what is known as the renunciation of the three periods. (T 48: 382a)

**I haven't a single dharma to give to people.** Linji's comment is similar to those of several other masters:

Xuefeng asked, "As for the style of our school that has been handed down from the past, how do you show it to people?" [Deshan] said, "My teaching has no words or phrases. Truly there is not a single dharma to give to people." (T 51: 318a)

The master [National Teacher Dada Wuye 大達無業國師 (760–821)] said, "All the buddhas have never appeared in the world. Nor have they given a single dharma to people. They have simply written prescriptions suitable for the disease. They are like sweet fruits exchanged for bitter gourds." (T 51: 444b)

**I would confer with you.** An example of the use of a similar phrase by Nanquan Puyuan is found in the JC:

My brothers, nowadays there are a lot of [so-called] Chan masters, but when I look for a dullard I can't find one. I'm not saying there are none—perhaps there are a few among us. If there are, come forth. I would discuss things with you. (T 51: 445a)

**All have been [ghosts] dependent upon grasses or attached to leaves.** Linji's image of disembodied spirits clinging to plants

瞎漢、枉消他十方信施、道我是出家兒、作如是見解。向爾道、無佛無法、無修無證。祇與麼傍家擬求什麼物。瞎漢、頭上安頭。是爾欠少什麼。道流、是爾目前用底、與祖佛不別。祇麼不信、便向外求。莫錯。向外無法、內亦不可得。爾取山僧口裏語、不如休歇無事去。

Blind fools! Wastefully squandering the alms given them by believers everywhere and saying, 'I am a renouncer of home,' all the while holding such views as these!

"I say to you there is no buddha, no dharma, nothing to practice, nothing to enlighten to. Just what are you seeking in the highways and byways? Blind men! You're putting a head on top of the one you already have. What do you yourselves lack? Followers of the Way, your own present activities do not differ from those of the patriarch-buddhas. You just don't believe this and keep on seeking outside. Make no mistake! Outside there is no dharma; inside, there is nothing to be obtained. Better than grasp at the words from my mouth, take it easy and do nothing.

is also used by several other masters in the Chan literature. The ZH, for example, records Linji's contemporary Deshan Xuanjian as saying:

> Don't love the sacred—"sacred" is an empty name. In the three realms and the ten directions of the world, if there is a single grain of dust or a single dharma to be obtained, so that, grasping it, you make explanations about it and consider it to have value, then you will completely fall into the heretical way of Deva Māra. Even those of great learning are all spirits dependent upon grasses and clinging to trees 依草附木, or they are wild fox spirits. (X 79: 173a)

However, the best-known use of this phrase is undoubtedly that in WG 1, in Wumen's commentary on the koan "Zhaozhou's 'Wu'":

> Those who study Chan must pass through the barriers of the patriarchs. For the marvelous awakening, it is necessary for the paths of mind to be exhausted and completely obliterated. Those who do not pass through the barriers of the patriarchs and do not obliterate the paths of mind are all spirits dependent upon grasses and clinging to trees 依草附木精靈. (T 48: 292c)

**Dung clods** is a reference to the worthless contrivances of the ancients, mentioned on page 166, above.

**Wastefully squandering the alms… holding such views as these**. Statements condemning false practice as a waste of the alms donated by the faithful are found throughout the Buddhist literature. The following is a typical example by Deshan Xuanjian, found in the ZH:

> Betraying our forebears, compromising our school, they brazenly claim to be world-renouncers. Such as these squander the alms given them by believers everywhere, though entitled to not a drop of water. (X 79: 173b)

已起者莫續、未起者不要放起、便勝爾十年行腳。約山僧見處、無如許多般、祇是平常。著衣喫飯、無事過時。爾諸方來者、皆是有心求佛求法、求解脫、求出離三界。癡人、爾要出三界、什麼處去。佛祖是賞繫底名句。爾欲識三界麼。不離爾今聽法底心地。爾一念心貪是欲界。爾一念心瞋是色界。爾一念心癡是無色界。

Don't continue [thoughts] that have already arisen and don't let those that haven't yet arisen be aroused. Just this will be worth far more to you than a ten years' pilgrimage.

"As I see it, there isn't so much to do. Just be ordinary—put on your clothes, eat your food, and pass the time doing nothing. You who come here from here and there all have a mind to seek buddha, to seek dharma, to seek emancipation, to seek escape from the three realms. Foolish fellows! When you've left the three realms where would you go?

"'Buddha' and 'patriarch' are only names of praise-bondage. Do you want to know the three realms? They are not separate from the mind-ground of you who right now are listening to my discourse. Your single covetous thought is the realm of desire; your single angry thought is the realm of form; your single deluded thought is the realm of formlessness.

**Don't continue… be aroused**. Similar advice is offered in ZJ 6 by Dongshan Liangjie:

> Someone asked, "What is the illness?" The master answered, "Subtle arisings of the mind are the illness." The questioner asked further, "What is the medicine?" The master answered, "Not continuing on, this is the medicine."

See also ZL 38 (T 48: 638a).

**You who come here… where would you go?** Ideas similar to those in this passage are found from the earliest times in Chan. See, for example, the following passage in the JC, in the section on Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657), founder of the Oxhead (Niutou 牛頭) school of Chan:

> All the deluding passions and the hindrances of past karma are immaterial from the very start. All causes and effects are like dreams and illusions. There are no three realms to leave, there is no enlightenment to seek. (T 51: 227a)

**Names of praise-bondage** translates 賞繫底名句, the meaning of which is unclear. Traditionally it is interpreted to mean "to bind through praise," but this reading is not grammatically possible. No other examples of this usage exist.

**Do you want to know the three realms?… the realm of formlessness**. An interpretation of the three realms almost identical to Linji's is found in the *Wuxing lun* 悟性論:

> Covetousness is the realm of desire; anger is the realm of form; folly is the realm of nonform. When an instant of thought arises, you enter the three realms; when an instant of thought is annihilated, you leave the three realms. Thus know that the creation or annihilation of the three realms, the existence or nonexistence of the ten

是爾屋裏家具子。三界不自道、我是三界。還是道流、目前靈靈地照燭萬般、酌度世界底人、與三界安名。大德、四大色身是無常。乃至脾胃肝膽、髮毛爪齒、唯見諸法空相。爾一念心歇得處、喚作菩提樹。爾一念心不能歇得處、喚作無明樹。無明無住處、無明無始終。

These are the furnishings within your own house. The three realms do not of themselves proclaim: 'We are the three realms!' But you, followers of the Way, right now vividly illumining all things and taking the measure of the world, you give the names to the three realms.

"Virtuous monks, the physical body [composed] of the four great elements is impermanent; [every part of it,] including the spleen, stomach, liver, and gallbladder, the hair, nails, and teeth as well, only proves that all dharmas are empty appearances. The place where your one thought comes to rest is called the bodhi tree; the place where your one thought cannot come to rest is called the avidyā tree. Avidyā has no dwelling place; avidyā has no beginning and no end.

thousand dharmas, all depend upon One Mind. (T 48: 371a)

**The physical body… are empty appearances**. The four great elements 四大 are earth, water, fire, and wind or air (see page 164). This sentence summarizes a teaching in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* instructing seekers to first observe the precepts and practice tranquility of mind. Then, sitting in quiet meditation, they are to reflect thus:

> This body of mine is composed of the four elements. The hair of my head, my nails and teeth, my skin and flesh, sinews and bones, marrow and brain, filthy matter, all return to earth. My spittle, mucus, pus, blood, saliva, drool, phlegm, tears, semen, excrement, and urine all return to water. My vital warmth returns to fire, and the motion of my body returns to wind. When the four great elements are separated one from the other, where is this illusory body? Hence we know that this body, in the last analysis, is without substance, and its form is nothing but the combining [of the four elements], and thus in reality it is but an illusory transformation. (T 17: 914b)

**The bodhi tree** 菩提樹 is, of course, the name given to the tree under which Śākyamuni attained his great awakening, but it is also used as a metaphor for the state of enlightenment itself. Its best-known usage in Chan is in the famous verses said to have been composed by Shenxiu and Huineng at the time the Fifth Patriarch was seeking a successor. The Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* contains Shenxiu's verse and two versions of Huineng's; the Yuan text contains Shenxiu's and one by Huineng. The Dunhuang verses are quoted below; the textual variants are minor, and are not noted. Shenxiu's verse:

> The body is the bodhi tree
> The mind is like a clear mirror.
> At all times strive to polish it
> And let no dust collect. (T 48: 337c)

Huineng's verse (a):

> Fundamentally bodhi is without a tree
> Also is the bright mirror without a stand.

> 爾若念念心歇不得、便上他無明樹、便入六道四生、披毛戴角。爾若歇得、便是清淨身界。
>
> If your successive thoughts cannot come to rest, you go up the avidyā tree; you enter the six paths of existence and the four modes of birth, wear fur on your body and horns on your head. If your successive thoughts can come to rest, then this [very body] is the pure body.

Buddha-nature is always clear and pure
So how can dust collect upon it?
(T 48: 338c)

Huineng's verse (b):

The mind is the bodhi tree
The body is the stand of a bright mirror.
The bright mirror is fundamentally clear and pure
So where can it be defiled with dust?
(T 48: 338c)

The expression "bodhi tree" is encountered in another Dunhuang text, the *Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* 大乘無生方便門 (Expedient means for attaining birthlessness in the Mahayana). A long statement regarding the consecutive steps toward enlightenment concludes with, "When both mind and objective matters are discarded, there is not a single thing to exist—this is the great bodhi tree" (T 85: 1273c).

**Avidyā tree** 無明樹 is a metaphor for darkness or ignorance, as opposed to "bodhi tree," a metaphor for enlightenment. In translating 無明 we chose the word "avidyā," since Linji appears to be referring to primal ignorance, a connotation that the English word "ignorance" does not necessarily convey.

**The six paths of existence** 六道 or 六趣; see pages 143–144, above.

**The four modes of birth** 四生 (Skr., caturyoni) are the four ways in which sentient beings are reborn in the six paths. For traditional expositions of this classification, see the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Further discourses of the Buddha) (T 2: 632a) and the *Jushe lun* 俱舍論 (Treasury of the Abhidharma) (T 29: 43c–44a). In brief, the four modes are:

1. 腹生 (Skr., jārāyu-ja): birth from the womb, as with mammals;
2. 卵生 (aṇḍa-ja): birth from an egg outside the body, as with birds;
3. 濕生 (saṁsveda-ja): birth from water or moisture, as with fish and worms;
4. 化生 (upapādu-ja): birth by metamorphosis, as with insects from a chrysalis, gods in the heavenly realms, and hell-dwellers.

Regarding the relation between the six paths (the realm of relativity) and the buddha (the realm of the absolute), Huangbo comments:

> [Someone] asked, "Since from the beginning we have been buddha, how can there then be the four modes of birth and the six paths of existence and all kinds of forms that are not alike?" The master said, "The substance of all the buddhas is a perfect whole; moreover it knows neither increase nor decrease. It flows into the six ways and each and every thing everywhere is perfect. Among the myriad different varieties [of phenomena] each one is buddha. It is like a lump of quicksilver that has been scattered everywhere; each and every droplet is perfect. When it is not broken up it is just one lump, but this one is none other than the all and the all is none other than the one." (T 48: 386a; X 68: 18a–b)

**Wear fur on your body.…** An earlier usage of this vivid expression is found in a sermon by Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (745–828):

爾一念不生、便是上菩提樹、三界神通變化、意生化身、法喜禪悅、身光自照。思衣羅綺千重、思食百味具足、更無橫病。菩提無住處、是故無得者。

"When not a single thought arises in your mind, then you go up the bodhi tree: you supernaturally transform yourself in the three realms and change your bodily form at will. You rejoice in the dharma and delight in samādhi, and the radiance of your body shines forth of itself. At the thought of garments a thousand lengths of brocade are at hand; at the thought of food a hundred delicacies are before you; furthermore, you never suffer unusual illness. 'Bodhi has no dwelling place, therefore it is not attainable.'

> Do you want to know the [realm of the] beasts? [It is the realm of those who] right now do not understand benevolence and righteousness, who do not discriminate between kinsman and stranger. Why must they wear fur on their bodies and horns on their heads, be slaughtered and hung by their heels [for you to recognise them]? (T 51: 440)

**This [very body] is the pure body.** Though as a technical term the word translated as "body," 身界 (Skr., kāyadhatū: "body-realm" or "body-field") is one of the eighteen dhātu, or realms (fields) of sensory experience, it seems Linji has not used it here in that sense.

In the following lines Yongjia, the author of the *Song of Enlightenment*, though not using Linji's exact expression, clearly has the same idea in mind:

> The real nature of avidyā is none other than the buddha-nature;
> This illusory and unreal body is none other than the dharma-body. (T 48: 396c)

In the same vein, the poet Su Dongpo 蘇東坡 (1036–1101) wrote:

> The sound of the valley stream
> Just this is the teaching of the buddha.
> The form of the mountains
> Can this be other than the pure body?

**Change your bodily form at will** translates the phrase 意生化身, which refers to the ability attributed to bodhisattvas of a certain level to transform their bodies as they wish so that they may enter into any of the six paths of existence and bring salvation to the beings there. The term 意生身 (Skr., manomāyakāya), which indicates this "body created through thought or will," is found in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*. The following passage is taken from Guṇabhadra's Chinese translation, the *Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經:

> [Mahāmati] said, "What is meant by, 'The bodhisattva-mahāsattva has attained the virtuous joy of self-awakening to noble wisdom'?" [The Buddha said], "It means that he has achieved equanimity as regards the law of no-birth and abides in the eighth stage of bodhisattvahood, that he has succeeded in separating [himself] from citta 心意, manovijñāna 意識, the five dharmas, the [three] kinds of self-nature 自性, and the characteristics of the two kinds of egolessness, and that he has gained the thought-created body 意生身." "By what causal relation is the thought-created body gained?" The Buddha said to Mahāmati, "As for the thought-created body, it is called 'thought-created' because it is like thought that goes swiftly and without obstruction. Just as thought goes without obstruction through stone walls and

in different directions for immeasurable distances as memories relating to things in the past are recalled, so the self-mind flows on uninterruptedly and creates bodies without hindrance. Thus, Mahāmati, a thought-created body is gained at once and in completion. Because the bodhisattva-mahāsattva's illusory-like samādhi power of creating bodies through thought is free and supernatural, various kinds of noble bodies adorned with marvelous characteristics are produced at once and in completion. Just as a thought-creation is without obstructions, so he recollects his original vow and in accordance with it brings sentient beings to maturity and thus gains the virtuous joy of self-awakening to noble wisdom." (T 16: 489c)

**Rejoice in the dharma** 法喜 and **delight in samādhi** 禪悅 are qualities mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra* as two types of "food" partaken of by the enlightened. The Buddha describes the buddha-land that Pūrṇa (Fulouna 富樓那), the most accomplished of his disciples in preaching the dharma, will realize in future ages, saying,

Humans and gods will associate and converse together. There will be no evil gati [realms of existence; see pages 143–144, above], also no female bodies; all beings will be born by transformation and without carnal desires. They will attain great supernatural powers, their bodies will emit radiance, they will fly through the air at will…. The beings of this land will be continuously provided with two kinds of food: the food of rejoicing-in-the-dharma and the food of delighting-in-samādhi. (T 9: 27c)

The antecedents of these concepts are found in the earliest sutras. In the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Further discourses of the Buddha), Śākyamuni Buddha speaks of the four kinds of food for people in the world versus the five kinds of food for renunciants:

There are nine kinds of food. Four kinds are food for people who are living in the world, and five kinds are for people who have renounced the world.

What are the four kinds of food for people living in the world? The first is food eaten with the hand 揣食; the second is the food of joy 樂食; the third is the food of reflection 念食; the fourth is the food of thought 識食. These are the four kinds of food for people in the world.

Now what are the five kinds of food for those called 'people who have renounced the world'? The first is the food of meditation 禪食; the second is the food of resolve 願食; the third is the food of recollection 念食; the fourth is the food of the eight ways of emancipation 八解脫食; the fifth is the food of rejoicing 喜食. These are the five kinds of food. Thus, bhikkus, in renouncing the world you must fix your attention upon forsaking the four kinds of food and seek the means to prepare the five kinds of food. (T 2: 772b)

The food of rejoicing and the food of meditation undoubtedly relate to the two mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra* and later by Linji.

**The radiance of your body shines forth of itself.** Light emanating from the body is one of the thirty-two marks of a buddha, comprising no. 15, 常光一丈相, in the list found in the *Sanzang fashu* 三藏法數 (but having no equivalent in the *Mahāvyutpatti* list; see page 224, above). In the DL the following passage appears:

The four sides of a buddha's body are each adorned with lights shining brightly for ten feet. Bodhisattvas are also born with this light, which is one of the thirty-two marks and is known as the mark of the ten-foot light 丈光相. (T 25: 114c)

The *Huayan jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記 (Investigation of the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*) has the following:

There are two kinds of light. One is the light of knowledge 智光 and the other is the light of the body 身光. The light of knowledge is divided into two types, one that illuminates the dharma—one that, in

道流、大丈夫漢、更疑箇什麼。目前用處、更是阿誰。把得便用、莫著名字、號爲玄旨。與麼見得、勿嫌底法。古人云、心隨萬境轉、轉處實能幽。隨流認得性、無喜亦無憂。

"Followers of the Way, what more is there for the resolute fellow to doubt? The activity going on right now—whose is it? Grasp and use, but never name—this is called the 'mysterious principle.' Come to such understanding as this, and there is nothing to be disliked. A man of old said:

> [My] mind turns in accordance with the myriad circumstances,
> And this turning, in truth, is most mysterious.
> Recognizing [my] nature while according with the flow,
> [I] have no more joy nor any sorrow.

other words, illuminates the true and the mundane—and another that illuminates activity in accordance with all types of beings. The light of the body is also divided into two types, one that is perfectly bright and unobstructed and is known as Eternal Light 常光, and the other of which jolts one into understanding with its radiance and is known as Radiant Light 放光. (T 35: 146c)

**At the thought of garments a thousand lengths… unusual illness**. Linji's expressions here are reminiscent of the descriptions of Amitābha's Land of Bliss in the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Sutra on immeasurable life), of Maitreya's buddha-land in the *Mile dachengfo jing* 彌勒大成佛經 (Sutra on Maitreya's great attainment of buddhahood), and of other similar lands. The following passage from the *Wuliangshou jing* is illustrative of the general character of these descriptions:

> Ānanda, all those who are born in this buddha-land are provided with pure bodies, all kinds of marvelous sounds, supernatural meritorious virtues, palaces in which to dwell, robes, food, all kinds of marvelous flower fragrances, and articles of adornment. It is just like in the Sixth Heaven, where these things are provided spontaneously. When they desire to eat, there appear before them utensils of the seven precious things—gold, silver, lapis-lazuli, cornelian, coral, amber, and pearls bright as the moon. All the bowls appear like this in accordance with their will, and food and drink of the hundred flavors spontaneously fill them to repletion. Although this food exists, truly there is no one who eats it, for they merely look at its color and smell its fragrance, and, in their minds considering it to be food, they are naturally satisfied. (T 12: 271b–c)

**Bodhi has no dwelling place, therefore it is not attainable**. The source of Linji's quotation appears to be an almost identical passage from the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> Śāriputra asked a deva, "Will you some day obtain Supreme Enlightenment [Skr., anuttarā-samyak-sambodhi]?" The deva said, "Śāriputra, if you again become an ordinary man, I shall obtain Supreme Enlightenment." Śāriputra said, "There is no possibility of my again becoming an ordinary man." The deva said, "There is also no possibility of my obtaining Supreme Enlightenment. Why is this so? Enlightenment [bodhi] has no dwelling place, therefore it is unobtainable." (T 14: 548c)

**A man of old** refers to Manorhita (Monaluo 摩拏羅), the twenty-second Indian patriarch of Zen. What follows is his so-called transmission verse. The earliest appearance of this verse is in BZ 5;

道流、如禪宗見解、死活循然。參學之人、大須子細。如主客相見、便有言論往來。或應物現形、或全體作用、或把機權喜怒、或現半身、或乘師子、或乘象王。

"Followers of the Way, the view of the Chan school is that the sequence of death and life is orderly. The student of Chan must examine [this] most carefully.

"When host and guest meet they vie with each other in discussion. At times, in response to something, they may manifest a form; at times they may act with their whole body; or they may use tricks or devices to appear joyful or angry; or they may reveal half of the body; or again they may ride upon a lion or mount a lordly elephant.

it is also found in numerous other texts, including ZJ 2, ZL 97 (T 48: 939a), JC 2 (T 51: 214a), GY 11 (X 68: 67b), TG 4 (X 78: 436c), ZH 2 (X 79: 20c), and in Dunhuang MS Stein 2165, where it is entitled simply "Verse of a Patriarch."

**The sequence of death and life is orderly** translates the expression 死活循然, the meaning of which is not clear. Traditional commentaries usually interpret it to mean that in the Great Death there is the "bright and vigorous" life 活撥撥地 earlier described by Linji (see page 198), and in the "bright and vigorous" life there is the Great Death.

**They may act with their whole body** 全體作用. This expression describes an action through which one actualizes the functioning of essence. Although the term 全體作用 was used frequently by Chan masters after Linji, it is not found in this exact form prior to the LL, and thus may have originated with this master.

However, we find Linji's contemporary, Deshan Xuanjian, also using the term in the following passage in ZH 20, yet another example of the puzzling similarities of expression in the sermons of Linji and Deshan (see, for example, the comments on pages 168, 175, 176, 177, 198, 202, 223, 251, 270, and 285).

> All of you… forever carrying your own dead bodies on your backs and wearing cangues on your necks and chains on your ankles—from five hundred or a thousand *li* away you come and, standing here before me with your feet planted far apart, say, "Heshang, you must explain to us, you must instruct us!" Whereupon this old fellow acts with his entire being 全體作用. My great staff mows you down, you landslaves. I curse you robbers with faces like your own asses. You don't know bad from good. (X 79: 174b)

Two works by the Chan and Huayan master Guifeng Zongmi have a largely synonymous term, 佛性全體之用. The first work is the preface to the *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Large commentary on the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*), where Zongmi, in a description of the seven schools of Chan, characterizes the lineage of Mazu as follows:

> [Mazu] spread this teaching widely. Since to raise the mind, to stir up thought, to snap the fingers, to cough, to raise the eyebrows, and all other actions and deeds are the functioning of the total body of the buddha-nature 佛性全體之用, therefore there is no second subjectivity. Many kinds of food are made from wheat flour, and the buddha-nature is just like this. Because its total body is greed, anger, stu-

如有眞正學人、便喝先拈出一箇膠盆子。善知識不辨是境、便上他境上、作模作樣。學人便喝。前人不肯放。此是膏肓之病、不堪醫。喚作客看主。

"A true student gives a shout, and to start with holds out a sticky lacquer tray. The teacher, not discerning that this is an objective circumstance, goes after it and performs a lot of antics with it. The student again shouts but still the teacher is unwilling to let go. This is a disease of the vitals that no doctoring can cure; it is called 'the guest examines the host.'

pidity, the producing of good and bad, and the sensing of pain and pleasure, each and every one of these is the [buddha-]nature. (X 9: 534b)

Second, Zongmi uses the same words, slightly abbreviated, when he characterizes the teaching of the Hongzhou 洪州 school (i.e., the school of Mazu, derived from the name of the province in which he taught) in the *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (Chart of the master-disciple succession of the Chan school that transmits the mind ground in China; X 63: 33a). This work combines a letter to Zongmi from his disciple Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), in which the official enquires about the four schools of Chan (the Beizong 北宗, Niutou 牛頭, Heze 荷澤, and Hongzhou 洪州), with Zongmi's long and detailed reply. It would seem that, since Zongmi does not attribute the term "functioning of the total body of the buddha-nature" to any of the other schools, he considered it to be a teaching unique to Mazu's line—the line to which, of course, Linji belonged.

**When host and guest meet…**. The passage that follows this phrase, constituting one of Linji's famous "grouped statements," is traditionally known as the "[four] interviews between guest 主 and host 客." It is quoted, with a few minor variations, in BL case 38 (T 48: 177a) and in the RY (T 48: 303a–b). In both of these texts the present sequence is reversed to read "guest and host," and the last sentence of the previous paragraph, "The student of Chan must observe this with great care," is used as the introductory statement. For the master's earlier remarks on "hosts and guests," see above, pages 133 and 232, with accompanying notes.

**They may ride upon a lion or mount a lordly elephant**. Linji is symbolically referring to the qualities represented by Mañjuśrī (the Bodhisattva of Intrinsic Wisdom 智), who in Buddhist iconography is most often depicted riding a lion, and Samantabhadra (the Bodhisattva of Universal Law 理), who is most often depicted riding a white elephant.

**A sticky lacquer tray** translates 膠盆子, a tray in which lacquer for use in painting was prepared. This is a metaphor for something that, if touched for even an instant, holds one fast and deprives one of freedom. Thus the term here means a kind of verbal bait or trap. In later Chan it became synonymous with the koan 公案 and the similar term "word head" 話頭.

There is a similar term used in Chan, 膠盆, which apparently indicates a container that is more like a pot than a tray, as in, "He stuck his head into a pot of glue" 頭入膠盆, in BL case 46 (T 48: 182c).

**A disease of the vitals that no doctoring can cure** translates 膏盲之病, which literally means a disease occurring between the lower part of the heart 膏 and the

或是善知識不拈出物、隨學人問處即奪。學人被奪、抵死不放。此是主看客。或有學人、應一箇清淨境、出善知識前。善知識辨得是境、把得抛向坑裏。學人言、大好善知識。即云、咄哉、不識好惡。學人便禮拜。此喚作主看主。或有學人、披枷帶鎖、出善知識前。善知識更與安一重枷鎖。學人歡喜、彼此不辨。呼爲客看客。大德、山僧如是所擧、皆是辨魔揀異、知其邪正。道流、寔情大難、佛法幽玄、解得可可地。

"Sometimes a teacher will offer nothing, but, the moment a student asks a question, grabs it away. The student, his question having been taken from him, resists to the death and will not let go. This is called 'the host examines the guest.'

"Sometimes a student comes forth before a teacher in conformity with a state of purity. The teacher, discerning that this is an objective circumstance, seizes it and flings it into a pit. 'What an excellent teacher!' exclaims the student, and the teacher replies, 'Bah! You can't tell good from bad!' Thereupon the student makes a deep bow: this is called 'the host examines the host.'

"Or again, a student will appear before a teacher wearing a cangue and bound with chains. The teacher fastens on still more chains and cangues for him. The student is so delighted that he can't tell what is what; this is called 'the guest examines the guest.'

"Virtuous monks, all the examples I have brought before you serve to distinguish demons and point out heretics, thus making it possible for you to know what is erroneous and what is correct.

"Followers of the Way, true sincerity is extremely difficult to attain, and the buddhadharma is deep and mysterious, yet a goodly measure of understanding can be acquired.

upper part of the diaphragm 盲. Diseases occurring in this area were regarded as incurable in traditional Chinese medicine.

**Wearing a cangue and bound with chains** indicates adherence to mistaken views. The *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏 (Commentary on the meaning of "The universal gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara") comments as follows:

> Delusion concerning the temporal and the real is called "manacles" 杻; delusion concerning samādhi and prajñā is called "fetters" 械; delusion concerning the middle way is called "cangues" 枷; delusion concerning the dharmakāya is called "chains" 鎖. Such things bind the student, who cannot release himself. (T 34: 928a)

**A goodly measure of understanding** translates the rather obscure expression 解得可可地. The traditional Japanese reading, followed by Dōchū, interprets 解得 as a verb in the conditional mood, i.e., *getoku sureba*, "Should you get understanding, then…," so that the sentence would mean, "Should you get understanding, then there's nothing to it." This is problematic, since 可可, meaning "a little," "some

山僧竟日與他說破、學者總不在意。千遍萬遍、腳底踏過、黑沒焮地、無一箇形段、歷歷孤明。學人信不及、便向名句上生解。年登半百、祇管傍家負死屍行、檐卻檐子天下走。索草鞋錢有日在。大德、山僧說向外無法、學人不會、便即向裏作解、便即倚壁坐、舌拄上齶、湛然不動、取此爲是祖門佛法也。大錯。是爾若取不動清淨境爲是、爾即認他無明爲郎主。古人云、湛湛黑暗深坑、寔可怖畏。此之是也。爾若認他動者是、一切草木皆解動、應可是道也。

I explain it exhaustively all day long, but you students give not the slightest heed. Though a thousand times, nay ten thousand times, you tread it underfoot, you are still in utter darkness. It is without a vestige of form, yet is clear in its solitary shining.

"Because your faith [in yourselves] is insufficient, you students turn to words and phrases and base your understanding upon them. Until you've reached the half-century mark you continue dragging [your] dead bodies up blind alleys and running about the world bearing your heavy load. The day will come when you'll have to pay up for the straw sandals you've worn out.

"Virtuous monks, when I state that there are no dharmas outside, the student does not comprehend and immediately tries to find understanding within. He sits down cross-legged with his back against a wall, his tongue glued to the roof of his mouth, completely still and motionless. This he takes to be the buddhadharma of the patriarchal school. That's all wrong.

"If you take the state of motionlessness and purity to be correct, then you are recognizing the darkness [of avidyā] as master. This is what a man of old meant when he said, 'Fearful indeed is the bottomless black pit!' If on the other hand you recognize motion to be correct, since all plants and trees can move, must they then be the Way?

amount," etc., is a colloquial adverb modifying 解得. The term 可可 was used by many other Chan masters (e.g., Nanquan Puyuan [JC 28; T 51: 445c]), and is seen in works like the *Wang Fanzhi shiji* 王梵志詩集 (Poems of Wang Fanzhi):

> If you try to squeeze even a little gain from others / You will cause them considerable 可可 pain. (Pelliot Coll., no. 2718)

Another example of this usage is found in the *Hanshan shi* 寒山詩 (Poems of Hanshan):

> In former times I was fairly 可可 poor / This morning I hit the extreme of poverty and cold.

**He sits down cross-legged… completely still and motionless.** Linji's description of meditation repeats traditional instructions, as in the Tiantai *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials of seated meditation for practicing calming and contemplation):

> Next one should shut one's mouth, bringing the lips and teeth together so that they

> barely touch, and raise one's tongue to the roof of the mouth. Then the eyes should be shut, but only just enough to cut off the light from outside. Then, sitting perfectly upright in the proper position, one should be like an anchor-stone, making not the slightest movement, whether of trunk, head, or four limbs. (T 46: 465c)

**If you take the state of motionlessness… as master**. Here "the state of motionlessness and purity" is equated by Linji with avidyā. Commentaries on this argument generally rely on the doctrine of the tathāgatagarbha 如來藏 (tathāgata-womb), as expounded in the DQ, *Nirvana Sutra*, *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (Lion's roar of Queen Śrīmālā sutra), *Foxing lun* 佛性論 (Thesis on buddha-nature), and *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 (Commentary on the *Summary of the Mahayana*). The doctrine holds that the source of all things is bhūtatathatā 眞如 (suchness). Bhūtatathatā possesses two aspects: immovability or immutability in essence, and changeability or movability in conditions. From the viewpoint of the former aspect, bhūtatathatā is identified with the tathāgatagarbha, which is also called the womb of the innately pure 自性清淨藏. This is enveloped in kleśa or avidyā of a fundamental nature, known as 根本無明, and in this respect "the state of motionlessness and purity" can be connected with avidyā.

However, it is plain that Linji is using this term as a rhetorical device, intending it in the sense of "ordinary darkness" rather than "fundamental darkness." This conclusion is supported by his coupling of 無明 with the word 郎主, "master" (see the comment on 無明郎主 later in this note), a combination appearing in the *Nirvana Sutra*, where the 無明 of 無明郎主 clearly signifies ordinary darkness:

> Do not weep and wail like a newborn babe. Restrain yourselves and do not recklessly disturb your minds. All of you here are suffering the consequences of your activity in the great sea of samsara. Zealously practice purifying your minds and do not neglect the wisdom of recollection. Quickly seek correct knowledge and hasten to go beyond all existing things. The three realms take your body and turn it endlessly on the wheel of suffering. Ignorance the Master 無明郎主 and Affection the Demon-King use your bodies and minds as their servants and, lashing them with whips, make them their slaves. Everywhere associating yourselves with your surroundings, you create the karma of samsara. (T 12: 900b)

Another, nearly equivalent, passage appears soon after (T 12: 901b). 無明郎主 is also used in this sense by Shenhui 神會 in his preface to the *Dasheng dunjiao song* 大乘頓教頌 (Poem on the sudden enlightenment of the Mahayana):

> There is Ignorance the Master and Affection the Demon-King. They avail themselves of the empty void in order to bring about causation and gather together the passions in order to bring about karma. (SUZUKI 1934, 64)

In the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror to aid government), Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1287), commenting on the chronicle of Emperor Wu 武帝 of Jin 晉, says of the usage of 郎主: "At present ordinary people often speak of the 'master' as 郎主; furthermore, they speak of the master's son as 郎君." The *Zheng suwen* 證俗文 4 (Explaining vernacular writings) by Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1755–1825) gives another interpretation: "Usually a slave in speaking of his master uses 郎, sometimes he uses 郎主." The biography of Liu Jishu 劉季述 in the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer chronicles of the Tang) records his famous words, "It often happens that a slave of a hundred years serves a master 郎主 of three years."

**A man of old**: unknown.

**Fearful indeed is the bottomless black pit**. A similar statement is found in the BG, introduced by 教云, "a sutra says":

所以動者是風大、不動者是地大。動與不動、俱無自性。爾若向動處捉他、他向不動處立。爾若向不動處捉他、他向動處立。譬如潛泉魚、鼓波而自躍。大德、動與不動、是二種境。還是無依道人、用動用不動。

"Thus 'motion is the wind element; motionlessness is the earth element.' Motion and motionlessness both are without self-nature. If you try to seize it within motion, it takes a position within motionlessness. If you try to seize it within motionlessness, it takes a position within motion.

Like a fish hidden in a pool,
Smacking the waves as it leaps [from the water].

Virtuous monks, motion and motionlessness are merely two kinds of states; it is the nondependent Man of the Way who utilizes motion and utilizes motionlessness.

> Therefore the śrāvaka, on hearing the buddhadharma, cannot arouse the supreme mind of the Way. Hence it is said that one who cuts off good roots is without buddha-nature. A sutra says, "This is called 'the deep pit of emancipation, a place to be feared.'" At a single thought he falls into hell with the speed of an arrow shot from a bow. (GY 1; X 68: 6b–c)

The sutra is probably the *Dafangdeng daji jing*, which has the following passage:

> Supposing that there is a person that has fallen into a deep pit—he is able to benefit neither himself nor others. Śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas are also like this. They have fallen into the pit of emancipation and are able to benefit neither themselves nor others. (T 13: 88a)

**Thus 'motion is the wind element; motionlessness is the earth element'** translates the sentence 所以動者是風大、不動者是地大. Linji's statement appears to be a quotation, judging from his use of 所以, though so far no source has been identified. The phrase 動是風大 is, however, found in the *Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏 (Commentary on the *Nirvana Sutra*), the *Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 (Essay on the meaning of the Mahayana; in this text the earth element is identified with "hardness" 堅), and the *Chanmen zhang* 禪門章 (Essay on the meditation gate) by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school. In the *Chanmen zhang* the phrase appears in a passage describing the "eight sensations" 八觸 that hinder the beginning meditation student: restlessness 動, itching 痒, buoyancy 輕, heaviness 重, cold 冷, heat 暖, roughness 澁, smoothness 滑. Zhiyi comments:

> Buoyancy and restlessness are the wind element; itchiness and heat are the fire element; cold and smoothness are the water element; heaviness and roughness are the earth element." (X 55: 658c)

**Like a fish hidden… as it leaps [from the water]**. The quote is a modified version of the last two lines of a verse in the *Dasheng chengye lun* 大乘成業論, Xuanzang's translation of Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa*.

> Through the [activities of] body and speech displayed without / Are made manifest the thoughts of the mind within.
> Just as a fish hidden in a deep pool / By stirring up ripples reveals itself.
> (T 31: 781b)

如諸方學人來、山僧此間、作三種根器斷。如中下根器來、我便奪其境、而不除其法。或中上根器來、我便境法俱奪。如上上根器來、我便境法人俱不奪。如有出格見解人來、山僧此間、便全體作用、不歷根器。大德、到這裏、學人著力處不通風、石火電光即過了也。學人若眼定動、即沒交涉。

"As for the students who come from every quarter, I myself divide them into three categories according to their inherent capacities. If one of less than average capacity comes, I snatch away his state but do not take away his dharma. If one of better than average capacity comes, I snatch away both his state and dharma. If one of superior capacity comes, I snatch away neither his state, his dharma, nor himself. But should a man of extraordinary understanding come, I would act with my whole body and not place him in any category. Virtuous monks, when a student has reached this point, his manifest power is impenetrable to any wind and swifter than a spark from flint or a flash of lightning.

"The moment a student blinks his eyes he's already way off.

The original verse is concerned with the fact that the activities of the mind, which are subjective, reveal themselves in objective acts and words, but Linji seems to be using the fish simile simply to express complete freedom. For the master's quotation of the first two lines of the verse, see page 260, below, and the accompanying comment. For a French translation of the *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa*, see LAMOTTE 1936; the verse under discussion is found on page 209.

**This point** translates 這裏, a term that in ordinary usage means "here" or "this place" and as such is the same as expressions like 此間, 此中, and 箇中. In Chan usage, however, the term is often used with the connotation of "the ultimate state."

**Blink an eye** translates 眼定動; the compound 定動 literally means "to fix and move," but the concept is difficult to render accurately into English. Dōchū suggests that only the second of the two verbs, "move," has any force; his suggestion has been followed in the present translation.

Since there are no known usages that predate the present one in the LL, it is possible that the term originated with Linji. However, in the present case as well there is in a sermon by Linji's contemporary Deshan Xuanjian a passage in which appear not only this compound but the entire sentence in which it appears (except that 眼目定動 takes the place of 眼定動):

> Many of you have knowledge and understanding. But do you know his countenance? [Though everyone], from the renouncer of home to the bodhisattva who has attained the completed mind of the tenth stage, looks for his traces they cannot find them. Therefore all the gods rejoice, the deity of the soil lifts his feet reverently in his hands, all the buddhas of the ten directions praise him, and the king of the demons weeps copious tears. Why? Because of this emptiness he is brisk and lively, without any roots and without any dwelling place. If, right here, your eyes move 若到這裏眼目定動, you will have already lost contact with him. (ZH 20; X 79: 173c)

擬心即差、動念即乖。有人解者、不離目前。大德、爾擔鉢囊屎檐子、傍家走求佛求法。即今與麼馳求底、爾還識渠麼。活撥撥地、祇是勿根株。擁不聚、撥不散。求著即轉遠、不求還在目前、靈音屬耳。若人不信、徒勞百年。

The moment he applies his mind, he's already differed. The moment he arouses a thought, he's already deviated. But for the man who understands, it's always right here before his eyes.

"Virtuous monks, you carry your bowl-bag and lug your dung-sack, rushing up blind alleys in search of buddha and in search of dharma. Do you know who it is who right now is running around searching this way? He is brisk and lively, with no roots at all. Though you [try to] embrace him, you cannot gather him in; though you [try to] drive him away, you cannot shake him off. If you seek him he retreats farther and farther away; if you don't seek him, then he's right there before your eyes, his wondrous voice resounding in your ears. If you have no faith [in this], you'll waste your entire life.

Two later examples of the phrase 定動眼目 are found, one by Yunmen Wenyan in YK 2 and the other in the commentary by Yuanwu Keqin to the koan in the first case of the BL. To interpret the term as Dōchū does seems consistent with the context in both of these examples.

The quote from Yunmen reads as follows:

> [Yunmen] announced, "Panshan said, 'What is it when illumination and the state [of illumination] are both forgotten?' I say that within the eastern sea I hide my body and upon Mount Sumeru I ride a horse." Then he hit the seat a blow with his staff. Whereupon the eyes of the whole assembly moved. He then picked up his staff and drove them out, saying, "I thought you were intelligent fellows, you lacquer buckets!" (T 47: 554.c–555a)

The passage from Yuanwu Keqin's commentary in the BL is as follows:

> At this Emperor Wu's eyes moved; he was utterly in the dark. He did not understand what [Bodhidharma] had said. When you reach this point, whether you are concerned with something or with nothing, pick and you fail. (T 48: 140b)

**The moment he applies his mind, he's already differed** 擬心即差 and **the moment he arouses a thought, he's already deviated** 動念即乖 are presented here as Linji's own words, but in fact the first is quite similar to a statement that appears in the *Zhao lun* 肇論 by the early Chinese Buddhist monk Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), who states:

> The principle 理 is darkly concealed; apply the mind and already you are off the mark 擬心已差, and all the more so if you speak of it. (T 45: 157a)

Furthermore, the first statement is identical and the second almost identical with statements found in works by Linji's great contemporary, Guifeng Zongmi. Zongmi, in his *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the "Anthology of essential writings on the origins of Chan), attributes the first statement to Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762), the great exponent of the Southern school of Chan:

> Therefore the sutra says, "Grasp your own mind with your own mind; it has nothing to do with illusory creations or illusory dharmas." The śāstra says, "Mind does not see mind." Heze Dashi said, "To apply the mind is already to have differed" 擬心即差. (T 48: 405a)

It should be noted, however, that this statement is not found in any of the Shenhui records from Dunhuang.

The second statement appears with a slight variation in the *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen* 註華嚴法界觀門, Zongmi's commentary on a work by Du Shun 杜順 (557–640), the first patriarch of the Huayan school. Zongmi's statement reads:

> The instant you arouse mind and produce thought you have already deviated from the substance of dharma. (T 45: 687a)

Moreover, both statements appear together, in reverse order, the second with the above-noted variation, in the following passage from Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Large commentary on the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*). Note that here too the first statement is attributed to Shenhui.

> Furthermore, producing mind and arousing thought is already to have deviated from the dharma-substance. The Seventh Patriarch [Shenhui] said, "To apply the mind is already to have differed [from it] 擬心即差." (X 9: 233c)

We also find Huangbo Xiyun, Linji's teacher, using each of these statements separately, but without attribution, in a sermon on "mind":

> This mind is bright and pure like the empty void, and without a single speck of form. To cause mind to rise and to stir up thought is already to have deviated from the dharma-substance 動念即乖法體 and attached yourself to form. (T 48: 380a)
>
> You cannot seek mind with mind; you cannot seek buddha with buddha; you cannot seek dharma with dharma. Therefore the student of the Way is directly without mind and tallies with It in silence; that is all. To apply the mind is already to have differed 擬心即差. Mind is transmitted by mind. That is the correct view. (T 48: 381b)

Whether Linji was acquainted with these statements through Zongmi's works or only through the words of his teacher Huangbo is impossible to determine. It seems likely, however, that the lines became well known in Chan circles after Zongmi's works were circulated, since Luohan Guichen 羅漢桂琛 (867–928) also uses them, in the same wording as Linji and also without attribution, in a sermon on the buddha-mind recorded in the JC:

> Therefore I say, to apply the mind is already to have differed from [the buddhadharma]; to stir up thoughts you have already deviated from it. (T 51: 448a)

**Bowl-bag** 鉢囊 and **dung-sack** 屎檐子. The term "bowl-bag" refers to the small sack in which monks and nuns carry their begging bowls and other everyday necessities when they are traveling about on pilgrimage. In this case "bowl-bag" may be regarded as a metaphor for the monks' and nuns' possessions, or, together with the following "dung-sack," as an analogy for the human body. The expression 鉢囊 is frequently encountered in the Buddhist literature, while 屎檐子 appears to be unique to the *Linji lu*.

**He is brisk and lively** 活撥撥地. For an earlier passage using the same expression, see page 198 above, text and accompanying note, where 活撥撥地 is translated as "bright and vigorous."

**Though you [try to] embrace him….** Linji is here giving a prose paraphrase of several lines in the poem *Huozhuyin* 獲珠吟 (Song on obtaining the pearl), by Venerable Guannan 關南長老 (n.d.), in the JC:

> The three realms are like illusions
> The six paths are like dreams.

道流、一刹那間、便入華藏世界、入毘盧遮那國土、入解脫國土、入神通國土、入清淨國土、入法界、入穢入淨、入凡入聖、入餓鬼畜生、處處討覓尋、皆不見有生有死、唯有空名。幻化空花、不勞把捉、得失是非、一時放卻。道流、山僧佛法、的的相承、從麻谷和尚、丹霞和尚、道一和尚、盧山拽石頭和尚、一路行遍天下。無人信得、盡皆起謗。

"Followers of the Way, in an instant you enter the Lotus World, the Land of Vairocana, the Land of Emancipation, the Land of Supernatural Powers, the Land of Purity, and the dharma realm; you enter the dirty and the pure, the secular and the sacred, the realm of hungry ghosts and the realm of beasts. Yet however far and wide you may search, nowhere will you see any birth or death; there will only be empty names.

Illusory transformations, flowers in the sky—
Don't trouble to grasp at them.
Gain and loss, right and wrong—
Away with them once and for all!

"Followers of the Way, my buddhadharma is that of the correct transmission, a transmission that has continued in a single line through the masters Mayu, Danxia, Daoyi, Lushan, and Shigong, and has spread abroad over all the world. Yet no one has faith in it and everyone heaps slander on it.

The presence of sages in the world [is brief] as a flash of lightning
Nations are no more than bubbles on the water.
Impermanency, birth, and dissolution—
Day by day everything changes, everything passes away.
Only Great Intrinsic Wisdom, Mahāprajñā, is firm and immutable
Like the diamond, it cannot be drilled.
Soft as cotton wool, it is exactly like emptiness
Tiny as a grain of dust, it cannot be seen.
By embracing it I try to gather it to me, but I cannot.
By driving it away, I try to shake it off, but I cannot.
By inclining my ear to it, I try to hear it, but I cannot.
By gazing fixedly at it, I try to observe, but I cannot. (T 51: 463c)

**You enter the Lotus World, the Land of Vairocana…**. The list of lands Linji presents in this passage is very similar to the one that he gives in Discourse 14, and is undoubtedly based on the same passage in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra,* "Chapter on entering the dharma realm," that the Discourse 14 list is. See pages 195–196, above.

**However far and wide you may search** translates 討覓尋, a compound that combines three different characters that all share the same meaning of "search," to give added emphasis to the entire term.

**Illusory transformations… once and for all**. Linji is again quoting from the *Xinxin ming*; the first two lines of the present passage were cited by him earlier in this same discourse (see page 230 and the accompanying note). The text here varies from the earlier one and from the text as

it appears both in the *Xinxin ming* itself (T 48: 376c) and in the JC (T 51: 457b), substituting the compound 幻化 "illusory transformations" for 夢玄 "illusory dreams," and the character 不 "don't" for 何 "why."

**A single line through the masters… Shigong**. All of the masters mentioned are disciples of Mazu, with the sole exception of Danxia. Danxia may have been included because he appears to have been the first to use the term 一路行, "a single line." Danxia uses it in the second stanza of his long poem *Gujiyin* 孤寂吟 (Song of solitude), ZJ 4.

The stanza reads:

"Don't waste time, make the utmost effort!" / I speak these words, but men don't understand.
Those who do, join with me in traveling the one road 一路行 / How can we stumble and fall among the thorn trees and brambles!

**Mayu** 麻谷. See Introduction, note 30.

**Danxia** 丹霞, i.e., Tianran 天然 of Danxia (738–823), is mentioned in ZJ 4; JC 14; and SG 11. Although there is some variation in these works, all agree that his family name and place of origin are unknown, that he studied the Confucian teachings, and that he was an heir of Shitou Xiqian. According to the ZJ, he set out for the capital Chang'an to take the examinations, accompanied by his friend Pang 龐 (later the famous Layman Pang). While on their way they heard the name of Mazu Daoyi, whereupon they changed their plans and went to Jiangxi to meet the great master himself. Mazu immediately accepted Pang as his student, but, after scrutinizing his companion, said, "Shitou, who lives on the Nanyue, is your teacher." The young man went to see Shitou and was permitted to remain in that master's group.

Several years passed during which the young layman's activities were limited largely to manual labor. One night at the evening gathering the master said, "Tomorrow let's cut the weeds in front of the Buddha Hall." The following morning, while all the monks and temple boys were busy with their sickles, the young layman, who had remained behind, poured water into a basin, washed his hair, then knelt down before the master. Pleased, Shitou shaved his head. When he was completely shaved, suddenly the crown of his head rose up of itself. "*Tianran* 天然 (spontaneously)!" exclaimed the astonished master. Smiling, the new disciple said, "I am grateful to you for my monk's name." "What name do you say I gave you?" asked Shitou in surprise. "Didn't you say *tianran* just now?" was the reply. Such is said to have been the origin of Tianran's religious name.

Shitou then began to instruct him in simple Buddhist principles. "Enough! Enough!" Tianran cried, clapping his hands over his ears. "Then," said the master, "as a test let me see your activity." Tianran immediately ran into the Monk's Hall, jumped up on the image of Mañjuśrī enshrined there, and straddled it. "This young disciple will end by smashing shrines and images," said the master, words foreshadowing Tianran's later burning of a wooden buddha at Huilin si (see page 235, above).

After receiving dharma transmission, Tianran wandered for a number of years, visiting various masters (including Mazu) and renewing his friendship with Pang, who had never renounced his Confucian robe (four interesting conversations between Tianran and Pang are recorded in the *Record of Layman Pang* 1). Later he built a hut on Mount Danxia 丹霞 in Dengzhou 登州, Henan. Gradually students gathered around him and a temple was built. One day, in his eighty-fifth year, after bathing, he announced that he was going out. He put on his straw traveling hat and his sandals, took up his staff, then

passed away before his foot had touched the ground.

Danxia, as he is usually known, was an excellent poet. Five of his poems are found in ZJ 4; variants of two of these poems are in the JC (T 51: 463b–c). For more on his poems, see page 258, below.

**Lushan** 廬山, i.e., Chan Master Zhichang 智常禪師 (n.d.), was an important heir of the master Mazu. He derives his name from his residence on Lushan (Mount Lu 廬), where he was priest of the temple Guizong si 歸宗寺. His biography is found in ZJ 15; the JC (T 51: 255c–256b); the SG (T 50: 817b–c); and other works. Nothing is known of his early life. The biographies mention his friendship with Nanquan Puyuan (apparently dating from the days when they were fellow students under Mazu) and record several of their conversations. Of Zhichang's understanding, Huangbo is recorded to have said, "Under Mazu Dashi there were eighty-eight men who sat in the training hall. Those who [obtained] the Dashi's true dharma-eye were few; one of these was Lushan" (ZJ 16).

During the Yuanhe 元和 era (806–819) Zhichang went to Lushan and restored Guizong si, a temple that had originally been the home of the famous warrior and calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321–379), and was later turned into a temple for the Kashmirian monk Buddhayaśas (Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍, n.d.), who arrived at Lushan in 412. In the following centuries Guizong si was blessed with a succession of eminent Chan masters, and remained into recent times the most important of the great temples on Lushan (see *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 1:524a).

Zhichang is said to have been of striking appearance, with eyes that had double pupils, a mark attributed in Chinese lore to the ancient sage rulers. Because of this he seems to have attracted considerable attention, in order to avoid which he constantly rubbed his eyes with a medicine that caused them to become red. For this reason he was often referred to as Chiyan Guizong 赤眼歸宗 (Red-eyed Guizong).

It was to Zhichang's dharma-heir Gao'an Dayu 高安大愚 (n.d.) that Huangbo sent Linji, and under whom the latter attained his first satori (Introduction, page 67). Among the master's friends was the governor of Jiangxi, Li Bo 李渤 (?–831); a number of their conversations remain. Both ZJ 15 and JC 29 contain Zhichang's poems. His imperially bestowed posthumous title was Chan Master Zhizhen 至眞禪師.

**Shigong** 石鞏 (n.d.), another disciple of Mazu, lived in Fuzhou 撫州, present Jiangxi. His religious name was Huizang 慧藏. His biography is found in ZJ 14 and the JC (T 51: 248b–c). Shigong, a hunter who hated the sight of monks, came across Mazu's hermitage one day and asked the master if he had seen a deer Shigong was chasing. "Who are you?" asked Mazu. "A hunter," he replied. Mazu asked, "Do you know how to shoot?" "Yes," Shigong answered. "How many deer do you shoot with a single arrow?" The hunter replied, "One." "Then you don't know how to shoot," said Mazu. "And do you know how to shoot, Reverend?" asked the hunter. "Yes," replied Mazu. "So how many deer do you shoot with an arrow?" asked the hunter. "I shoot the entire herd with a single arrow," was the reply. The hunter said, "They all have lives; why need you shoot the whole herd at once?" "If you are aware of the principle," responded Mazu, "why don't you shoot yourself?" The hunter answered, "If you made me shoot myself, I could not do so." Mazu said, "Suddenly, today, this fellow has stopped the ignorance and delusions that have been his for eons." Mazu's words hit him with such force that on the spot he broke his bow and arrows and threw them away. Then, cutting off his long hair with his own sword, he gave himself over to the master's guidance and became a monk.

如道一和尚用處、純一無雜、學人三百五百、盡皆不見他意。如盧山和尚、自在眞正、順逆用處、學人不測涯際、悉皆忙然。

"Venerable Daoyi's activity was pure and simple; not one of his three to five hundred students could discern what he meant. Venerable Lushan was free and true; whether conforming or opposing, his actions were unfathomable to his students—they were all dumbfounded.

Later, when Shigong had himself become a teacher, he is said to have always carried a bow and arrow with which to test students. One day a monk named Sanping Yizhong 三平義忠 (781–872) came for an interview. He had no more than come before the master when he bared his chest and shouted, "Is that an arrow to kill people or to give them life?" Shigong again broke his bow and arrow. As he gave Yizhong his recognition he said, "After thirty years of drawing a bow and searching for someone, at last I have found half a man."

This passage listing the names of Mayu, Danxia, Daoyi, Lushan, and Shigong does not match the corresponding passage in certain other versions of the LL. The TG version, for example, reads, "Lushan, who tread on a stone" 廬山蹈石 (X 78: 472b), and omits the name of Shigong 石鞏, which in our text immediately follows that of Lushan. Shigong is also omitted in the ZH version of the LL, which reads, "Lushan, the priest who turned the millstone" 廬山拽石頭和尚 (X 79: 87b). However, both texts, when describing the activities of the various masters a few lines later, follow the LL text exactly and mention both Lushan and Shigong.

It may be that the phrases in the TG and ZH are no more than copyist errors, and that the references to stones 石 are merely corruptions of the 鞏 in Shigong's name (石鞏). The situation is complicated, however, by Lushan's association in the Chan literature with millstones, an association reflected in the TG and the ZH versions. For example, the *Fayan Chanshi yulu* 法演禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Fayan) says, "Guizong [Lushan] turned the [mill]stone" (T 47: 662a). The relation of Lushan to millstones is elucidated in BL 44:

> Guizong one day was working [with the assembly] dragging a [mill]stone. "Where are we going?" he asked the duty-monk. "We're going to turn the [mill]stone," replied the duty-monk. "It's fine to turn the stone, but don't turn the axle-pole," said the master. (T 48: 181b)

Although the type of stone being dragged is not clearly designated in the BL, the fact that the term "axle-pole" 中心樹子 is used indicates that it is a millstone. Furthermore, the same exchange appears in the section on Nanquan Puyuan in the ZH (X 79: 39a-b), but the character 磨 is substituted for 石, clearly indicating that what is being dragged is a millstone.

**Pure and simple**. To characterize Daoyi's activity Linji has used one of the master's own expressions from the *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄 (Recorded sayings of Mazu):

> All dharmas are mind-dharmas; all names are mind-names. The myriad dharmas all arise from mind; mind is the root of the myriad dharmas. The sutra says, "Through understanding mind one penetrates to the fundamental source. Therefore one is called a śramaṇa." Names are equal, meanings are equal, all dharmas without exception are equal, pure, and simple. (X 69: 3a)

如丹霞和尚、翫珠隱顯、學人來者、皆悉被罵。如麻谷用處、苦如黃檗、近皆不得。如石鞏用處、向箭頭上覓人、來者皆懼。如山僧今日用處、眞正成壞、翫弄神變、入一切境、隨處無事、境不能換。

Venerable Danxia played with the pearl, concealing and revealing it; every single student who came was reviled by him. As for Venerable Mayu, his activity was as bitter as the *huangbo* tree; no one could approach him. Venerable Shigong's activity was to search for a man with the point of his arrow; all who came before him were struck with fear.

"With respect to my own activity today—true creation and destruction—I play with miraculous transformations, enter into all kinds of circumstances, yet nowhere have I anything to do. Circumstances cannot change me.

**Ven. Lushan was free and true**. Lushan spoke of his freedom in the opening lines of an untitled verse recorded in the JC:

> I am cut off from phenomenon and noumenon / The sun is exactly at noon.
> I am free, free as a lion / Putting no reliance on things. (T 51: 451c)

**Ven. Danxia played with the pearl**. An allusion to the first of two of Danxia's poems, both entitled *Wanzhuyin* 翫珠吟 (Playing with the pearl) and recorded in the JC:

> O the wonderful pearl of prajñā! / Its mystery is difficult to fathom;
> In the sea of dharma-nature / I myself have recognized it.
> Now disappearing, now appearing / It plays among the five skandhas;
> Gleaming brightly within and without / It possesses great spiritual power.
> This pearl is not large / Neither is it small;
> Brightly it shines by night and by day / Illuminating all things everywhere.
> Seeking it you find nothing / Not even a trace;
> Yet standing or sitting it accompanies you / Ever clear and distinct. (T 51: 463b)

The same poem, with some variations and additions, is found under the title *Nongzhuyin* 弄珠吟 (Playing with the pearl) in ZJ 4. See also page 255, above.

**His activity was as bitter as the *huangbo* tree**. The JC records the following example of Mayu's "activity":

> A monk asked, "I have no doubts regarding the twelve divisions of the teachings, but what was the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?" The master [Mayu] stood up and, leaning on his staff, turned his body around once, then raised one foot. "Do you understand?" he asked. When the monk did not reply, the master struck him. [Another] monk asked, "What was the central meaning of the buddhadharma?" The master was silent. (T 51: 253c.27–254a.1)

The bark of the *huangbo* 黃蘗 tree (*Phellodendron amurense*; Chinese cork tree) is used to make dye and a bitter medicine.

**No one could approach him**. The word order in this line, 近皆不得, is irregular. The quite ordinary colloquial construction, verb + 不得, "cannot…; it is impossible to…," is here interrupted by the interpolation of the noun or adverb 皆. Undoubtedly the sentence should be corrected to read 皆近不得. The Ming edition of the Linji text, apparently in an attempt to make better sense of the passage, reads 皆傍不得, "none could approach him" (T 47: 501b, note). For other instances of

但有來求者、我即便出看渠。渠不識我、我便著數般衣、學人生解、一向入我言句。苦哉、瞎禿子無眼人、把我著底衣、認青黃赤白。我脫卻入清淨境中、學人一見、便生忻欲。我又脫卻、學人失心、忙然狂走、言我無衣。我即向渠道、爾識我著衣底人否。忽爾回頭、認我了也。大德、爾莫認衣。衣不能動、人能著衣。有箇清淨衣、有箇無生衣、菩提衣、涅槃衣、有祖衣、有佛衣。大德、但有聲名文句、皆悉是衣變。從臍輪氣海中鼓激、牙齒敲磕、成其句義。明知是幻化。

"Whenever someone comes here seeking I immediately go out and look at him. He doesn't recognize me. Thereupon I don various kinds of robes. The student, assigning some meaning to this, straightway falls into words and phrases. What a pity that the blind shavepate, a man without the eye [to see], grasps at the robe I'm wearing and declares it to be blue or yellow, red or white! When I remove the robe and enter the state of purity, the student takes one look and is immediately filled with delight and longing. Then, when I cast off everything, the student is stunned and, running about in wild confusion, cries, 'You have no robe!' If I say, 'Do you know me, the man who wears these robes?' he'll abruptly turn his head around and recognize me through and through.

"Virtuous monks, don't acknowledge robes. Robes cannot move of themselves, but people can put them on. There is the robe of purity, the robe of birthlessness, the robe of bodhi, the robe of nirvana, the patriarch-robe, and the buddha-robe. Virtuous monks, these spoken words and written phrases are all nothing but changes of robes.

"Churning up the sea of breath in your belly and clacking your teeth together, you devise wordy interpretations. So it's clear that these are only illusory transformations.

a similar irregularity, see the incidents on page 128, above, and pages 306–307, below.

**Ven. Shigong's activity… point of his arrow**. For a description of Shigong's activity with "the point of his arrow," see page 257, above.

**Straightway falls into words and phrases**. The original phrase, 一向入我言句, literally means "falls into my words and phrases." The "my" 我 is superfluous, however. In this context the "words and phrases" the student falls into are those of the student, and not Linji.

**Churning up… clacking your teeth together**. Linji may be ridiculing the elaborate descriptions given in various scriptural writings of the way in which speech is produced. For example, the DL states:

> During speech, the breath in the mouth is called "udāna." This enters, goes as far as the navel, contacts the navel, then issues forth as sound. The sound issuing forth

大德、外發聲語業、內表心所法。以思有念、皆悉是衣。爾祇麼認他著底衣爲寔解。縱經塵劫、祇是衣通。三界循還、輪回生死。不如無事。相逢不相識、共語不知名。今時學人不得、蓋爲認名字爲解。大策子上、抄死老漢語、三重五重複子裹、不教人見、道是玄旨、以爲保重。大錯。瞎屡生、爾向枯骨上、覓什麼汁。

Virtuous monks:

Acts of speech are displayed without,
Mental activities are manifested within.

Because of mental activities thoughts arise, but these are all just robes.

"If all you do is acknowledge as real the robes that are merely put on, even after the passage of kalpas numerous as dust you'll still have nothing but an understanding of robes, and will continue going round and round in the three realms, transmigrating through birth-and-death. Much better to do nothing.

I meet [him] yet do not recognize [him],
I speak with [him] yet do not know his name.

"Students of today get nowhere because they base their understanding upon the acknowledgment of names. They inscribe the words of some dead old guy in a great big notebook, wrap it up in four or five squares of cloth, and won't let anyone look at it. 'This is the Mysterious Principle,' they aver, and safeguard it with care. That's all wrong. Blind idiots! What kind of juice are you looking for in such dried-up bones!

contacts the seven places and returns. This is speech. As the verse says:

The breath is called udāna
When it contacts the navel it ascends.
When the breath contacts the seven places
The neck, gums, teeth, and lips,
The tongue, throat, and the chest
Within them speech is produced.
(T 25: 103a)

See also a similar passage in the *Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*) (T 39: 608a).

**Acts of speech… manifested within**. These two lines are apparently Linji's rephrasing of the first couplet of the verse in the *Dasheng chengye lun* 大乘成業論, from which he had earlier quoted the second couplet, also with slight variations (see page 250, above).

**I meet [him]… know his name**. The same verse is found in a sermon by Nanquan Puyuan, recorded in the *Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan Chanshi yuyao* 池州南泉普願禪師語要 (Essential words of Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan of Chizhou), where it is preceded by the words, "The Great Way is a dark road; it cannot be fathomed by means of the intellect. Therefore it is said…" (X 68: 73a). The original source of the verse is unknown, however. After

有一般不識好惡、向教中取意度商量、成於句義。如把屎塊子、向口裏含了、吐過與別人。猶如俗人打傳口令相似、一生虛過。也道我出家、被他問著佛法、便即杜口無詞、眼似漆突、口如椑檐。

"Then there're a bunch of guys who, not knowing good from bad, guess around and speculate about the scriptures and make wordy interpretations of them. They're like men who, having held dung clods in their mouths, spit them out for the other people. They're like peasants engaged in playing a passing-the-word game. They spend their entire lifetime in vain, yet declare 'We are renouncers of home!' Questioned about buddhadharma, they just shut their mouths, bereft of words. Their eyes are as vacant as black chimney holes and their mouths sag like [loaded] carrying-poles.

Linji's time it was quoted occasionally. See, for example, the JC entry on Yunjushan Chang 雲居山昌 (n.d.) (T 51: 363b).

**Great big notebook** 大策子上. See also the advice offered in a sermon by Yaoshan Weiyan 藥山惟儼 (745–828): "Don't just memorize words in books 策子 and make them your own viewpoint" (JC; T 51: 440c). The character 策, also written 冊, often appears in this form in manuscripts from Dunhuang.

**A passing-the-word game**. This appears to have been a word game similar to "telephone," in which a difficult-to-pronounce phrase was repeated from one person to the next. Anyone making a mistake was "fined" by having to drink a cup of wine. Another example is found in the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (Record of Chan Master Dahui Pujue):

> They ask about one matter, and then before they have understood they ask about another, like villagers playing a pass-the-word. (T 47: 880c)

**They spend their entire lifetime in vain**. This phrase is taken from the seventh of the ten poems of the *Dasheng zan* 大乘讚 (In praise of the Mahayana; see page 189, above). The couplet in which the phrase appears reads,

> Uselessly toiling, they spend a lifetime in vain
> Through endless kalpas sinking in [the sea of] birth and old age. (T 51: 449c)

**Yet declare "We are renouncers of home!"** translates 也道我是出家, in which the particle 也 is a colloquial conjunction having the same meaning as 雖, "though." Another example of this usage is seen in a poem from the Five Dynasties: 也知寺裏講筵開, 卻走尋春翫花柳 "He knows that in the temple the sermon has begun, yet he hurries about, seeking the spring and enjoying the flowers and willows" (REN 1955, 140). In written Chinese, 亦 can serve the same function: 時大師…亦不贊賞, 心自詮勝 "And though he [the Fifth Patriarch] did not commend him [Huineng], yet in his heart he greatly appreciated him" (ZJ 2).

**As vacant as black chimney holes** translates 漆突, a term of uncertain meaning found nowhere else in the LL, nor in any other text. The traditional interpretation, followed in the translation, takes 漆 as "black" (or "black lacquer," a metaphor for tar) and 突 as "chimney."

如此之類、逢彌勒出世、移置他方世界、寄地獄受苦。大德、爾波波地往諸方、覓什麼物、踏爾腳板闊。無佛可求、無道可成、無法可得。外求有相佛、與汝不相似。欲識汝本心、非合亦非離。

Such men as these, even though they were to be present when Maitreya appears in this world, would be banished to another region and there, lodged in hell, suffer its torments.

"Virtuous monks, what are you seeking as you go around hither and yon, walking until the soles of your feet are flat? There is no buddha to seek, no Way to complete, no dharma to attain.

If you seek outside for a buddha having form,
You won't find him to resemble you;
If you would know your own original mind,
It's neither united with nor apart from [him].

**When Maitreya appears in this world.** This is a reference to the popular Buddhist belief that in the far distant future Maitreya, the next buddha, will appear in the world and save all living beings. Linji denies that even Maitreya can do anything to help such people as he has been describing. See also the words of Nanquan Puyuan recorded in the JC:

> If you accept the words of this old monk, you are called dependent men of the world. Even though you were [to live] to see Maitreya's coming, yet all your hair would be scorched off from head to tail. (T 51: 445b–c)

**Banished to another region and there, lodged in hell, suffer its torments.** Here Linji seems to be stating what was a popular belief at the time. The following relevant passage appears in both the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (An exegesis of the commentary on the *Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of buddha*) and ZL 93:

> In the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* the crime of slandering this dharma is expounded upon at length. It says that [those who do so] fall into the Avīci Hell of this region. When this land experiences the kalpa of destruction their crime is still not expiated, so they are removed to the Avīci Hell of another region. In this other region they again pass through the kalpa of destruction, and, their crime still not being expiated, they once more are transferred to another region. In this way they move through all of the ten directions. When they have passed through the kalpa of destruction in each of the ten directions, they are again born into the Avīci Hell of this region. Though a thousand buddhas were to appear in the world, saving them would still be difficult. (T 36: 89a; T 48: 921a)

**There is no buddha to seek, no Way to complete, no dharma to attain.** A similar description is found in the opening lines of the poem *Liaoyuan ge* 了元歌 (Song of understanding the source), by the monk Tengteng 騰騰:

> You ask about the Way / But there is no Way to be practiced;
> You ask about the dharma / But there is no dharma to be asked about.
> (T 51: 461B)

道流、眞佛無形、眞道無體、眞法無相。三法混融、和合一處。辨既不得、喚作忙忙業識衆生。

"Followers of the Way, true buddha has no shape, true Way has no substance, true dharma has no form; these three are fused together harmoniously united into one. Just because you can't understand this, you're called 'sentient beings with unlimited karmic consciousness.'"

**If you seek outside for a buddha… apart from [him]**. Linji is here quoting the second verse of the poem attributed to Buddhanandi (Fotuonanti 佛陀難提), the eighth patriarch of Indian Zen, the only change being the substitution of 欲 for the original 若 as the first character of the second couplet. As found in BZ 2, the poem reads:

> When your words are intimate with mind
> The intimacy is beyond that with your parents.
> When your deeds accord with the Way
> All the buddhas are none other than your mind.
> If you seek outside for a buddha having form
> [You will find] none resembling yourself;
> But if you know your Original Mind
> You'll be neither united with nor apart from him.

**You can't understand this** translates 辨既不得, another example of irregular word order, the colloquial expression verb + 不得 being interrupted by the interposition of the adverb 既. The reading for the equivalent passage in ZH 9 is 既辨不得, which is probably correct (X 79: 88a). For another instance of a similar irregular word order, see the comment on page 258, above.

**Unlimited karmic consciousness** translates the term 忙忙業識. The compound 業識 is explained at length in the DQ; the following is from the text of Paramārtha (Zhendi 眞諦, 500–569):

> Next, as regards causation [in the realm] of birth-and-death: What we call sentient beings depend upon mind 心, then the mind-faculty 意 and mental cognition 意識 evolve. What does this mean? Because of dependence upon the storehouse-consciousness 阿梨耶識, we say that there is ignorance 無明; [mind] unconsciously arises, with the ability to see 見, to manifest 現, and to grasp 取 the objective world 境, thus arousing thoughts in a continuous succession. Therefore we speak of the faculty of thought 意 (Skr., manas). This faculty of thought has five different names. What are these names? The first is activity-consciousness 業識, meaning that through the power of ignorance 無明力 mind is unconsciously excited into activity. (T 32: 577b)

The adjective 忙忙 is often used as a homonym for 茫茫, and it is with this second meaning that we have translated the term here. The expression 忙忙業識 (as in the LL), or its variant form 忙忙業性, often appears in the ZJ. The following is an example taken from fascicle 3 of that text:

> Emperor Suzong 肅宗 [r. 756–762] asked National Teacher Nanyang Huizhong, "'All sentient beings have an illimitable karma-nature 忙忙業性. They have no base on which to rely; every day they use it yet do not know it.' What does this mean?" The National Teacher picked up a plate decorated with golden flowers and asked, "What is this called?" The emperor replied, "A plate decorated with golden flowers." The National Teacher said, "Obviously! All sentient beings use [It] every day but do not know it."

XIX

問、如何是眞佛眞法眞道、乞垂開示。師云、佛者心淸淨是。法者心光明是。道者處處無礙淨光是。三即一、皆是空名、而無寔有。如眞正學道人、念念心不間斷。自達磨大師從西土來、祇是覓箇不受人惑底人。後遇二祖、一言便了、始知從前虛用功夫。山僧今日見處、與祖佛不別。若第一句中得、與祖佛爲師。若第二句中得、與人天爲師。若第三句中得、自救不了。

Someone asked, "What about the true buddha, the true dharma, and the true Way? We beg of you to disclose this for us."

The master said, "Buddha is the mind's purity; dharma is the mind's radiance; the Way is the pure light pervading everywhere without hindrance. The three are one, yet all are empty names and have no real existence. With the true man of the Way, from moment to moment mind is not interrupted.

"From the time the great teacher Bodhidharma came from the Western Land, he just sought a man who would not accept the deluded views of others. Later, he met the Second Patriarch, who, having understood at [Bodhidharma's] one word, for the first time realized that hitherto he had been futilely engaged in striving.

"As for my understanding today, it's no different from that of the patriarch-buddhas. He who attains at the First Statement becomes the teacher of patriarch-buddhas; he who attains at the Second Statement becomes the teacher of men and gods; he who attains at the Third Statement cannot save even himself."

## XIX

**True man of the Way** translates 眞正作道人, an unusual term of which no other examples are known. The Ming text of the LL in GY 4 reads 眞正學道人 (X 68: 25a); that in ZH 9 reads simply 眞正道人 (X 79: 88a); while that in TG 11 reads 志公作道人 (X 78: 473a), a phrase that makes little sense. It is obvious, therefore, that the text of this passage has been uncertain from early times. The WH version agrees with that used in the translation.

**Second Patriarch**. The Second Patriarch of Chinese Chan is Huike 慧可 (487–593). After studying Taoism in his youth he turned to Buddhism, ordaining under Chan Master Baojing 寶靜禪師 (n.d). Later he spent eight years in meditation, leading to a vision at about the age of forty that guided him to Bodhidharma.

The JC reports that Huike went to Shaolin temple and called upon Bodhidharma at the cave where he was meditating. Receiving no acknowledgment from the master, Huike waited outside for the entire night. It was winter, and by dawn the snow had reached his knees. Finally Bodhidharma asked, "You have stood long in the snow. What do you seek?" Huike replied, "I request only that the master, in his mercy, open the Gate of Sweet Dew and liberate all beings." Bodhidharma said, "The supreme, marvelous Way of all buddhas

XX

問、如何是西來意。師云、若有意、自救不了。云、既無意、云何二祖得法。師云、得者是不得。云、既若不得、云何是不得底意。

Someone asked, "What was the purpose of the [Patriarch's] coming from the West?"

The master said, "If he had had a purpose he couldn't have saved even himself."

Someone asked, "Since he had no purpose, how did the Second Patriarch obtain the dharma?"

The master said, "'To obtain' is to not obtain."

Someone asked, "If it is 'to not obtain,' what is the meaning of 'to not obtain'?"

can be attained only through ages of effort practicing what is difficult to practice, enduring what is difficult to endure. Why should you, with your shallow heart and arrogant mind, ask for the true vehicle and suffer such hardships in vain?" Huike cut off his left arm and presented it to the master as a sign of his detachment and desire to study the Way. With this, Bodhidharma accepted him as a disciple.

One day he said to Bodhidharma, "My mind is not yet at rest. Master, I implore you, please put my mind to rest." The master replied, "Bring your mind here and I will put it to rest for you." Huike said, "I have searched for my mind, but am unable to find it." "There," said the master, "I have put your mind to rest for you."

After about five years Huike received dharma transmission from Bodhidharma, then became a wandering teacher. His successor was Sengcan 僧璨 (d. 606), about whom little is known. According to the JC, Huike taught for thirty years among the common people in the city of Ye, working with the laborers and visiting the taverns. When asked why a man of the Way was behaving thus, he answered, "I am cultivating my mind in my own way—what business is it of yours?" Huike became so popular that he aroused the envy of the popular dharma master Bianhe 辨和, who denounced him to the local official. Huike, sentenced to execution for spreading false doctrines, accepted his fate calmly.

**First Statement… Second Statement… Third Statement**. For Linji's Three Statements, see pages 144–148, above.

XX

**If it is 'to not obtain,' what….** The grammatical construction here is 既若, where the subordinate conjunction 既, "if" or "because, since," is connected with 若 to form a compound meaning simply "if" or "since." Some instances of this usage can be found in the colloquial literature of the Tang, but few appear after the Song. The following examples are both taken from Tang works found at Dunhuang:

> 問、既若如此、作沒生時得 Question: "If this is so, when shall I succeed?" (SUZUKI and KŌDA 1934, 12)

> 問曰、既若無心、即合無有見聞覺知 Question: "If mind is nonexistent, then does it follow that seeing, hearing, perceiving, and knowing are nonexistent?" (T 85: 1269a)

師云、爲爾向一切處馳求心不能歇。所以祖師言、咄哉丈夫、將頭覓頭。爾言下便自回光返照、更不別求、知身心與祖佛不別、當下無事、方名得法。

The master said, "It is because you cannot stop your mind which runs on seeking everywhere that a patriarch said, 'Bah, superior men! Searching for your heads with your heads!' When at these words you turn your own light in upon yourselves and never seek elsewhere, then you'll know that your body and mind are not different from those of the patriarch-buddhas and on the instant have nothing to do—this is called 'obtaining the dharma.'

**Searching for your heads with your heads**. This is another reference to the story of Yajñadatta, the man of Śrāvastī who thought he had lost his head; see the comment on page 175, above. ZL 98 records a sermon by a certain Ven. Ganquan 甘泉和尚 (n.d.) that contains these same words, which Linji attributes to "a patriarch." Ganquan says, in part:

> If you can understand your own mind, then besides mind there is no other buddha and besides buddha there is no other mind. As for actions and behavior, whose are they? Except for this mind there is no other mind. If you say there is something other, you are a Yajñadatta; just like him, [you are] searching for your head with your head. (T 48: 943b)

Who exactly this Ven. Ganquan was is difficult to ascertain. There were several Chan figures of this name, all of whom were in the line of Mazu, but their dates are unknown. The earliest was Ganquan Zhixian 甘泉志賢, a direct disciple of Mazu. It may be that both Linji and the Ganquan whose words are here given were quoting from the same earlier and as yet unidentified source.

**Turn your own light in upon yourselves** translates 回光返照, a picturesque phrase that is often encountered in the Chan literature, although Linji appears to have been one of the earlier masters to use it. The phrase may be said to describe the essence of Buddhist meditation—to take the mind, ordinarily occupied entirely with discursive thought and external phenomena, and direct it inward toward the source of the mind's activities. A usage of this phrase that predates Linji may be found in the *Caoan ge* 草庵歌 (Song of the grass hut) by Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790):

> Turning my own light in upon myself 迴光返照, I return
> And penetrate into the spiritual source,
> neither front nor back. (T 51: 461c)

A variation of the phrase 回光返照, using the character 顧 instead of 照, is found in JC 11, where it is recorded that Linji's contemporary Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883) "addressed the assembly, saying, 'All of you should each turn your own light inward 回光返顧. Don't hold on to my words.'" (T 51: 282c)

**On the instant** translates 當下, a compound that was frequently used until the end of the Yuan dynasty; numerous examples are found in such works as the *Zhu Zi yulei* 朱子語類 (Conversations between Zhu Xi and his disciples), the *Liu Zhiyuan zhugongdiao* 劉知遠諸宮調 (Ballad of Liu Zhiyuan), and the *Yuanren baizhong qu* 元人百種曲 (A hundred Yuan plays). During the Tang and the Five Dynasties the terms 當, 當時, and 當即 were frequently used as synonyms for 當下.

大德、山僧今時、事不獲已、話度說出許多不才淨。爾且莫錯。據我見處、寔無許多般道理。要用便用、不用便休。祇如諸方說六度萬行、以爲佛法、我道、是莊嚴門佛事門、非是佛法。

"Virtuous monks, at present I've no other choice than to speak so much trash and rubbish. Don't be mistaken. As I see it there really aren't so many problems. If you want to act, act; if you don't, don't.

"There are people in every quarter who assert that the ten thousand practices and the six pāramitās constitute the buddhadharma. But I say to you that they are merely means of adornment, expedients for carrying out the buddha's work; they are not buddhadharma [itself].

**Trash and rubbish** translates 不才淨, a curious expression of which the only other known usage is found in a sermon by the Chan master Bieweng Zhen 別翁甄 (n.d.), included in the *Kuyai heshang manlu* 枯崖和尚漫錄 (Casual records of Ven. Kuyai), a work with a preface dated 1272. Zhen, however, is obviously quoting Linji:

> I [Zhen] say that before old Śākya had seen the morning star, he really gave people cause to suspect him. [Even] after he had seen the morning star, he came out with such a lot of trash and rubbish that his heart and liver and all his five organs were laid bare to inspection. (X 87: 45c)

Dōchū recognizes 不才淨 as the equivalent of 不才不淨, citing the following passage from the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue):

> They hoard in their bosoms such trash and rubbish 不材不淨 as this; they treat good men with contempt, and thus create hell-karma for themselves (T 47: 863b).

The Dahui text uses in place of the character 才 its orthographic variant 材; the *Taishō* mistakes 材 for the character 村, meaning "village."

**Means of adornment** is a metaphor referring to such activities as maintaining the precepts and practicing asceticism, which, although valued and respected in Chan, are regarded as of secondary importance in comparison with the attainment of awakening.

**Expedients for carrying out Buddha's work.** Regarding "the Buddha's work," Baizhang says:

> The Bhagavat [Buddha] then takes on the thirty-two physical marks and appears before men, speaking their language, preaching the dharma to them, converting them by according with their capacities, changing his form in response to things, varying his appearance in all the gati, and cutting off ego and the place of ego. Still, this is secondary work, petty activity; it too is included in the ways of carrying out Buddha's work. (X 68: 13c)

Huangbo had earlier made much the same statement as his disciple Linji. In his WL we find the following passage:

> Someone asked, "If mind is already intrinsically buddha, are we to continue to carry out the six pāramitās and the ten-thousand practices?" [The master] said, "Enlightenment is present in the mind. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the six pāramitās and the ten thousand practices. All these relate to such kinds of work as converting, helping, and saving sentient beings." (T 48: 384b)

乃至持齋持戒、擎油不潤、道眼不明、盡須抵債、索飯錢有日在。何故如此。入道不通理、復身還信施。長者八十一、其樹不生耳。乃至孤峯獨宿、一食卯齋、長坐不臥、六時行道、皆是造業底人。

Even those who keep the rules regarding food and conduct with the care of a man carrying a bowl of oil so as not to spill a drop, if their dharma-eye is not clear they'll have to pay their debts, and the day will come when the cost of their food will be exacted from them. Why is this so?

Since he entered the Way but didn't penetrate the Principle,
He returned in the flesh to repay the alms he'd received.
When the rich man reaches four score and one,
The tree will no longer produce the fungus.

"Even those who live alone on a solitary peak, or who eat their single meal at dawn, sit for long periods of time without lying down, and worship buddha at the six appointed hours of the day—all such persons are simply creating karma.

**The care of a man… spill a drop**. This is an allusion to a parable the Buddha used to instruct his disciples in the four stages of mindfulness 四念住 (Skr., catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni). See the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (Miscellaneous discourses of the Buddha; T 2: 174b–c; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, 47.20). The parable, which refers particularly to the first of the four stages, mindfulness of the body 身念處 (kāya smṛtyupasthāna), tells of a man carrying a bowl full of oil who is ordered to walk through a crowd of people watching beautiful women dance, sing, and give theatrical performances. An executioner with a naked sword follows him; if the man spills even a single drop of oil his head will be immediately cut off. Only by concentrating his mind and fixing his total attention upon the oil, never venturing to turn his head to look at the beautiful women, can he save his life. The Buddha concludes his sermon by saying,

> Bhikkus, as regards the body, contemplation and mindfulness of the body, zeal in progress, appropriate means, right wisdom and right mindfulness, [these] control covetousness in the secular world. This is also true of contemplation and mindfulness as regards sensation [vedana], as regards the mind-states [citta], and as regards things [dharma]. He is called a bhikku of right demeanor and self-respect as regards body, who concentrates his attention, does not turn his head toward sound and form, firmly restrains his mind-states, and dwells in the four stages of mindfulness. (T 2: 174c)

This parable is retold in the *Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經 (Sutra on the stages of the path of cultivation) (T 15: 196a–198b) to illustrate "zeal in progress" 精進. It is also retold, with some variations, in the *Nirvana Sutra* to illustrate "wisdom in mindfulness" 念慧 (T 12: 496b–c; T 12: 740a). In the DL the parable is merely referred to in a short phrase as a simile for zeal in progress (T 25: 173c). Numerous subsequent works use the parable to describe the concentrated attention with which the

precepts and the four stages of mindfulness are to be practiced.

**Since he entered the Way… produce the fungus**. This verse is attributed to Kanadeva (Jianatipo 迦那提婆), the fifteenth Indian patriarch of Zen. The following story, in which this verse appears, is told in great detail in BZ 3, and in abbreviated form in the JC (T 51: 211b).

After receiving transmission, Kanadeva departed on a journey to spread the dharma. Coming to the land of Kapila, he met an elderly man of great wealth and his family. In their garden was a tree on which for a number of years a huge fungus had grown. The rich man and his younger son Rāhulata were able to pick and eat the mushroom, which always grew back again, but when anyone else in the family tried to pick it, it would disappear. The rich man asked Kanadeva the reason for this strange event. Kanadeva, after going into a trance, reported that when the rich man was twenty years old he had taken a bhikku into his house for thirty years. The others in the household disliked the bhikku, but the rich man and Rāhulata admired him and treated him with great respect.

The bhikku, though unenlightened, was a virtuous man, and therefore after his death he had come back in the form of a mushroom to repay the charity he had so long received. Kanadeva then asked the rich man his age, and, when the elder replied "seventy-nine," composed the verse that Linji here quotes, indicating that, when the man reached eighty-one the bhikku would have repayed the thirty years of almsgiving he had received and the mushroom would no longer appear.

Thereafter everyone in the rich man's family accepted the teachings of the Buddha. The younger son became Kanadeva's disciple, and, after succeeding to the patriarch's dharma, himself became the sixteenth Indian patriarch.

**Even those who live alone on a solitary peak.** A reference to the practice of the Hinayana pratyekabuddha. In his *Tiantai si jiao yi* 天台四教儀 (The meaning of the Tiantai four teachings), the Korean Tiantai master Je-gwan 諦觀 (fl. late tenth century) writes:

> He is called a pratyekabuddha who lives when there is no buddha in the world and dwells alone on an isolated peak. Through observing the mutability of things he awakens to no-birth. Therefore he is called "enlightened for and by himself alone" 獨覺. (T 46: 77a)

**Eat their single meal… hours of the day.** The practices Linji here mentions seem to belong to a kind of stock list. Chan tradition has Jayata (Sheyeduo 闍夜多), the twentieth Indian patriarch of Zen, rebuke an ascetic who "worshipped buddha at the six appointed hours, desired little, knew 'complete satisfaction', sat for long periods without lying down, and ate only one meal a day." Jayata condemned such practices as being far from the Way. When asked why, he replied,

> I do not seek the Way, neither do I have any erroneous views; I do not observe the six hours of worship, neither do I hold [buddha] in contempt; I do not sit for long periods, neither am I indolent; I do not confine myself to a single meal a day, neither do I eat indiscriminately; I do not know complete satisfaction, neither am I covetous. (T 47: 926b; T 51: 213a)

Also, in the *Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission), attributed to Bodhidharma, we read:

> I have come to this land only to transmit the Single Mind. I do not speak about precepts or almsgiving, about zeal in progress or ascetic practices up to and including entering water and fire or treading on sword-discs, about eating a single meal at dawn or sitting for long periods without lying down. All these [practices] are the

乃至頭目髓腦、國城妻子、象馬七珍、盡皆捨施、如是等見、皆是苦身心故、還招苦果。不如無事、純一無雜。乃至十地滿心菩薩、皆求此道流蹤跡、了不可得。所以諸天歡喜、地神捧足、十方諸佛、無不稱歎。緣何如此。爲今聽法道人、用處無蹤跡。

There are others who give away everything as alms—their heads and eyes, marrow and brains, states and cities, wives and children, elephants, horses, and the seven precious things—but all such acts only cause suffering of body and mind and end up inviting future sorrow. It is better to have nothing to do, better to be plain and simple.

"Even if bodhisattvas having the completed mind of the tenth stage were to search for traces of this follower of the Way, they could never find them. Therefore [it is said]: 'All the gods rejoice, the gods of earth clasp his feet in adoration, and of all the buddhas of the ten directions, there are none who do not praise him.' Why is this so? Because the person of the Way who is now listening to my discourse leaves no trace of his activity."

causation-producing teachings of the heretics. (T 48: 376a)

"Worshipping buddha at the six appointed hours of the day" (sunset, the beginning of the night, the middle of the night, the end of the night, dawn, and noon) usually included, in addition to ceremonies and chanting, circumambulation of the buddha-image. "Complete satisfaction" 知足 (Skr., saṃtuṣṭi), means satisfaction with one robe to cover the body and one bowl to obtain food; see LAMOTTE 1965, 14.

**Heads and eyes… seven precious things**. This list of alms derives from the "Tipodaduo pin" 提婆達多品 (Chapter on Devadatta) of the *Lotus Sutra*, in a section missing in the Sanskrit version of the sutra. There the Buddha tells the great assembly that for countless ages past he had been seeking the *Lotus Sutra*:

> When I had been a king continuously for many kalpas, I vowed to seek the highest enlightenment and not let my mind turn back [from pursuing its purpose]. For the sake of fulfilling my desire to carry out to the full the six pāramitās, I strove to practice almsgiving without any thought of holding back, [giving away] elephants and horses, the seven precious things, my country and my cities, my wives and my children, my maidservants and my male attendants, my head and eyes, marrow and brains, the flesh of my body, my hands and feet, even my life, without any regret. (T 9: 34b)

Varying lists of the "seven precious things" (七珍 or 七寶) exist. In the DL they are given as gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, cornelian, and red pearls (or rubies) (T 25: 134a).

**Even if bodhisattvas… none who do not praise him**. This entire passage is also found almost verbatim in a sermon of Deshan Xuanjian in the ZH (X 79: 173c). The line "All the gods… there are none who do not praise him" appears to be a quotation, though the source is unknown. Deshan concludes this quotation with a line not found in the Linji text: "While King Māra weeps and wails!" 魔王啼哭.

XXI

問、大通智勝佛、十劫坐道場、佛法不現前、不得成佛道。未審此意如何。乞師指示。師云、大通者、是自己於處處、達其萬法無性無相、名爲大通。

Someone asked, "[The sutra says,]

The Buddha of Supreme Penetration and Surpassing Wisdom
Sat for ten kalpas in a place of practice,
But the buddhadharma did not manifest [itself to him],
And he did not attain the buddha-way.

I don't understand the meaning of this. Would the master kindly explain?"

The master said, "'Supreme Penetration' means that one personally penetrates everywhere into the naturelessness and formlessness of the ten thousand dharmas.

## XXI

**The Buddha of Supreme Penetration… the buddha-way.** This passage comprises the first two couplets of a long recapitulatory verse in the "Huacheng pin" 化城品 (Chapter on the phantom city) of the *Lotus Sutra* (T 9: 26a). In this chapter Śākyamuni tells the great assembly how, eons in the past, Tathāgata Mahābhijñājñānabhibhū (Datong Zhisheng Fo 大通智勝佛) sat for ten minor kalpas on the terrace of enlightenment 道場 (Skr., bodhimaṇḍa) without attaining enlightenment.

Chan masters other than Linji have been content to let the story rest at this point, making use of these two couplets to further their own teachings. Baizhang is questioned about these same lines (X 68: 9c), as is Xingyang Rang 興陽讓 (n.d.) (WG, case 9; T 48: 294a). Though the interpretations of both Baizhang and Rang differ from that offered in the next paragraph of this text by Linji, in each case the passage is used to illustrate the Chan doctrine that, since all beings are already buddhas, there is no need for further striving.

It is interesting to note, however, that the *Lotus Sutra* does not conclude the story here. At the end of the period of time mentioned above, the Buddha took his seat upon a magnificent throne prepared for him by the gods of the Brahma Heaven, and after ten more minor kalpas he attained Supreme Perfect Enlightenment. Thereafter, at successive assemblies he discoursed upon the buddha-truth step by step, until finally he revealed the *Lotus Sutra* itself. His sixteen sons, who had been born while he was still a young prince royal, eventually all became buddhas. Two by two they entered into their respective realms in each of the eight directions. The ninth son, one of the two who dwelt in the west, was Amitāyus Buddha; the sixteenth son, whose realm was in the northeast, was he who in later ages became Śākyamuni Buddha.

For an English translation of the Sanskrit version of this chapter, see KERN 1909, 153–187; for English translations of Kumārajīva's Chinese version see MURANO 1974, 115–139, and WATSON 1993, 117–142; for a resumé of Kumārajīva's Chinese version, see SOOTHILL 1930, 131–136.

**The naturelessness and formlessness of the ten thousand dharmas**. For

智勝者、於一切處不疑、不得一法、名爲智勝。佛者心淸淨、光明透徹法界、得名爲佛。十劫坐道場者、十波羅蜜是。佛法不現前者、佛本不生、法本不滅、云何更有現前。不得成佛道者、佛不應更作佛。古人云、佛常在世間、而不染世間法。道流、爾欲得作佛、莫隨萬物。

'Surpassing Wisdom' means to have no doubts anywhere and to not obtain a single dharma. 'Buddha' means pureness of the mind whose radiance pervades the entire dharma realm. 'Sat for ten kalpas in a place of practice' refers to [the practice of] the ten pāramitās. 'The buddhadharma did not manifest' means that buddha is in essence birthless and dharma (dharmas) in essence unextinguished. Why should it manifest itself! 'He did not attain the buddha-way': a buddha can't become a buddha again.

"A man of old said, 'Buddha is always present in the world, but is not stained by worldly dharmas.' Followers of the Way, if you want to become a buddha, don't go along with the ten thousand things.

a slightly different expression of this, see Linji's earlier statement, "All the dharmas of this world and of the worlds beyond are without self-nature. Also, they are without produced nature" (page 221, above).

**Buddha is in essence… unextinguished**. See the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, where the bodhisattva Dharmavikurvaṇa, in reply to Vimalakīrti's question as to what is meant by the bodhisattva's entering the doctrine of nonduality, says: "Kind sir, birth and annihilation make a duality. The dharmas are originally not born and are now not subject to annihilation" (T 14: 550c).

Huangbo, as recorded in the CF (T 48: 381b), quotes the latter part of the above passage from the sutra exactly, except for the substitution of 亦 for the sutra's 則. Linji, however, while obviously using these words as a source, adapts them to his immediate purposes.

**A man of old**. The quote is actually taken from a sutra; see following note.

**Buddha is always present… worldly dharmas**. This statement comes from the *Rulai zhuangyan zhihui guangming ru yiqie fojingjie jing* 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經 (Sutra on the tathāgata-adorning prajñā-light that enters all buddha-realms; Skr., *Sarvabuddha-viṣayāvatāra-jñānā-lokālaṃkāra Sutra*), translated into Chinese by Dharmaruci (Tanmoliuzhi 曇摩流支), a monk from southern India who worked in Luoyang between 501 and 507.

In its original form the statement is a couplet of five-character lines (佛常在世間, 而不染世法) from a long verse section in which Mañjuśrī praises the Buddha and restates a portion of the teaching already received from him (T 12: 248a). Baizhang Huaihai quotes the verse without attribution, introducing it with 是 (X 68: 6c). In the LL the verse is rendered into prose by the addition of 間 between the fourth and fifth characters of the second line: 佛常在世間, 而不染世間法. It is possible that the lines were commonly quoted in Linji's day.

The entire first paragraph prior to the verse brings to mind the opening lines of the *Anxin famen* 安心法門, one of the short works attributed to Bodhidharma:

心生種種法生、心滅種種法滅。一心不生、萬法無咎。世與出世、無佛無法、亦不現前、亦不曾失。設有者、皆是名言章句、接引小兒、施設藥病、表顯名句。且名句不自名句、還是爾目前昭昭靈靈、鑒覺聞知照燭底、安一切名句。大德、造五無間業、方得解脫。

When mind arises, all kinds of dharmas arise;
When mind is extinguished, all kinds of dharmas are extinguished.
When mind does not arise,
The ten thousand dharmas have no fault.

Neither in this world nor beyond this world is there any buddha or dharma; they neither reveal themselves nor are they ever lost. Even if such things existed, they would only be words and writings for placating little children, expedient remedies for illnesses, displays of names and phrases. Moreover, names and phrases are not of themselves names and phrases; it is *you*, who right now radiantly and vividly perceive, know, and clearly illumine [everything]—you it is who affix all names and phrases.

"Virtuous monks, by creating the karma of the five heinous crimes, you attain emancipation."

In the state of delusion men pursue things; in the state of understanding things pursue men. In the state of understanding consciousness controls forms; in the state of delusion forms control consciousness. (T 48: 370b)

**When mind arises… are extinguished**. These two lines come originally from the long verse section comprising fascicle 9 of the *Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, where they form the five-character couplet 心生種種生, 心滅種種滅, "When mind arises, everything arises; when mind is extinguished, everything is extinguished" (T 16: 568c). In the DQ the lines are expanded into a seven-character couplet without attribution: 心生則種種法生, 心滅則種種法滅, "When mind arises, then all dharmas arise; when mind is extinguished, then all dharmas are extinguished" (T 32: 577b).

Thereafter the phrase was used in various forms by Chan masters in their sermons and writings. The DQ version is seen in Huangbo's WL (T 48: 385c), the ZL (T 48: 656a), etc.; Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海 (n.d.), a disciple of Mazu, has 心生即種種法生, 心滅即種種法滅 in his *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* 頓悟入道要門論 (Treatise on the essentials for entering the Way through sudden awakening; X 63: 18a), and attributes it to the *Ru Lengqie jing*. Huangbo also uses 心生種種法生, 心滅種種法滅 (T 48: 386b), the same rendering as that of Linji. Yunmen, too, uses this rendition (T 47: 555a).

**When mind… have no fault**. These two lines are a quotation from the *Xinxin ming*, attributed to Sengcan, the Third Patriarch. The entire verse is as follows:

When mind does not arise,
The ten thousand dharmas have no fault.
Without blame, without dharmas,
Not arising, not mind. (T 48: 376c)

**The five heinous crimes**. For an earlier usage of this term, see page 186. Linji's interpretation of the true meaning of these crimes later in the present passage seems presaged, not only by the words of Vimalakīrti quoted in the comment on page 187, but also by the following passage from the *Shisong lü* 十誦律 (The ten-section vinaya):

> Someone asked, "Could there be a case in which a bhikku kills the mother and gains great blessing, not retribution?" "Yes, there is. Desire is called the mother. He who kills it gains great blessings, not retribution." "Could there be a case in which a bhikku kills the father and gains great blessing, not retribution?" "Yes, there is. The outflow of the passions 漏 is called the father. He who kills it gains great blessings, not retribution." (T 23: 381b)

Two generations earlier than Linji, Baizhang Huaihai, of the same teaching line, had said,

> The bodhisattva commits the five crimes that bring on uninterrupted punishment, but does not enter the Hell of Uninterrupted Punishment. His is the uninterruptedness of complete penetration 圓通無間. [This uninterruptedness] is not the same as the uninterruptedness 無間 [resulting from] the five grave sins of sentient beings. [All the states,] from that of *māra* straight through to that of buddha, are loathsome to him. He hasn't the slightest speck [of such things]." (X 68: 11b)

Baizhang is here punning on "uninterrupted" 無間; 無間 means, literally, "no gaps."

Though Linji has here described what he terms the "five heinous crimes," his list does not entirely conform to the classical list. He has omitted the third of the five crimes, the prohibition against the slaying of an arhat, and added, as the fifth on his list, the first of what are known as the "five most grave sins" 五重罪. These are enumerated in the *Dasazhe Niqianzi suoshuo jing* 大薩遮尼乾子所說經 (Sutra expounded by Mahasatya Nirgrantha), a late Mahayana work translated into Chinese by the North Indian Buddhist monk and esoteric master Bodhiruci, who worked in Luoyang from 508 until somewhere between 534 and 537.

According to a long passage in the *Dasazhe Niqianzi suoshuo jing*, the "five most grave sins" are, briefly:

1) to destroy temples, to burn sutras and images, to steal a buddha's or a monk's belongings, to induce others to do likewise, and similar such offenses;

2) to slander or abuse the teachings of a śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, or bodhisattva;

3) to ill-treat or kill a monk;

4) to commit any one of the "five heinous crimes";

5) to deny the karmic consequences of ill deeds and to act or teach others accordingly, and to live unceasingly in evil (T 9: 336b).

See also the *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* entry "Gogyaku" 五逆 (2:1124c–1126b).

XXII

問、如何是五無間業。師云、殺父害母、出佛身血、破和合僧、焚燒經像等、此是五無間業。云、如何是父。師云、無明是父。爾一念心、求起滅處不得、如響應空、隨處無事、名爲殺父。云、如何是母。師云、貪愛爲母。爾一念心、入欲界中、求其貪愛、唯見諸法空相、處處無著、名爲害母。

Someone asked, "What is the karma of the five heinous crimes?"

The master said, "Killing the father, slaying the mother, shedding the blood of a buddha, destroying the harmony of the sangha, and burning the scriptures and images—this is the karma of the five heinous crimes."

"What is meant by 'father'?"

The master said, "Avidyā is the father. When the place of arising or extinguishing of a single thought in your mind is not to be found, as with a sound reverberating throughout space, and there is nothing anywhere for you to do—this is called 'killing the father.'"

"What is meant by 'mother'?"

The master said, "Covetousness is the mother. When a single thought in your mind enters the world of desire and seeks covetousness, but sees that all dharmas are only empty forms, and [thus] has no attachment anywhere—this is called 'slaying the mother.'"

## XXII

**When the place… is not to be found** translates 爾一念心心求起滅處不得, which reflects an outlook similar to that in the following passage from the *Nanquan Puyuan Chanshi yuyao* 南泉普願禪師語要 (Essential sayings of Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan), in GY 12:

> As regards nonleakage, we are intrinsically endowed with it; its function is marvelous and permeates everywhere. It operates covertly and functions secretly, unknown to people, so that its traces are difficult to discover. Therefore Māra Deva and all his cohorts throughout endless kalpas have never found the place where the bodhisattva's single thought arises 覓菩薩一念起處不可得. Māra says in praise, "The buddhadharma is extremely marvelous and difficult indeed for me to fathom." (X 68: 73b)

**Covetousness is the mother… only empty forms.** A similar view of covetousness is seen already in the following passage from the Dunhuang manuscript *Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (Discourse on the two entrances and the four practices):

> The sutra says, "Not extinguishing the delusion of covetousness." This means that covetousness from the very first was never born and cannot now be extinguished. Though one seek covetousness inside, outside, or in the middle, it can neither be found nor obtained. Though it be sought throughout the ten directions, not the slightest trace of it can be found. Thus there is no need to extinguish it in order to seek emancipation. (Suzuki 1935, 17)

The sutra referred to in the passage is the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* (T 14: 540b). The Northern *Nirvana Sutra* contains an ear-

云、如何是出佛身血。師云、爾向清淨法界中、無一念心生解、便處處黑暗、是出佛身血。云、如何是破和合僧。師云、爾一念心、正達煩惱結使、如空無所依、是破和合僧。云、如何是焚燒經像。師云、見因緣空、心空、法空、一念決定斷、迥然無事、便是焚燒經像。

"What is meant by 'shedding the blood of a buddha'?"

The master said, "When in the midst of the pure dharma realm you haven't in your mind a single reasoning thought, and [thus] pitch blackness pervades everywhere—this is called 'shedding the blood of a buddha.'"

"What is meant by 'destroying the harmony of the sangha'?"

The master said, "When a single thought in your mind truly realizes that the bonds and enticements of the passions are like space with nothing upon which to depend—this is called 'destroying the harmony of the sangha.'"

"What is meant by 'burning the scriptures and images'?"

The master said, "When you see that causal relations are empty, that mind is empty, and that dharmas are empty, and [thus] your single thought is decisively cut off and, transcendent, you've nothing to do—this is called 'burning the scriptures and images.'

lier statement of a point of view similar to that of Linji regarding the "father" and "mother":

> At that time Mañjuśrī recited this gāthā:
> Why, by reverencing the father and the mother / Obeying and honoring them,
> Why, by observing this practice / Does one fall into the Hell of Uninterrupted Torment?
> The Tathāgata answered with this gāthā:
> If, taking coveteousness as the mother/ And avidyā as the father,
> You obey and honor them / You will fall into the Hell of Uninterrupted Torment. (T 12: 427a–b)

Baizhang Huaihai also speaks of avidyā as the father and covetousness as the mother in the following passage from one of his sermons:

> Avidyā is the father, covetousness the mother. Self is the sword that kills the self's avidyā and covetousness, the father and the mother. Therefore it is said, "Kill the father, slay the mother. One word destroys all dharmas." (X 68: 12b)

**Pitch blackness pervades everywhere** translates 處處黑暗, a term originally used to describe the bottom of a deep pit or abyss where no light can reach. Here, however, the expression denotes the state of suchness in which there is no distinction between light and dark and no mind to discriminate between them.

**Transcendent, you've nothing to do** translates 迥然無事, a phrase similar to one used by Baizhang:

> His mind is free, and he has not the slightest connection with the world of delusion, of the passions, the skandas and dhātus, birth and death and sensory impressions; gloriously he exists without leaning upon anything, bound by nothing, free to come or go without hindrance 迥然無寄. (X 69: 8a)

**Conceiving an empty fist… the sense-fields**. These lines are from a stanza in

大德、若如是達得、免被他凡聖名礙。爾一念心、祇向空拳指上生寔解、根境法中虛捏怪。自輕而退屈言、我是凡夫、他是聖人。禿屡生、有甚死急、披他師子皮、卻作野干鳴。

"Virtuous monks, reach such understanding as this, and you'll be free from the hindrances of names [like] 'secular' and 'sacred'.

"Yet a single thought in your mind is doing nothing but

Conceiving an empty fist or a [pointing] finger to be real;
Senselessly conjuring up apparitions from among the dharmas of the sense-fields.

You belittle yourselves and modestly withdraw, saying, 'We are but commoners; he is a sage.' Bald idiots! What's the frantic hurry to wrap yourselves in lions' skins while you're yapping like jackals!

Yongjia's *Song of Enlightenment*. The entire stanza reads:

> Stupid dolts! Childish fools! / Conceiving the fingers of an empty fist to be real.
> By taking the pointing finger for the moon, futilely exerting yourselves / Uselessly evoking apparitions from the dharmas of the sense-fields.
> (T 48: 396c)

The same idea is expressed in the *Shenli Chanshi yulu* 神力禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Shenli); Shenli is another name for Zihu Lizong 子湖利蹤 (800–880), a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan:

> From the dharmas of the sense-fields you create all kinds of supernatural apparitions. Mountain sprites and bogeys attach themselves to you in the course of your practice. (GY 12; X 68: 74c)

**Modestly withdraw** translates 退屈, which may also be rendered as "to hesitate, to hold back." The term appears in other texts, such as the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*:

> Worthy gentlemen, please protect these junior students, so that they may not be disturbed in body and spirit by demons and heretics, and that they may not hesitate. (T 17: 922a)

Baizhang Huaihai says:

> Those who study the Way should not hesitate in mind, even when they happen to meet various hardships, pleasures, and things agreeable or disagreeable; neither should they seek fame, wealth, or luxurious living. (X 69: 8a)

**Bald idiots! What's the frantic hurry… yapping like jackals** translates the sentence 禿屡生, 有甚死急披他師子皮, 卻野干鳴, which, according to some Japanese commentators, is addressed to the members of the audience, with the implication that, although they pretend to be brave men, they quickly assume a cringing attitude when confronted by false teachers. Or, if 披 is interpreted as "wear" rather than "put on," the meaning is taken to be that since the students are intrinsically lions, they are debasing themselves by their fawning attitude. Dōchū, on the contrary, suggests that the epithet "bald idiots" refers to false teachers who, though disguising themselves in lion skins, can do no more than howl like the jackals that they are.

The reference to wrapping oneself in a lion's skin while yapping like jackals probably comes from a story in the *Chang ahan jing* :

大丈夫漢、不作丈夫氣息、自家屋裏物不肯信、祇麼向外覓、上他古人閑名句、倚陰博陽、不能特達。逢境便緣、逢塵便執、觸處惑起、自無准定。道流、莫取山僧說處。何故。說無憑據、一期間圖畫虛空、如彩畫像等喻。

"Resolute fellows [though you are], you do not draw the breath of the resolute. Unwilling to believe in what you have in your own house, you do nothing but seek outside, go clambering after the worthless sayings of the men of old, rely upon yin and depend upon yang and are unable to achieve [by yourselves]. On meeting [outer] circumstances, you establish relationship with them; on meeting [sense-]dusts you cling to them; wherever you are doubts arise, and you yourselves have no standard of judgment.

"Followers of the Way, don't accept what I state. Why? Statements have no proof. They are pictures temporarily drawn in the empty sky, as in the metaphor of the painted figures.

Once there was a lion, the king of the beasts, who lived deep in the forest. Each morning at dawn when the lion emerged from its cave it would look all around and give three roars before setting off to hunt…. There was a fox who followed after the lion and ate the bits of meat that the lion left. Beginning to feel quite proud and strong, the fox said to itself, "This lion in the forest—what sort of beast is it after all, that it should be any better than me? From now on I alone will rule…." The fox then found an isolated spot in the forest, and, each dawn when it emerged from its cave, it would … try its best to imitate the lion's roars, but all it could produce was a fox's yapping. (T 1: 68c–69a)

**Rely upon yin and depend upon yang** 倚陰博陽. The meaning is unclear, given the numerous meanings of yin 陰 and yang 陽. The character 博 in the original phrase is traditionally read in Japanese as *hakaru* (to estimate, to judge). This quite irregular reading may derive from the fact that 博 is associated with games of chance and is used at times to mean "gamble." It seems, however, that 博 is here a copyist's error for 傅, often used as a homophone for 附 (as in the synonymous 傅會 and 附會), and meaning "to adhere to," "to attach to." Actually, the construction 倚…博… may be regarded as a divided compound verb. Using the homophones for these two characters we have the compound 依草附葉 ("dependent upon grasses and clinging to trees"; see pages 237–238, above), 依 here being the equivalent of 倚 in 倚陰博陽.

**Statements have… figures**. A reference to a metaphor in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Nirvana*, and other sutras. The *Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, has:

Just as a master-painter / Together with his disciples,
Spreads various colors and draws many forms / So my statements are also like this.
The various colors originally have no pattern / Nor the brushes, nor the plain white cloth.
But in order to delight sentient beings / With beautiful ornamentation I paint many figures. (T 16: 484c)

Linji's reference is particularly apt, since in this passage the Buddha is telling Mahāmati Bodhisattva that wordy explanations are not reality.

道流、莫將佛爲究竟。我見猶如厠孔、菩薩羅漢、盡是枷鎖、
縛人底物。所以文殊仗劍、殺於瞿曇、鴦掘持刀、害於釋氏。

"Followers of the Way, don't take the Buddha to be the ultimate. As I see it, he is just like a privy hole. Both bodhisattvahood and arhatship are cangues and chains that bind one. This is why Mañjuśrī tried to kill Gautama with his sword, and why Aṅgulimāla attempted to slay Śākyamuni with his dagger.

**This is why Mañjuśrī… with his dagger**. Linji is referring to two attacks on the Buddha's life—one by Mañjuśrī and one by a bandit named Aṅgulimāla—that are mentioned in the sutras.

Mañjuśrī's attack on the Buddha is described in the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Sutra of the great treasure collection), a voluminous collection of Chinese translations of sutras that is primarily the work of Bodhiruci, although the above-mentioned text was translated by Dharmagupta, who worked in Luoyang ca. 590–616.

The text tells us that the five hundred bodhisattvas under the Buddha, having attained knowledge of their previous existences, saw their past evil deeds, including patricide and matricide. Filled with constant anguish, they were unable to enter the profound depths of the dharma. Desiring to rid the bodhisattvas of their differentiating minds and help them attain anutpattikadharma-kṣānti 無生法忍 ("the firm conviction that the dharmas are uncreated"), the Buddha used his supernatural powers to induce Mañjuśrī to attack him with his sword of wisdom. Then, stopping Mañjuśrī, he preached to the assembly that "from the beginning there has been no ego, no person, no being. It is merely that the mind within perceives an ego and a person." When the bodhisattvas heard the Buddha's words, they thought thus: "All dharmas everywhere are like illusory transformations. Within these there is no ego, no person, no sentient being, no individual, no disciple, no entity, no youth, no father, no mother, no arhat, no buddha, no dharma, no sangha. Thus there is no murder and no murderer; how, then, could murder be committed?" They were thus relieved of their anguish and, filled with joy, leapt "the height of seven tāla trees" (T 11: 590b–c).

Aṅgulimāla was a notorious mass murderer who encountered Śākyamuni in a forest and attempted to slay him. In the *Yangjuemoluo jing* 央掘魔羅經 (*Aṅgulimāla Sutra*) (T 2: no. 120), translated by Guṇabhadra, Aṅgulimāla is described as a good man whose teacher had ordered him to kill one thousand people and bring the little fingers of their right hands. When Aṅgulimāla met the Buddha he had already killed 999 victims. He ran after Śākyamuni with dagger drawn, but was unable to overtake him, even though Śākyamuni appeared to be walking at his usual leisurely pace. Astonished, he asked Śākyamuni about his unusual powers, and in the end abandoned violence and became a śramaṇa. The story is the subject of several sutras, primarily the abovementioned *Yangjuemoluo jing*, the *Foshuo Yangjuemo jing* 佛說鴦崛摩經 (*Aṅgulimāla Sutra* preached by Buddha; T 2: no. 118), and the *Foshuo Yangjueji jing* 佛說鴦崛髻經 (*Aṅgulimāla Sutra* preached by Buddha; T 2: no. 119). For English translations see Chalmers 1926–1927, 2:50–56 and Bhikkhu 1995, 710–717.

These two attempts on the Buddha's life

are mentioned in a number of Chan texts, including the GY (X 68: 11b) and TG (X 78: 461c). In the following passage from the WL, Linji's teacher Huangbo mentions only Mañjuśrī; the similarity of his words to those of the above-mentioned *Da baoji jing* suggests that Huangbo was quite familiar with this text:

> Someone asked, "Why did Mañjuśrī take up his sword against Gautama?"
>
> [The master] said, "The five-hundred Bodhisattvas had gained the knowledge of their previous lives and perceived the hindrances caused by their past karma. These five hundred are just your [body] composed of the five skandhas. Because they had perceived these hindrances from their previous lives, they sought buddhahood, sought bodhisattvahood, and sought nirvana. Therefore Mañjuśrī, with his sword of wisdom, [attempted] to kill these erroneous views regarding buddha. Hence [the World-Honored One] said to him, 'You are a killer for the good.'" (X 68: 21a)

It is clear that in the *Da baoji jing* text we have a canonical sources of the "iconoclastic" teachings often regarded as original with, and confined to, the Chan school. A careful reading of this sutra further reveals its close relationship to the entire first part of Linji's sermon under consideration, beginning with the explanation of the attainment of emancipation through commission of the five heinous crimes. Though Linji, in true Chan style, cuts through the pedagogical trappings characteristic of classical sutra writings, his message and that of the sutra are essentially the same.

**The Three Vehicles… immediate enlightenment**. Linji seems here to be naming several doctrines held as fundamental in most Buddhist schools, but generally denounced as valueless by Chan masters. For the Three Vehicles 三乘, see pages 122–123; for the Tiantai doctrine of complete and immediate enlightenment 圓頓教迹, see pages 193–194, above.

The doctrine that all beings are born with one of five natures, and that this nature determines the degree of their ultimate spiritual attainment, is found in the *Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 (*Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*; T 16: 526c). It became such a fundamental tenet of the Faxiang 法相 school that the school was sometimes called the Wuxing 五性 (Five-Nature) school. In the *Fodijing lun* 佛地經論 (Treatise on the *Buddha-stage Sutra*), a work of this school, the five natures, under names almost identical with those given in the *Ru Lengqie jing*, are explained as follows:

> From beginningless time all sentient beings have been endowed with [one] of five kinds of nature: the śrāvaka nature, the pratyekabuddha nature, the tathāgata nature, the indeterminate nature, and the nature without merit for entering the religious life. The various sutras and śāstras set forth in detail the characteristics and differences of these natures. Those with the first four kinds of nature will attain nirvana within a certain set period of time because of the meritorious skillful means of the buddhas. The fifth type of nature, since it lacks the meritorious causes for entering the spiritual life, does not attain nirvana within any set period of time. The only thing the buddhas can do for those [endowed with this nature] is employ their skillful means to manifest supernatural powers and preach the dharma of leaving the evil gati and being reborn in the good gati. (T 26: 298a)

Since Linji is believed to have studied the Faxiang teachings before taking up Chan, he may have been referring specifically to this list.

The *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* refers to a somewhat different group of "five natures": ordinary people's nature; śrāvaka and pratyekabuddha nature; bodhisattva nature; indeterminate nature; and heretic nature (T 17: 916b–c). Since this work was

道流、無佛可得。乃至三乘五性、圓頓教迹、皆是一期藥病相治、並無實法。設有、皆是相似、表顯路布、文字差排、且如是說。道流、有一般禿子、便向裏許著功、擬求出世之法。錯了也。若人求佛、是人失佛。若人求道、是人失道。若人求祖、是人失祖。大德、莫錯。我且不取爾解經論、我亦不取爾國王大臣、我亦不取爾辯似懸河、我亦不取爾聰明智慧、唯要爾眞正見解。道流、設解得百本經論、不如一箇無事底阿師。

"Followers of the Way, there is no buddha to be obtained. Even the doctrines [including those] of the Three Vehicles, the five natures, and complete and immediate enlightenment—all these are but provisional medicines for the treatment of symptoms. In no sense do any real dharmas exist. Even if they were to exist, they would all be nothing but imitations, publicly displayed proclamations, arrangements of letters stated that way just for the time being.

"Followers of the Way, there're a bunch of shavepates who try to seek a transcendental dharma by directing their efforts inward. A great mistake! If you seek buddha you lose buddha, if you seek the Way you lose the Way, if you seek the patriarchs you lose the patriarchs.

"Virtuous monks, make no mistake. I don't care whether you understand the sutras and śāstras, whether you're a king or a high minister, whether you're as eloquent as a rushing torrent, or whether you're clever or wise. I only want you to have true insight.

"Followers of the Way, even if you should master a hundred sutras and śāstras, you're not as good as a teacher with nothing to do.

much favored in the Chan school, this list too was undoubtedly known to Linji. Another possibility is that he may have been referring to the doctrine of the five natures in general, since various other less important groupings of these exist.

**Followers of the Way… efforts inward** translates 道流、有一般禿子、便向裏許著功、擬求出世之法. The word translated as "inward" is 裏許, with the 許 serving as a suffix. Other examples of this construction are 外許 "outside," 幾許 "how many," and 少許 "a few." Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (1775–1840) says, in the *Guisi leigao* 癸巳類稿 (Classified documents of the Guisi era) 7, that such suffixes as 許 and 馨 of the Six Dynasties and 向 and 行 of the Song and Yuan have the same etymology.

**Teacher** translates the compound 阿師, a term deriving from the custom that arose during the Later Han dynasty of affixing 阿 as a prefix of endearment to a surname, a personal name, a style name, or an infant's name. By the time of the Tang dynasty it was also being affixed to words indicating various family relationships, as in 阿翁 "grandfather," 阿婆 "husband's mother," 阿舅 "father-in-law," 阿家 "mother-in-law," 阿耶 "papa," 阿孃 "mama," 阿兄 "elder brother," 阿弟 "younger brother," 阿姊 "elder sister," and so forth. The usage was further extended to such

爾解得、即輕蔑他人。勝負修羅、人我無明、長地獄業。如善星比丘、解十二分教、生身陷地獄、大地不容。不如無事休歇去。飢來喫飯、睡來合眼。愚人笑我、智乃知焉。

If you do master them, you'll regard others with contempt. Asura-like conflict and egotistical ignorance increase the karma that leads to hell. Such was the case of Sunakṣātra bhikku—though he understood the twelve divisions of the teachings, he fell alive into hell. The great earth had no place for him. It's better to do nothing and take it easy.

When hunger comes I eat my rice;
When sleep comes I close my eyes.
Fools laugh at me, but
The wise man understands.

words as 阿師 "teacher" and 阿郎 "master," to interrogatives like 阿誰 "who," 阿沒 and 阿莽 "what," and 阿那 "which."

**Asura**. See comments on pages 144, 180, and 226. Here the asuras, who are constantly at war against Indra, are used as a metaphor for the contentious and belligerent nature of humans.

**Sunakṣātra bhikku** (Shanxing biqiu 善星比丘) is the name of a monk who appears in the "Jiashe pusa pin" 迦葉菩薩品 (Chapter on Kāśyapa Bodhisattva) in the Northern *Nirvana Sutra* (T 12: 560b). According to the *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 (Praising the profundity of the *Lotus Sutra*), "the sutra says" that Gautama had three sons while still a prince, the eldest being Sunakṣātra, the second Upamana, and the third Rāhula (T 34: 671c).

It is said that Sunakṣātra joined the sangha, memorized the entire twelve divisions of the sutras (see pages 122–124), freed himself from the passions, and attained the four dhyānas (the four successive stages of meditation and absorption). But despite his memorization of the teachings he could not understand the meaning of even a single word. He began associating with evil friends, thereby losing everything that he had accomplished toward the attainment of emancipation. Subsequently he espoused heretical views, including that of denying the law of cause-and-effect. When he revealed his evil mind to the Buddha, he fell alive into the Avīci Hell, the Hell of Uninterrupted Torment. Because of this he is called an "icchantika bhikku," a bhikku who has severed the roots of goodness and destroyed his chance of attaining buddhahood. He is sometimes also referred to as the "Four-Dhyāna Bhikku."

Sunakṣātra is mentioned in the *Śūraṅgama Sutra* (T 19: 143a) and also in Yongjia's *Song of Enlightenment* (T 48: 396c), in both cases as an example of a bhikku whose wrong views had caused him to fall into hell.

**When hunger comes… wise man understands**. Linji here paraphrases lines from Nanyue Mingzan's *Ledao ge* 樂道歌 (Song of enjoying the Way), a poem with which he appears to have been quite familiar. For his earlier use of these lines, see text, page 185 and note on the same page; for other quotations from the *Ledao ge* see pages 172, 185, 186, and 223, and 292.

道流、莫向文字中求。心動疲勞、吸冷氣無益。不如一念緣起無生、超出三乘權學菩薩。大德、莫因循過日。山僧往日、未有見處時、黑漫漫地。光陰不可空過、腹熱心忙、奔波訪道。後還得力、始到今日、共道流如是話度。勸諸道流、莫爲衣食。

"Followers of the Way, don't seek within words, for when the mind is stirred you become wearied, and there's no benefit in gulping icy air. It's better, by the single thought that causal relations are [fundamentally] birthless, to surpass the bodhisattvas who depend upon the provisional teaching of the Three Vehicles.

"Virtuous monks, don't spend your days drifting along. In the past when I had as yet no understanding, all about me was utter darkness. But I wasn't one to waste time, so with a burning belly and a turbulent mind, I ran around inquiring about the Way. Later, however, I got some help and finally today I can talk to you like this. I advise all you followers of the Way not to live for food and clothes.

**Gulping icy air** translates 吸冷. The meaning is obscure; one commentator suggests that it refers to chanting sutras in a cold room, while others take it to mean seeking outside for the meaning of words, in contrast to the preceding phrase, which they take to mean seeking them within.

**It's better… Three Vehicles**. Linji is apparently basing his statement on the following passage from the *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (Treatise on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*):

> The merit of no-merit is merit that is never lost. The merit of deliberate merit all passes away; though one accumulate it through practice lasting many kalpas, in the end it is totally destroyed. It is far better to transcend, with the single thought that causal relations are unborn, such views as those of the provisional teachings of the Three Vehicles. (T 36: 724a)

Linji quotes the last line verbatim except for two substitutions, including 菩薩 "bodhisattvas" for 等見 "such views" in the original. Some Japanese commentators, including Dōchū, read 三界, "three realms," for 三乘, "Three Vehicles." We follow the *Taishō* text, which is in agreement with the *Xin Huayan jing lun*.

**I got some help**. The first known appearance of 得力, "to receive benefits or favors," is in the "Huozhi zhuan" 貨殖傳 (Biographies of merchants) in the *Shiji* 史記 (see *Tongsu bian* 通俗編 12). During the Tang and the Song it was often used as a colloquial expression and many examples can be found in the poems of Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), as well as in the Dunhuang *bianwen* literature.

**I advise all you followers… food and clothes**. Exhortations to monks not to live merely for the sake of clothing and food 爲衣食 have no doubt existed since the very founding of the Buddhist sangha. The phrase is used here in a slightly different sense: to symbolize the strivings of Hinayana followers, a usage encountered in the *Lotus Sutra*, "Wubai dizi shouji pin" 五百弟子受記品 (Chapter on the prophesy of enlightenment for five hundred disci-

看世界易過、善知識難遇。如優曇花時一現耳。爾諸方聞道有箇臨濟老漢、出來便擬問難、教語不得。被山僧全體作用、學人空開得眼、口總動不得。懵然不知以何答我。我向伊道、龍象蹴踏、非驢所堪。爾諸處祇指胸點肋、道我解禪解道、三箇兩箇、到這裏不奈何。咄哉、爾將這箇身心、到處簸兩片皮、誑謾閭閻。喫鐵棒有日在。非出家兒、盡向阿修羅界攝。

Look! The world passes swiftly away, and meeting a good teacher is as rare as the flowering of the udumbara tree.

"Hearing everywhere of old man Linji, you come here intending to bait me with difficult questions and make it impossible for me to answer. Faced with a demonstration of the activity of my whole body, you students just stare blankly and can't move your mouths at all; you're at such a loss you don't know how to answer. I tell you, 'Asses can't bear being trampled by a dragon-elephant.'

"You go around everywhere thumping your chests and whacking your ribs, saying, 'I understand Chan! I understand the Way!' But let two or three of you come here and you can't do a thing. Bah! Carrying that body and mind of yours, you go around everywhere flapping your lips like winnowing fans and deceiving villagers. The day will come when you'll be flogged with iron rods. You're not [true] renouncers of home. You'll all be herded together in the realm of the asuras.

ples). Upon hearing the Buddha announce their future destinies, the five hundred disciples repented of their satisfaction with their inferior state of knowledge and compared themselves to a man who

> went to the house of a close friend and, having become drunk on wine, lay down to sleep. At that time the friend had to go out on official business. He took a priceless jewel, sewed it into the lining of the man's robe, and left it with him when he went out. The man, asleep and drunk, knew nothing about it. When he got up, he set out on a journey to other countries. In order to provide himself with food and clothing he had to search with all his energy and diligence, encountering very great hardship and making do with what little he could come by. Later, the close friend happened to meet him by chance. The friend said, "How absurd, old fellow! Why should you have to do all this for the sake of food and clothing 爲衣食? In the past I wanted to make certain you would be able to live in ease and thus on such-and-such a day and month and year I took a jewel and sewed it in the lining of your robe. It must still be there now. But you did not know about it, and fretted and wore yourself out trying to provide a living for yourself. What nonsense! Now you must take the jewel and exchange it for goods. Then you can have whatever you wish at all times and never experience poverty and want." (T 9: 29a; English translation from WATSON 1993, 150–151)

**The udumbara tree**: a mythical tree said to blossom only once every three thousand years, symbolizing the rarity of the appearance of a buddha in the world.

夫如至理之道、非諍論而求激揚、鏗鏘以摧外道。至於佛祖相承、更無別意。設有言教、落在化儀三乘五性、人天因果。如圓頓之教、又且不然。童子善財、皆不求過。

"As for the Way of ultimate truth, it is not something that seeks to arouse enthusiasm through arguments and disputes, nor that uses resounding oratory to refute heretics. As for the transmission of the buddhas and the patriarchs, it has no special purpose. Even though there are verbal teachings, they all fall into [the category of] such formulas for salvation as the Three Vehicles, the five natures, and the cause-and-effect that leads to [rebirth as] men or gods. But in the case of the teaching of the complete and immediate enlightenment this isn't so; Sudhana did not go around seeking any of these.

**Asses can't bear being trampled by a dragon-elephant**. The quotation is from the chapter "Busiyi pin" 不思議品 (Beyond comprehension chapter) of the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* (T 14: 547a). The dragon-elephant 龍象 (sometimes interpreted to mean "dragons and elephants") is a metaphor that is sometimes used for a buddha. At other times, —as is the case in the present example— it is used to indicate "bodhisattvas-who-abide-in-inconceivable-emancipation."

**You go around… I understand the Way!** This is another example of similar passages existing in the records of both Linji and Deshan Xuanjian. The following passage is from Deshan, in ZH 20:

> Make no mistake, virtuous men! You hurry hither and yon, saying, "I understand Chan, I understand the Way!" Whacking your chests and whacking your ribs, you proclaim, "I am Yang!" "I am Cheng!" (X 79: 172c)

**Deceiving villagers**. See another passage from the same sermon by Deshan Xuanjian as that mentioned in the note above:

> Everywhere they seek out people, saying, "I am the direct disciple of the patriarchs!" When they are questioned about the pivotal matter they shut their mouths like gate bars. On the other hand, they explain bodhi, nirvana, bhūtatathatā, and emancipation to people, quoting widely from the wordy teachings of the Tripiṭaka. Saying, "This is Chan, this is the Way," they deceive the villagers. What kind of relationship have they when they slander our forebears! (X 79: 173a)

**As for the Way… refute heretics**. Linji is undoubtedly referring here to the philosophical debates of the Tiantai and Huayan schools, and to such historical incidents as the so-called Council of Lhasa and Xuanzang's refutation of the heretics during his journey to India. Chan condemns all such activities. See the lines from the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*: "Arguments arise from the idea of victory and defeat; they are contrary to the Way" (T 48: 342a). Also, in the same text:

> This teaching fundamentally is not a subject for dispute / To dispute is to miss the meaning of the Way.
> When you cling to delusion and dispute about the doctrine / Your self-nature will enter into the round of birth-and-death. (T 48: 361a)

**Formulas for salvation** translates 化儀, a technical term usually associated with the Tiantai arrangement of the various

大德、莫錯用心。如大海不停死屍。祇麼擔卻、擬天下走。自起見障、以礙於心。日上無雲、麗天普照。眼中無翳、空裏無花。

"Virtuous monks, don't use your minds mistakenly. The great sea does not detain dead bodies, but all you do is rush about the world carrying them on your shoulders. You yourselves raise the obstructions that impede your minds. When the sun above has no clouds, the bright heavens shine everywhere. When there is no cataract on the eye, there are no [imaginary] flowers in the sky.

categories of the Hinayana and Mahayana teachings into four "graded methods for salvation" 化儀, and four "formulas of the teaching" 化法. However, here Linji appears to be using the term loosely to cover the various kinds of spoken teachings, since the doctrines of the Three Vehicles, the five natures, etc., are not contained in either of these Tiantai formulas.

**Sudhana did not go around seeking any of these**. Sudhana (C., Shancai tongzi 善財童子) is the protagonist of the "Ru fajie pin" 入法界品 (Chapter on entering the dharma realm) and "Puxian pusa xing pin" 普賢菩薩行品 (Chapter on the activities of Samantabhadra) of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. In his search for enlightenment, Sudhana made a pilgrimage to fifty-three teachers under the guidance of Mañjuśrī. His quest finally ended when he met the future buddha Maitreya, who deemed him prepared to enter the great tower of Vairocana Buddha. Thereafter, through the instruction given by Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, he came to the full realization of bodhisattvahood.

Linji is saying that the "complete and sudden teachings" (the teachings of the Huayan school) are not such mere spoken teachings as are criticized above, and also that Sudhana, who by inference represents the Huayan doctrines, did not seek such mere spoken teachings. As it stands, this would seem to contradict Linji's statement of several paragraphs above.

**Don't use your minds mistakenly** translates 莫錯用心, a line found in the Yuan version of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*: "Good friends, each of you must personally make your own investigation. Don't use your mind mistakenly" (T 48: 354b).

**Dead bodies**, referring to the varieties of excess mental and emotional baggage that people carry around, is found in various contexts in a number of Buddhist works. For instance, the *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (Sutra on the wise and foolish), the *Damamūka-nidāna Sutra* translated into Chinese in 445 by Huijue 慧覺, states:

> At that time there was a great tortoise that trampled on the ship with its feet. The ship was destroyed and sank into the sea. Sārthavāha and his wife and the five hundred traders all died. It is the law of the great sea not to receive dead bodies. When the water swirls about in waves, the yakṣas and rakṣasas cast them out upon the shore. (T 4: 378b)

The Southern *Nirvana Sutra* has:

> The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*, like this, is also inconceivable. Good young man, it is like the great sea, which has eight inconceivable [qualities]. What are these eight? One, it becomes gradually more and more profound; two, it is difficult to reach the limit of its profundity; three, it has but one salty taste; four, its tides do not exceed their limits; five, it possesses all kinds of treasures; six, giants dwell within it; seven, it does not give lodging to dead bodies;

道流、爾欲得如法、但莫生疑。展則彌綸法界、收則絲髮不立。歷歷孤明、未曾欠少。眼不見、耳不聞、喚作什麼物。古人云、說似一物則不中。爾但自家看。更有什麼。說亦無盡、各自著力。珍重。

"Followers of the Way, if you wish to be dharma as is, just have no doubts. 'Spread out, it fills the entire dharma realm; gathered in, the smallest hair cannot stand upon it.' Distinctly and radiantly shining alone, it has never lacked anything. No eye can see it, no ear can hear it—then by what name can it be called? A man of old said, 'To speak about a thing is to miss the mark.'

"Just see for yourselves—what is there! I can keep on talking forever. Each one of you must strive individually. Take care of yourselves."

eight, all the countless rivers and the great rains pour into it, yet it neither increases nor decreases. (T 12: 558c; 805a)

The line is also found in Chan texts (e.g., GY 2; X 68: 11a) and elsewhere. The Linji text has 不停 (does not detain) for the 不受 (does not receive) of the *Xianyu jing* and the 不宿 (does not give lodging to) of all other sources.

**When the sun above…**. This sentence uses a metaphor often employed in sutras, though usually in more elaborate form. For instance, the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* has the following verse extolling a marvelous light that the World-Honored One caused to issue forth from his feet:

Just as, in the first month of summer / When the sky is clear and unobscured by clouds,
The glorious sun shines forth in dazzling radiance / And nowhere is there in the ten directions that is not flooded with its light. (T 10: 100b)

**When there is no cataract… the sky**. This expression is another adaptation of a metaphor found several times in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*:

For example, someone with an eye disease may see flowers in the sky or a second moon. Virtuous young men, in reality there are no flowers in the sky; they are simply the delusions of the sick person. (T 17: 913b)

**Spread out… cannot stand upon it.** See the words of Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657) in the *Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 (On the cessation of notions):

What is meant by "spread out"? Illuminating and functioning—this is what is meant by "spread out". What is meant by "rolled up"? Mind is tranquil and extinct, without going or coming—this is what is meant by "rolled up." Spread out, it pervades the entire dharma realm; rolled up, explicit traces of it cannot be found. (T 48: 941b)

Expressions resembling these of Linji and Farong are found in many Chinese Buddhist texts. One of the earlier of them is the *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (The great mindfulness of breathing sutra), translated by An Shigao 安世高, who worked in Luoyang from about 147 until 170 (see T 15: 163b). The original source from which they derive is unknown.

**A man of old** refers to Nanyue Huairang (677–744), an heir of the Sixth Patriarch.

**To speak about a thing is to miss the mark** translates 說似一物則不中,

a statement from the first conversation between Nanyue and the Sixth Patriarch as recorded in *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*:

> [Huairang] then went to study under the Sixth Patriarch. When he went to make obeisance, the Patriarch asked, "Where do you come from?" [Huairang] replied, "From Mount Song." The Patriarch said, "What is it that has come thus?" [Huairang] replied, "To speak about a thing is to miss the mark." (T 48: 357b)

In the JC account of this episode (T 51: 240c) the opening lines differ slightly, but the final question and answer are the same.

In the construction 說似, the 似 constitutes a directional suffix appended to the verb 說. Sometimes 似 loses its directional function and becomes a mere expletive affixed to the verb, thus forming a compound verb. The earliest example is found in JL 6, in the section on Mazu: "Yinfeng… returned, and related this to the master" 隱峯…却迴舉似於師 (X51: 246b).

CRITICAL EXAMINATIONS 勘辨

I

黃檗、因入厨次、問飯頭、作什麼。飯頭云、揀衆僧米。黃檗云、一日喫多少。飯頭云、二石五。黃檗云、莫太多麼。飯頭云、猶恐少在。黃檗便打。飯頭卻擧似師。師云、我爲汝勘這老漢。纔到侍立次、黃檗擧前話。師云、飯頭不會、請和尚代一轉語。師便問、莫太多麼。

One day when Huangbo entered the kitchen he asked the head rice-cook, "What are you doing?"

The cook said, "I'm picking over the rice for the monks."

"How much do they eat in a day?" asked Huangbo.

"Two and a half *shi*," said the cook.

"Isn't that too much?" asked Huangbo.

"I'm afraid it isn't enough," replied the cook.

Huangbo struck him. Later the cook mentioned this to Linji. Linji said, "I'll test the old fellow for you."

As soon as Linji came to attend Huangbo, Huangbo told him the story.

"The cook didn't understand—Venerable Priest, kindly give a turning-word in place of the cook," said Linji, who then asked, "Isn't that too much?"

**Critical examinations** 勘辨 is a Chan term for encounters where monks exchange questions in order to ascertain each other's understanding. The LL, the YK, and the *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Mingjue) are probably the first examples of Chan works having a section devoted to such exchanges; this may relate to the fact that all of these works were printed under the supervision of Yuanjue Zongyan 圓覺宗演 (n.d.) at Mount Gu 鼓 in Fuzhou 福州 during the Xuanhe 宣和 era (1119–1127) of the Northern Song. Following the example of such works, "dialogue" sections were sometimes included in later works, such as the *Nanyuan Chanshi yuyao* 南院禪師語要 (Essential sayings of Chan Master Nanyuan) and the *Shoushan yulu* 首山語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shoushan).

I

**Head rice-cook** 飯頭 was the monk in charge of preparing meals. The word 頭, literally "head," is added to various words such as "garden," "fire," "medicine," etc., to denote the monk in charge of such things. The "Chanmen guishi" 禪門規式 (Regulations of the Chan school) has:

> We shall establish ten different duties and call them "departments" 寮舍. We shall have one head monk for each such department and put him in charge, letting him supervise his men carrying out their tasks. We shall call 飯頭 the one in charge of the department of food, and the other heads will be called in like manner. (JC 6; T 51: 251a)

**Two and a half shi**. A *shi* 石 is a Chinese bushel, about one and two-thirds bushels

黃檗云、何不道、來日更喫一頓。師云、說什麼來日、即今便喫。道了便掌。黃檗云、這風顛漢、又來這裏捋虎鬚。師便喝出去。後潙山問仰山、此二尊宿、意作麼生。仰山云、和尚作麼生。潙山云、養子方知父慈。仰山云、不然。潙山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、大似勾賊破家。

Huangbo said, "Well, why not say, 'We'll eat a meal again tomorrow!'"

"Why talk about tomorrow—eat it right now!" said Linji, slapping Huangbo in the face.

"This lunatic has come here again to pull the tiger's whiskers," said Huangbo. Linji shouted and went out.

Later, Guishan asked Yangshan, "What did these two worthies have in mind?"

"What do you think, Venerable Priest?" asked Yangshan.

"Only when you have a child do you understand fatherly love," said Guishan.

"Not at all!" said Yangshan.

"Then what do you think?" asked Guishan.

"It's more like, 'To bring in a thief and ruin the house,'" replied Yangshan.

in U.S. dry measure, or 59.44 liters. (See REISCHAUER 1955a, 50, n. 217.)

**Turning word** 一轉語 is a Chan term for a word or phrase that reveals the speaker's degree of enlightenment or that transforms the listener's mind at a critical psychological moment. One of the best-known latter usages of the term is WG, case 2.

> Whenever Master Baizhang lectured an old man would sit with the assembly and listen to the teaching. When the assembly left so would the old man. Then one day the old man remained, and the master asked him, "Who are you, standing in front of me?" The old man said, "I am not a human being. Long ago, in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha, I was a priest living on this mountain. A student happened to ask me whether enlightened people too are subject to the law of cause and effect. I said that they are not, and for this I have been reborn as a fox for five hundred lifetimes. I request a turning-phrase from you so that I may be freed from this fox's body." He then asked, "Are enlightened people subject to the law of cause and effect?" The master answered, "Enlightened people are clear about cause and effect." At these words the old man was deeply enlightened. (T 48: 293a)

**We'll eat a meal again tomorrow** 來日更喫一頓, traditionally interpreted as an imperative meaning, "Take a meal tomorrow again," can also be interpreted as an indicative: "Tomorrow again one will take a meal." 一頓 means "one," referring mainly to meals and sometimes to rest or repose or even to beatings, as in, "Take one blow on the shoulder," etc. Nowadays, though, it almost always refers to a single meal.

**To pull the tiger's whiskers** translates 捋虎鬚, an old saying designating a dangerous exploit, or expressing admiration for one. The word "again" is used since Linji had earlier "pulled the tiger's whiskers" by slapping Huangbo in the face (see page 316, below).

II

師問僧、什麼處來。僧便喝。師便揖坐。僧擬議。師便打。師見僧來、便竪起拂子。僧禮拜。師便打。又見僧來、亦竪起拂子。僧不顧。師亦打。

The master asked a monk, "Where do you come from?" The monk shouted. The master saluted him and motioned him to sit down. The monk hesitated. The master hit him. Seeing another monk coming, the master raised his whisk. The monk bowed low. The master hit him. Seeing still another monk coming, the master again raised his whisk. The monk paid no attention. The master hit him, too.

III

師、一日同普化、赴施主家齋次、師問、毛吞巨海、芥納須彌。爲是神通妙用、本體如然。

One day when the master and Puhua were attending a dinner at a patron's house, the master asked, "'A hair swallows up the great sea and a mustard seed contains Mount Sumeru.' Is this the marvelous activity of supernatural power or is it original substance as it is?"

**Guishan**. See Introduction, note 16.

The exchange that follows is one of nine similar episodes that appear in the LL involving Guishan and his disciple Yangshan, the other eight appearing in the following "Xing lu" 行錄 (Record of pilgrimages) section. All but the last two of these are concerned with episodes that occurred while Linji was at Huangbo's monastery, in the same district where the temples of both Guishan and Yangshan were located.

**Yangshan**. See Introduction, note 24.

**Only when you have a child do you understand fatherly love** was a proverb of that period. It would be incorrect here to take the father as Huangbo and the son as Linji, since Guishan is not referring to the love of any specific father.

**To bring in a thief and ruin the house** was another old proverb of that period. We find it stated in a somewhat adapted version in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*: "It is like a man who adopts a thief as his son; his family property and wealth in the end will never be safe" (T 17: 919c).

III

**Puhua**. See Introduction, note 23.

**A hair swallows… Mount Sumeru**. Linji's remark is apparently based upon a description of the emancipated person found in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> [Such ones] can take the height and breadth of Mount Sumeru and enclose them in a mustard seed without any expansion or diminution. The original form of Sumeru, King of Mountains, remaining just as it is, even the Four Guardian Kings and the gods of the Trayastrimśās who live therein do not recognize or know that they have been enclosed…. Again, they can take the four great seas and enclose them in a

普化踏倒飯床。師云、太麁生。普化云、這裏是什麼所在、說麁說細。師來日、又同普化赴齋。問、今日供養、何似昨日。

Puhua kicked over the dinner table. "How coarse!" exclaimed the master.

"What place do you think this is—talking about coarse and fine!" said Puhua.

The next day the master and Puhua again attended a dinner. The master asked, "How does today's feast compare with yesterday's?"

> single hair-hole [pore] without disturbing the fishes, turtles, lizards, and other watery creatures therein. The original form of these great seas remains just as it is, even the dragons and gods and Asuras who live therein do not recognize or know that they have been put in. (T 14: 546b-c)

Throughout this scene it is likely that Linji and Puhua, in discussing this passage, are thinking of the description of the dinner given by the layman patron Vimalakīrti for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and his disciples, described earlier in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, and likening their own presence at the dinner party to that occasion.

**Original substance as it is** translates 本體如然, an expression no doubt intended to refer to the similar phrase "original form as it is" 本相如故 in the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* passage cited in the note above. See also the following passage in Nanyue Mingzan's *Ledao ge*, found in the JC and the ZJ.

> It is not stupidity and dullness / But original nature as it is. (T 51: 461b)

In the *Muhu ge* 牧護歌 (Song of the herdsman) by Suxi 蘇溪 we read:

> Even though I have no favorable attention from kings and lords / My original substance is just as it is. (T 51: 462c)

The entire question, "Is this the marvelous activity… as it is" 爲是神通妙用, 本體如然, starts with the adverb 爲是, which indicates an alternative question; thus "爲是 A B" means "Is it A or B?" Usually two alternatives are offered, on rare occasions three. The standard form of this expression is "爲是 A 爲是 B," as in the *Lotus Sutra*: "Is this the ultimate dharma, or is it a Way to be practiced?" 爲是窮境法, 爲是所行道 (T 9: 6b).

Either of the two 爲是 compounds may be dropped, however, as in, "Are you worried about worldly affairs, or are your talents limited?" 爲是塵務經心, 天分有限 ("Xianyuan" 賢媛 [Clever women] chapter of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 [A new account of tales of the world]). Another variation is 爲…, 爲…, the earliest examples of which appear in the *Lotus Sutra*, e.g., "Am I mistaken or not mistaken?" 爲失爲不失 (T 9: 11a). Other variants include 爲當 (or 爲復) A, 爲當 (or 爲復) B, and rarely, 莫是…, 爲復….

All of these examples, with the exception of the last, appear in both Buddhist and non-Buddhist literature throughout the Six Dynasties, Tang, and Five Dynasties (see KANDA 1949). The form 爲凡, 爲聖, "Are you a common man or a saint?", which appears a little later in the LL text, has its origins in 爲…, 爲… and is related to the 是… 是… (or 還是) of modern Chinese.

**How coarse** translates 太麁生, an example of the grammatical construction 太 + adj. + 生. In this formula, 太 serves to intensify the meaning of the adjective, while 生 is a suffix accompanying 太. The combination as a whole, however, may be seen to function as an emphatic predicate (predicative) adjective, or, in other words,

普化依前踏倒飯床。師云、得即得、太麁生。普化云、瞎漢、佛法說什麼麁細。師乃吐舌。

Puhua kicked over the dinner table as before. "Good enough," said the master, "but how coarse!"

"Blind man!" said Puhua. "What's buddhadharma got to do with coarse and fine?"

The master stuck out his tongue.

as an adjective that is invariably found as a predicate.

Several other examples of this expression are found later in the Linji text, such as 太多生, "too many"; 太高生, "too lofty"; and 太無禮生, "so lacking in manners"; others, like 太難生, 太能生, 太貪生, and 太瘦生, may be found in the *Youxian ku* and other materials.

**How does today's feast compare with yesterday's?** translates 今日供養、何似昨日. The colloquialism 何似, an expression peculiar to the Tang and Five Dynasty periods, was used in asking the relative merits of two things, A and B. In the work of the Tang poets Meng Haoran 孟活然 (689–740) and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) this expression carries the suggestion that, from the standpoint of the questioner, B is better than A, though this is not always true for examples in the prose works of the period.

In the case of certain examples from the *bianwen* literature of Dunhuang, however, the construction 何似 does not involve comparison, but means "how" or "what" in reference to only one thing, i.e., 我子心裏何似, "What is in my child's mind?" and 其人形容何似, "What does that person look like?" This use of 何似 is similar to that of 何似許 or 何似生. Both 許 and 生 are simply suffixes.

The 似 in 何似 is often mistakenly assumed to have its usual meaning of "to resemble." However, the compound 何似 is similar to 何如 in the written language. In the spoken language of the Song and Yuan, 似 in the compounds 強似 and 勝似, both meaning "better than," is often replaced by 如; both expressions are equivalent to 於, "than," of the written language.

**The master stuck out his tongue**. Sticking out the tongue was an expression of fear or surprise. See the *Xuefeng yulu* 雪峰語錄 (Recorded sayings of Xuefeng):

> The master addressed the group, saying, "On South Mountain there is a terrapin-nosed snake. All of you better watch out for him!" Yunmen took a stick and poked it in the master's face, posturing as though he were afraid, spreading his mouth and sticking out his tongue. (x 69: 82c–83a)

IV

師一日、與河陽木塔長老、同在僧堂地爐內坐。因說、普化每日在街市、掣風掣顛。知他是凡是聖。言猶未了、普化入來。師便問、汝是凡是聖。普化云、汝且道、我是凡是聖。師便喝。普化以手指云、河陽新婦子、木塔老婆禪。臨濟小廝兒、卻具一隻眼。師云、這賊。普化云賊賊、便出去。

One day when the master and the venerable old priests Heyang and Muta were sitting together around the fire-pit in the Monks' Hall, the master said, "Every day Puhua goes through the streets acting like a lunatic. Who knows whether he's an ordinary person or a sage?"

Before he had finished speaking Puhua came in. "Are you a commoner or a sage?" the master asked.

"Now, you tell me whether I'm a commoner or a sage," answered Puhua.

The master shouted.

Pointing his finger at them, Puhua said, "Heyang is a new bride, Muta is a Chan granny, and Linji is a young menial, but he has the eye."

"You thief!" cried the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried Puhua, and went out.

## IV

**Heyang and Muta**. Nothing is known of these two figures beyond what is recounted in this exchange. This episode appears also in ZJ 17; JC 10; and in the Puhua section of *Zongmen tongyao ji* 宗門統要集 (Essential collection of the lineage of the Chan school) 66, although the respective contents differ somewhat.

**Who knows** translates 知他, the traditional Japanese reading of which interprets the word 他 as a third person pronoun, making it the subject of "whether he's an ordinary person or a sage" 是凡是聖. 他 is actually a suffix forming a compound with 知 and has no meaning of its own. 知他 is the same as 不知 and usually introduces a rhetorical question with a slightly ironical connotation; 他 in itself has no such rhetorical function. A similar use of the word 他 is found in the compound 管他, meaning "I don't care if…," which is much used since the Song period.

知他 is frequently used in the *ci* poems of the Northern and Southern Song, in Yuan dramas 元曲, and in literary works such as the *Yuanchao mishi* 元朝密史 (Secret history of the Mongols), and the *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Outlaws of the marsh). This example in the LL seems to be the earliest appearance of the form in literature, except possibly in the novel *Kaihe ji* 開河記, by an unknown author, where the following sentence is found: 蕭后謂曰, 知他是甚圖畫, "Empress Xiao said, 'Who knows what kind of painting it is?'"

**Puhua came in** is invariably written in older texts of the LL (as in the present one) as 普化入來, while currently popular texts have 普化入衆來. The older version renders the context of the passage more logically consistent.

**Linji is a young menial, but he has the**

V

一日、普化在僧堂前、喫生菜。師見云、大似一頭驢。普化便作驢鳴。師云、這賊。普化云賊賊、便出去。

One day Puhua was eating raw vegetables in front of the Monks' Hall. The master saw him and said, "Just like an ass!"

"Heehaw, heehaw!" brayed Puhua.

"You thief!" said the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried Puhua, and went off.

VI

因普化、常於街市搖鈴云、明頭來、明頭打、暗頭來、暗頭打、四方八面來、旋風打、虛空來、連架打。師令侍者去、纔見如是道、便把住云、總不與麼來時如何。

Puhua was always going around the streets ringing a little bell and calling out,

Coming as brightness, I hit the brightness;
Coming as darkness, I hit the darkness;
Coming from the four quarters and eight directions, I hit like a whirlwind;
Coming from empty sky, I lash like a flail.

The master told his attendant to go and, the moment he heard Puhua say these words, to grab him and ask, "If coming is not at all thus, what then?" [The attendant went and did so.]

**eye** translates 臨濟小廝兒、卻具一隻眼. In Puhua's biography in the JC and ZJ 17, Puhua says (though in a different context), "Linji, a menial, has only one eye!" 臨濟小廝兒、只具一隻眼 (T 51: 280b). This seems not to be a laudatory statement. The same version is in the *Zhaozhou lu*, in a context similar to that mentioned above.

V

**Raw vegetables** translates 生菜, which in modern Chinese refers only to a kind of lettuce used as a salad green, but in Tang times meant any kind of uncooked vegetable. The JC has, "The master (Zhaozhou) asked the head vegetable-cook, 'Are we going to have a meal of raw vegetables 生菜 or cooked vegetables 熟菜 today?'" (T 51: 277c).

VI

**Coming as brightness… lash like a flail.** This interpretation is based on the verse as it appears in Puhua's biography in ZJ 17. The verse is full of implications, however, and has been interpreted in various ways. Another possible reading is:

When one [it] comes as brightness, I hit with brightness / When one [it] comes as darkness, I hit with darkness.
When one [it] comes from the four corners and the eight directions, I hit like a

普化托開云、來日大悲院裏有齋。侍者回、擧似師。師云、我從來疑著這漢。

Puhua pushed him away, saying, "There'll be a feast tomorrow at Dabei yuan."

The attendant returned and told this to the master. The master said, "I've always held wonder for that fellow."

VII

有一老宿參師、未曾人事、便問、禮拜即是、不禮拜即是。師便喝。老宿便禮拜。師云、好箇草賊。老宿云賊賊、便出去。

An old worthy came to see the master. Before presenting the customary gift, he asked, "Is it proper to bow, or is it proper not to bow?"

The master shouted. The old worthy bowed low. "A fine thief in the grass you are!" said the master.

"Thief, thief!" cried the old worthy and started to go out.

whirlwind / When one [it] comes from the void, I lash like a flail.

The usual Japanese Zen interpretation of brightness and darkness is that they represent differentiation and equality, respectively. There is a related statement in the *Nanquan yuyao* 南泉語要 (Essential sayings of Nanquan), in the Song edition of the *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (Essential sayings of the ancient worthies):

Brightness and darkness of themselves come and go / Yet empty sky is motionless;
Myriad things of themselves come and go / But there is no reflection whatsoever of brightness and darkness upon them. (X 68: 73a–b)

**Dabei yuan** 大悲院 was at this time a small temple in the city of Zhenzhou. According to the JC (T 51: 290a), it was later presided over by a disciple of Linji's heir Sansheng Huiran.

**I've always held wonder for that fellow** is a comment that may be either complimentary or derogatory. Identical or similar phrases are found in the section on Baizhang Huaihai in the JC (T 51: 250a) and BG (X 69: 7a), Deshan in the JC (T 51: 318a), and Nanquan in the GY (X 68: 69b). Linji himself employs it later (Critical Examinations 11) in reference to Deshan. The ambiguity of the expression "held wonder" 疑著 was perhaps not unintentionally used by these masters. For example, a note appended to the account of this episode as recorded in the JC section on Deshan comments:

> Master Ji 齊 of Dongchan once said, "For instance, Linji said, 'Hitherto I've always held wonder for that fellow.' Were these words of assent or dissent? Or did they have another meaning? Try to judge." (T 51: 318a)

VII

**Customary gift** translates 人事, which, as a colloquial term, was ordinarily a noun meaning a present or offering. The earliest such use of the term is found in the chronicle of Emperor Wu 武 in *Jin shu* 晉書 (Chronicles of the Jin) 3. *Tongsu bian* 9 gives five examples from the celebrated

師云、莫道無事好。首座侍立次、師云、還有過也無。首座云、有。師云、賓家有過、主家有過。首座云、二俱有過。師云、過在什麼處。首座便出去。師云、莫道無事好。後有僧擧似南泉。南泉云、官馬相踏。

The master said, "Better not think you can get away with that." [Later] when the head monk was attending the master, the master asked, "Was there any fault?"

The head monk said, "There was."

"Whose fault was it, the guest's or the host's?" asked the master.

"Both were at fault," answered the head monk.

"Where was the fault?" asked the master. The head monk started to go out. The master said, "Better not think you can get away with that."

Later a monk told the story to Nanquan. Nanquan said, "Fine horses trampling one another."

Tang poets Han Yu 韓愈, Bai Juyi, and Du Mu 杜牧. Later, however, 人事 came to be used as a verb meaning "to give a gift," as in the present instance. Another example of this usage is found on page 316, below.

**Nanquan** is the common designation for Puyuan 普願 (748–835), who lived on Mount Nanquan 南泉 in Chizhou 池州. He was a disciple of Mazu, and since he lived earlier than Linji some scholars have doubted the reliability of this story. In the JC text, the passage that begins with "Later a monk" is omitted.

Nanquan was in the third generation of the Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 lineage. He was a native of Xinzheng 新鄭 in Zhengzhou 鄭州, in modern Henan, with the family name of Wang 王. At the age of nine he was ordained by a priest named Dahui 大慧 (n.d.) at the temple on Mount Dawei 大隗 in his native province. After taking the full precepts on Mount Song 嵩 at the age of thirty he studied the texts of the Vinaya, then turned his attention to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* and *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. Next he studied the doctrines of the Sanlun school, which is based on the works of Nāgārjuna and his disciples. Becoming interested in Chan, he called upon Mazu Daoyi (709–788), under whom he is said to have forgotten all that he had learned and attained the Samādhi of Play 游戲三昧.

In 795, after finishing his practice under Mazu, Puyuan went to Mount Nanquan and built himself a hermitage, where he remained for the next thirty years. In 828 Lu Geng 陸亘 (764–834), the governor of the city Xuancheng 宣城 in the same prefecture, invited the master to teach. Soon a large assembly gathered around him at his mountain temple, known as Nanquan yuan 南泉院. Among his most noteworthy successors were Changsha Jingcen 長沙景岑 (n.d.), and Zhaozhou Congshen. The master also continued his relationship with the governor, who eventually became his disciple and dharma successor. Puyuan's death is described as follows in the JC:

> When the master was about to die, the head monk asked him, "Your Reverence, a hundred years from now where will you be?" "I shall be a water buffalo at the foot of the hill," said the master. "Will it be all right for me to follow you?" asked the

VIII

師因入軍營赴齋、門首見員僚。師指露柱問、是凡是聖。員僚無語。師打露柱云、直饒道得、也祇是箇木橛。便入去。

One day the master entered an army camp to attend a feast. At the gate he saw a staff officer. Pointing to a pillar, he asked, "Is this secular or sacred?"

The officer had no reply.

Striking the pillar, the master said, "Even if you could speak, this is still only a wooden post." Then he went in.

IX

師問院主、什麼處來。

The master said to the steward of the temple, "Where have you come from?"

head monk. "If you follow me, you must hold a stalk of grass in your mouth," was [Puyuan's] reply.

At daybreak on the morning of 27 January 835, the master said to his disciples, "The star has been fading and the lamp growing dim for a long time. Do not say that I came or went." His words ceased, and he passed away. He was in his eighty-seventh year. (T 51: 259a–b; ZD trans., 273–274)

VIII

**Pillar** translates 露柱, a compound that may be more literally translated as "exposed pillar." It is not certain exactly what this rather enigmatic term refers to, although in Zen literature it is frequently used metaphorically to indicate any nonsentient thing, the precise connotation determined by the context. For example, the biography of Changsha Zhenlang 長沙振朗 in the JC states:

> The master visited Shitou for instruction and asked, "What is the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the West?" Shitou answered, "Ask that pillar out there." The master said, "I don't understand." Whereupon Shitou remarked, "Neither do I." Upon hearing this the master was suddenly enlightened. (T 51: 311b)

Another example is found in the biography of Changsha Jingcen:

> A monk asked, "[It is said that] motion is the seed of the Dharma-King and motionlessness the root of the Dharma-King. Now what about the Dharma-King?" The master, pointing at an outdoor pillar, remarked, "Why don't you ask that great gentleman?" (T 51: 275a)

For 露柱 used in another, more literal, sense, see page 234, above.

**Even if** translates 直饒, a compound peculiar to the Tang. For 直 as an emphatic adverb, see the comment on page 207, above. Synonyms of 直饒 are 徑饒, 假饒, and 縱饒. After the Tang, however, the latter two compounds by and large came to replace the former two.

IX

**Steward** translates 院主, the monk in charge of monastery management. In later times the title 監事 was more often used.

主云、州中糶黃米去來。師云、糶得盡麼。主云、糶得盡。師以杖面前畫一畫云、還糶得這箇麼。主便喝。師便打。典座至。師擧前語。典座云、院主不會和尚意。師云、爾作麼生。典座便禮拜。師亦打

"I've been to the provincial capital to sell the millet," answered the steward.

"Did you sell all of it?" asked the master.

"Yes, I sold all of it," replied the steward.

The master drew a line in front of him with his staff and said, "But can you sell this?" The steward gave a shout. The master hit him. The chief cook came in. The master told him about the previous conversation.

The chief cook said, "The steward didn't understand you."

"How about you?" asked the master. The chief cook bowed low. The master hit him, too.

X

有座主來相看次、師問、座主講何經說。主云、某甲荒虛、粗習百法論。師云、有一人、於三乘十二分教明得。有一人、於三乘十二分教明不得。

When a certain lecture master came to have an interview with Linji, the master said to him, "What sutras and śāstras do you expound?"

"Insofar as my miserable abilities allow, I have made a cursory study of the *Baifa lun*," replied the lecture master.

The master said, "Suppose there was a man who had attained comprehension of the Three Vehicles' twelve divisions of the teachings, and there was another man who had not comprehended it, would there be any difference or not?"

**Chief cook** translates 典座, the monk responsible for the acquisition and storage of food and the upkeep of the kitchen utensils. The term is still used in the same sense in modern Japanese monasteries. The *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (Baizhang's rules for purity) states:

> The chief cook is responsible for feeding the monks. He is to keep clean all offerings from believers, keep the food stores replenished, take proper care of the kitchen utensils and never handle them carelessly, and teach lay believers to observe the regulations. (T 48: 1132c)

X

***Baifa lun*** 百法論 is an abbreviated form of the title *Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* 大乘百法明門論 (Clear introduction to the one hundred dharmas). The *Baifa lun* is a Yogācāra text attributed to the fifth-century Yogācārin Vasubandhu (Tianqin

是同是別。主云、明得即同、明不得即別。樂普爲侍者、在師後立云、座主、這裏是什麼所在、說同說別。師回首問侍者、汝又作麼生。侍者便喝。師送座主回來、遂問侍者、適來是汝喝老僧。侍者云、是。師便打。

"For the one who had attained comprehension, it would be the same; for the one who had not attained comprehension, it would be different," replied the lecture master.

Lepu, who was standing behind the master attending him, said, "Lecture master, where do you think you are, talking about 'same' and 'different'!"

Turning his head, the master asked Lepu, "Well, how about you?"

The attendant gave a shout. When the master returned from seeing the lecture master off, he said to the attendant, "Was it to me that you shouted just now?"

"Yes," said the attendant. The master hit him.

XI

師聞第二代德山垂示云、道得也三十棒、道不得也三十棒、師令樂普去問、道得爲什麼也三十棒、待伊打汝、接住棒送一送、看他作麼生。

The master heard that Deshan of the second generation said, "Thirty blows if you can speak; thirty blows if you can't." The master told Lepu to go and ask Deshan, "'Why thirty blows to one who can speak?' Wait until he hits at you, then grab his stick and give him a jab. See what he does then."

天親), although the authenticity of this attribution is in question. The text was translated into Chinese by Xuanzang.

**Suppose there was a man… replied the lecture master**. What Linji is asking, in effect, is whether a lecture master's understanding of the buddhadharma is the same as that of a Chan master. The lecture master answers that with regard to what they *do* understand about the buddhadharma they are the same, but with regard to what they *do not* understand they are quite different. The lecture master's answer implies, furthermore, that while the understanding of buddhadharma through the Three Vehicles's twelve divisions of the teachings is discriminatory in nature, there is also an intuitive way of understanding that is not available to the discriminatory powers of the mind. This way of understanding, needless to say, is at the crux of the succeeding exchange between Linji and Lepu.

**Lepu**. See Introduction, note 34.

XI

**Deshan of the second generation** refers to Linji's contemporary, Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑, the disciple of Longtan Chongxin who resided at the temple Gude

普到彼、如教而問。德山便打。普接住送一送。德山便歸方丈。普回舉似師。師云、我從來疑著這漢。雖然如是、汝還見德山麼。普擬議。師便打。

When Lepu reached Deshan's place he questioned him as instructed. Deshan hit at him. Lepu seized the stick and gave Deshan a jab with it. Deshan went back to his quarters.

Lepu returned and told Linji what had taken place. "I've always held wonder for that fellow," the master said. "Be that as it may, did you understand Deshan?"

Lepu hesitated. The master hit him.

XII

王常侍、一日訪師。同師於僧堂前看、乃問、這一堂僧、還看經麼。師云、不看經。侍云、還學禪麼。師云、不學禪。侍云、經又不看、禪又不學、畢竟作箇什麼。師云、總教伊成佛作祖去。侍云、金屑雖貴、落眼成翳。又作麼生。師云、將爲爾是箇俗漢。

One day the Councilor Wang visited the master. When he met the master in front of the Monks' Hall, he asked, "Do the monks of this monastery read the sutras?"

"No, they don't read sutras," said the master.

"Then do they learn meditation?" asked the councilor.

"No, they don't learn meditation," answered the master.

"If they neither read sutras nor learn meditation, what in the world are they doing?" asked the councilor.

"All I do is make them become buddhas and patriarchs," said the master.

The councilor said, "'Though gold dust is valuable, in the eyes it causes cataracts.'"

"I always used to think you were just a common fellow," said the master.

chanyuan 古德禪院 on Mount De 德 in Langzhou 朗州 (see Introduction, note 10). The words "of the second generation" are added to his name to distinguish him from the earlier Deshan Zongyin 德山總印 (n.d.), a priest of little historical importance who lived on Mount Sanjue 三角 in Tanzhou 潭州 and was a disciple of Mazu.

XII

**Though gold dust… cataracts**. This appears to have been a common saying at the time, though the source has not so far been identified. The saying is quoted in numerous Chan texts, including the JC section on Xingshan Weikuan 興善惟寬 (T 51: 255b) and the GY section on Wuzu

XIII

師問杏山、如何是露地白牛。山云、吽吽。師云、啞那。山云、長老作麼生。師云、這畜生。

The master asked Xingshan, "What is the white ox on the bare ground?"
"Moo, moo!" said Xingshan.
"A mute, eh?" said the master.
"Venerable sir, how about you?" said Xingshan.
"You beast!" said the master.

Fayan 五祖法演 (X 68: 139b). An anecdote very similar to this one, and most likely referring to the same incident, is found in the JC:

> The master [Xuefeng] said, "Once there was an old master who was guiding an official around the monastery. 'We have two or three hundred monks here, all of them studying the buddhadharma,' said the old master. The official replied, 'A man of old had a saying that started, "Though gold dust is valuable". What about that?"
>
> Xuefeng asked Jingqing what he thought about this story, and Jingqing answered, "Until now I have been tossing out bricks and getting jewels in return." (T 51: 328a)

Jingqing's answer is similar to the English expression, 'Throw a sprat to catch a whale.'"

**I always used to think** renders the conjunction 將爲, which means "[Though] I have hitherto believed that…." 將爲 is usually followed by a subordinate clause, indicating that what is really the situation is contrary to what one had believed or been convinced of. This subordinate clause is sometimes omitted, but even then the sentence suggests that what one has so far believed is incorrect. The character 爲 is frequently replaced by 謂, as in the passage of the GY version of the LL that corresponds to this (X 68: 30c). Another example is to be found later in the text; see page 326, below.

*Zhuzi bianlue* 助字辨略 2 quotes a poem by Shao Yaofu 邵堯夫 (i.e., Shao Yong 邵雍, 1011–1077), under the item 將, and explains,

> 將爲 indicates conjecture (or inference) and is equivalent to the modern usage 只道是 ("I have been [mistakenly] convinced that…," or, "I always [mistakenly] used to think that…").

During the Tang dynasty the synonym 將作 was used on rare occasions (see DB, 251.5 and 742.2).

XIII

**Xingshan**. See Introduction, note 33.

**What is the white ox on the bare ground?** The expressions "white ox" 白牛 and "bare ground" 露地 derive originally from the famous parable of the burning house in chapter 3 of the *Lotus Sutra*. In the parable a rich father, in order to induce his children to leave their house that, without their realizing it, has caught on fire, promises them all sorts of toys. After the children have left the house and are sitting safely outside on the "bare ground," he gives them each a cart drawn by a "white ox."

Later Buddhist thinkers have often taken the two phrases out of context and given them highly philosophical interpretations. The *Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (Treatise on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*) of Li Tongxuan 李通

玄 (639–734), for example, interprets them as follows:

> The "bare ground" and the "white ox" illustrate the attainment of a place of perfect nondependence. The "bare ground" is the buddha-ground, since the buddha-wisdom has nothing that it depends or rests upon. Therefore it is called "bare ground." The "white ox" is the dharmakāya, and is merciful wisdom as well. Because the dharmakāya is without form, it is called white. (T 36: 733c)

In the Zen tradition the image of a white ox on bare ground repeatedly appeared as a theme of discussions and exchanges between masters and their disciples, and eventually gave rise to the famous "Ten Oxherding Pictures," a series of ten pictures, with accompanying poems, in which the path of Zen training toward enlightenment is symbolically represented in the form of a story about an oxherd (the student) tending an ox (the mind).

There are many other examples of anecdotes paralleling the one in the text. In the following example the same question evokes an answer identical to that of Linji; interestingly, the protagonist is, again, Deshan Xuanjian.

> A monk asked the master [Deshan Xuanjian], "What is the white ox on the bare ground?" The master said, "Moo, moo!" "What sort of food does he live on?" asked the monk. "Eat!" said the master. (X 67: 121b)

A nearly identical exchange is attributed to Touzi Yiqing 投子義青 (1032–1083; X 67: 121b).

Zhaozhou Congshen gave two responses to the same question at different occasions:

> Someone asked, "What is the white ox on the bare ground?" The master said, "In the moonlight, color is of no use" 月下不用色. (X 68: 79b)
>
> Someone asked, "What is the white ox on the bare ground?" The master said, "This beast!" 者畜生 (GY 14; X 68: 84a).

Responses by other masters include, "A cracked bowl!" 破盆子, by Yexian Guixing 葉縣歸省 (n.d.; X 68: 152a); and, "Even the point of a needle can't enter!" 針劄不入, by Dongshan Shouchu 洞山守初 (910–990; X 68: 248b).

**Moo, moo** renders 哞哞, which is the onomatopoeia for the sound of bovine lowing. Some Zen masters, however, use it as an exclamation that has mystical connotations (perhaps because of the association with similar sounds in the dhāraṇī chants) symbolizing the Source to which all things return, or the wisdom of nondifferentiation.

> Someone asked, "How would you say it all in one word?" The master said, "Moo! Moo! It hits my front teeth." The questioner stepped forward and said, "I have had the privilege of receiving your instruction." The master said, "This fellow is with a head and with no tail!" (GY 6; X 68: 37c)
>
> When Ven. Cao 操 was walking with Dagui 大潙, they suddenly saw a donkey eating grass. The master snatched away the grass the animal was eating and, turning to Dagui, said, "Moo! Moo!" Dagui thereupon got on all fours and imitated a donkey braying. The master cried, "The beast!" Dagui then asked, "What did you see right now?" Upon this the master struck him. (ZJ 16)

**A mute, eh?** translates 啞那. That this is a question is indicated by the final particle 那. For examples of this particle in Chan literature, see the *Kattō gosen* 葛藤語箋 (Notes on Zen terminology), by Mujaku Dōchū, 66.

XIV

師問樂普云、從上來、一人行棒、一人行喝。阿那箇親。普云、總不親。師云、親處作麼生。普便喝。師乃打。

The master asked Lepu, "Up to now it has been the custom for some people to use the stick and others to give a shout. Which comes closer [to the heart of the recipient]?"

"Neither," replied Lepu.

"What does come close?" asked the master.

Lepu shouted. The master hit him.

XV

師見僧來、展開兩手。僧無語。師云、會麼。云、不會。師云、渾崙擘不開、與爾兩文錢。

The master, seeing a monk coming, spread his arms out wide. The monk said nothing. "Do you understand?" the master asked.

"No, I don't," replied the monk.

"It's impossible to break open Hunlun," said the master. "I'll give you a couple coins."

XVI

大覺到參。

Dajue came to see Linji.

XIV

**Which comes closer** translates the sentence 阿那箇親. The interrogative 阿那, translated here as "which," is peculiar to the Tang dynasty and the period of the Five Dynasties, although examples of 阿 used as a prefix with no meaning are frequently found from the time of the Six Dynasties. The construction 阿那 is never used by itself, but is always followed by a noun or a pronoun. It is found in such compounds as 阿那箇, "which one"; 阿那經, "which sutra"; 阿那裏, "where"; and 阿那邊, "where."

XV

**Hunlun** 渾崙 most commonly refers either to a range of mountains west of China, where legend says the Taoist immortals and Queen Mother of the West live, or to the state of original, undifferentiated chaos.

Here, however, Linji seems to be saying that he'll give the monk some traveling money to be on his way, as he's a blockhead who can't understand.

XVI

**Dajue**. See Introduction, note 32. The identification of Dajue as Linji's disciple in

師舉起拂子。大覺敷坐具。師擲下拂子。大覺收坐具、入僧堂。衆僧云、這僧莫是和尚親故、不禮拜、又不喫棒。師聞、令喚覺。覺出。師云、大衆道、汝未參長老。覺云不審、便自歸衆。

The master raised his whisk. Dajue spread his sitting cloth. The master threw down the whisk. Dajue folded up the cloth and went into the Monks' Hall.

"That monk must be related to the Venerable Priest. He didn't bow and didn't get hit," said the monks.

Hearing of this, the master sent for Dajue. When Dajue came out, the master said, "The monks are saying that you haven't yet paid your respects to the master."

"How are you?" said Dajue and rejoined the monks.

XVII

趙州行腳時參師。遇師洗腳次、州便問、如何是祖師西來意。師云、恰值老僧洗腳。州近前、作聽勢。師云、更要第二杓惡水澆在。州便下去。

Zhaozhou while on a pilgrimage came to see Linji. The master happened to be washing his feet when they met.

Zhaozhou asked, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

"I just happen to be washing my feet," replied the master.

Zhaozhou came closer and, cocking his ear, gave the appearance of listening. The master said, "I'm going to pour out a second dipper of dirty water." Zhaozhou departed.

TG 12 (X 78: 475a) and the Yuan and post-Yuan editions of the JC appears to be based on the present passage.

**Sitting cloth** translates 坐具, a rectangular cloth mat about six feet by three feet in size, made by sewing together three or four layers of new and old cloth. It derived from a mat, called a "niṣīdana" in Sanskrit, that was originally used by monks for their daily sitting and sleeping.

XVII

**Zhaozhou**. See Introduction, note 28. The *Zhaozhou lu* presents a different version of the present anecdote; see the following note.

**I'm going to… dirty water.** This translates 更要第二杓惡水澆在, the traditional interpretation of which is, "Do you want a second dipper of dirty water poured on you?" This reading was probably influenced by a similar anecdote in the JC section on Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學 (n. d.):

> One day the master [Cuiwei Wuxue] was walking around the lecture hall when Touzi 投子 came forward and, after bowing, asked, "How do you explain to people the secret meaning of the coming from

XVIII

有定上座、到參問、如何是佛法大意。師下繩床、擒住與一掌、便托開。定佇立。傍僧云、定上座、何不禮拜。定方禮拜、忽然大悟。

When Elder Ding came to see Linji he asked, "What is the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma?" The master got down from his rope-bottomed chair. Seizing Ding, he gave him a slap and pushed him away. Ding stood still.

A monk standing by said, "Elder Ding, why don't you bow?" Just as he bowed, Ding attained great enlightenment.

XIX

麻谷到參。敷坐具問、十二面觀音、阿那面正。

Mayu came to see Linji. Spreading his mat, he asked, "Which is the true face of the Twelve-faced Guanyin?"

the West?" The master stopped walking for a moment. Touzi pressed him, saying, "I beg you to give me some instruction!" The master said, "What's the good of wanting a second dipper of dirty water?" 更要第二杓惡水作麼. (T 51: 313c)

This incident also appears in GY 36, in the section on Touzi (X 68: 237c–238a).

In the passage above Cuiwei's remark is clearly a question, but it is forced to read Linji's comment in a similar way as an interrogative. Such a reading represents a misunderstanding of the grammatical function of 在, the final particle of this clause (see comment on page 178, above).

In the *Zhaozhou lu* version of this exchange, Zhaozhou is washing his feet when Linji approaches, asks the meaning of the Patriarch's coming from the West, then comes closer to listen to Zhaozhou's answer. The latter's reply is different from that given by Linji in the LL version: Zhaozhou says, "If you understand, then understand. If you don't, then why go around nibbling and pecking?" (X 68: 89b). Dōchū reports that TG 10 and ZH 9 follow the version of this anecdote found in the LL, but that WH 11, GY 14, and various other texts all follow the version found in the *Zhaozhou lu*.

XVIII

**Elder Ding**. See Introduction, note 41.

**Rope-bottomed chair** translates 繩床, a kind of chair introduced to China from Central Asia during the Six Dynasties. It was originally called a "barbarian seat" 胡床, but this name was later abandoned. The term 繩床 is found as early as the translation of the *Chang ahan jing* (T 1: 68b–c), which dates from the period 399–416. For further discussion, see FITZGERALD 1965.

XIX

**Mayu**. See Introduction, note 30.

**Mayu came to see Linji….** The account that follows is similar to one recorded in ZJ 20, in the section on Ven. Mi 米和尚:

師下繩床、一手收坐具、一手搊麻谷云、十二面觀音、向什麼處去也。麻谷轉身、擬坐繩床。師拈拄杖打。麻谷接卻、相捉入方丈。

Getting down from the rope-bottomed chair, the master seized the mat with one hand and with the other grabbed hold of Mayu. "Where has the Twelve-faced Guanyin gone?" he asked.

Mayu jerked himself free and tried to sit on the chair. The master picked up his stick and hit at him. Mayu grabbed the stick; holding it between them, they entered the master's quarters.

> Linji asked the master [Mi], "The Twelve-faced Guanyin—is it not holy?" "It is," said the master. "But which is the original face?" Linji tried to give the master a slap. "Gently, gently, if you please!" said the master, whereupon Linji merely fanned the air beside the master's face.

In the JC section on Mayu Baoche 麻谷寶徹 we find still another incident of this kind between Mayu and Danyuan Yingzhen 眒源應眞 (n.d.):

> Danyuan asked, "Are all the faces of the Twelve-faced Guanyin holy?" The master [Mayu] replied, "They are." Danyuan gave the master a slap. "I can see," said the master, "that you have not yet reached this realm." (T 51: 254a)

The Twelve-faced Guanyin, therefore, would seem to have been a frequent topic of discussion at this time. The text of the LL found in SY 6, however, does not contain this passage; it is possibly a later addition.

The Twelve-faced Guanyin (see also pages 128–129, above) is a manifestation of the bodhisattva popular in Buddhist esoteric schools, with the twelve faces symbolizing the bodhisattva's unlimited functioning as she observes all sentient beings. In this she is like the Thousand-arm Guanyin. Guanyin in her twelve-faced manifestation is said to have come into existence when the bodhisattva, looking upon all the suffering beings in the world, was so afflicted that her head burst into pieces. Amitābha Buddha put her head back together with eleven extra heads, to further aid her in her work of alleviating the world's suffering.

The image of the Twelve-faced Guanyin customarily had eleven faces arranged above a single large face, and was often referred to as the Eleven-faced Guanyin. The *Shiyimian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀音神呪經 (Sutra on the Eleven-faced Guanyin *dhāraṇī*), translated into Chinese by the sixth-century monk Yasogupta (Yeshe Jueduo 耶舍崛多) during the Northern Zhou dynasty, is said to have been the source of the Eleven-faced Guanyin concept.

XX

師問僧、有時一喝、如金剛王寶劍。有時一喝、如踞地金毛師子。有時一喝、如探竿影草。有時一喝、不作一喝用。汝作麼生會。僧擬議。師便喝。

The master asked a monk, "Sometimes a shout is like the Diamond Sword of the Vajra King; sometimes a shout is like the golden-haired lion crouching on the ground; sometimes a shout is like a weed-tipped fishing pole; sometimes a shout doesn't function as a shout. How do you understand this?"

The monk hesitated. The master gave a shout.

XXI

師問一尼、善來惡來。尼便喝。師拈棒云、更道更道。尼又喝。師便打。

The master asked a nun, "Well-come or ill-come?" The nun shouted.
"Go on, go on, speak!" cried the master, taking up his stick.
Again the nun shouted. The master hit her.

## XX

**The master asked a monk…**. The following section has become known as "Linji's Four Shouts."

**The Diamond Sword of the Vajra King** is a symbol of extreme hardness and durability, often used in Chan texts to indicate the sword of wisdom that cuts off delusion. The commentary to BL case 35, for example, says, "If you wish to penetrate a koan, you must be as thoroughly sharp as the magnificent diamond sword" (T 48: 173c).

**The golden-haired lion crouching on the ground** refers to a lion lying in wait for its prey, a symbol of awesome strength and power. Another example of this expression is found in the verse to case 72 of the BL:

> If you are a real lion with a golden mane, how does it come that you are not crouching on the ground? For a real lion, before jumping on his prey, hides his fangs and claws, draws back, and lowers his body to the ground. And regardless of the size of the prey he utilizes his entire power in order to get his objective. (T 48: 200c)

**Weed-tipped fishing pole**. Commentators differ widely in their interpretation of what this is. Some take it to be a kind of weed-trimmed pole used to probe the fish from the bottom of the water or attract them to one place. Others take it to be one of two things: a pole tipped with feathers to attract fish to a particular place, or weeds strewn on the surface of the water to attract fish to their shade. Whatever the exact meaning, it appears to be used here as a metaphor for the methods of a Chan master to test and guide his disciples.

## XXI

**Well-come or ill-come**. According to the *Ahan jing* 阿含經 (*Āgama* sutras), the Buddha customarily greeted monks who had newly left their homes to join

XXII

龍牙問、如何是祖師西來意。師云、與我過禪板來。牙便過禪板與師。師接得便打。牙云、打即任打、要且無祖師意。牙後到翠微問、如何是祖師西來意。微云、與我過蒲團來。牙便過蒲團與翠微。翠微接得便打。

Longya asked Linji, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

Linji said, "Hand me the backrest." Longya handed the backrest to the master. The master took it and hit him with it.

Longya said, "It's all right that you hit me, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

Later Longya went to see Cuiwei and asked him, "What is the purpose of the Patriarch's coming from the West?"

Cuiwei said, "Hand me the rush mat." Longya handed the mat to Cuiwei. Cuiwei took it and hit him with it.

the sangha with the words, "Well-come 善來, bhikku!" Here Linji is punning on the literal meaning of the greeting by coining the opposite phrase, "Ill-come!" The *Zengyi ahan jing* states:

> Then Mahākāśyapa, leading his five hundred disciples, went over to the place where the Venerable One was, and touching his head to the ground, saluted the Buddha's feet. Standing by his side, Mahākāśyapa said, "I implore you, my Venerable Buddha, to let us be monks and let us practice the practice of purity, for, according to the general laws of the Buddha, if you, Venerable One, say, 'Well-come, bhikku', one instantly becomes a monk." Whereupon the Venerable One said to Mahākāśyapa, "Well-come, bhikku. But this dharma is subtle. Practice well the practice of purity." Then the clothes of Mahākāśyapa and his five hundred disciples transformed into monk's robes and their hair fell out by itself, leaving them looking as though they had shaved their heads seven days before. (T 2: 621c–622a)

XXII

**Longya**. See Introduction, note 31.

**Hand me the backrest** 與我過禪板來. "Backrest" designated a board fastened by cords to the back of the rope-bottomed chair (see comment on page 306, above). It later came to mean a board used as a chin-rest; a depression in one end of the board supported the chin, while the other end rested in the lap. The word translated as "hand me" (過, "to give," "to offer," "to hand") is a Tang colloquialism. Here the prepositional dative 與 is positioned at the beginning of the sentence to make the imperative polite.

**Cuiwei** 翠微 is the common designation for Wuxue 無學 (n.d.), who lived at Cuiwei on Mount Zhongnan 終南 near Chang'an. He was the heir of Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (738/39–824), and is also known by the title Great Teacher Guangzhao 廣照大師. He is mentioned in ZJ 5, JC 14, and elsewhere, but the details of his biography are unknown.

牙云、打即任打、要且無祖師意。牙住院後、有僧入室請益云、和尚行腳時、參二尊宿因緣、還肯他也無。牙云、肯即深肯、要且無祖師意。

Longya said, "It's all right that you hit me, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

After Longya had become the master of a temple, a monk entered his room to receive instruction. "I have heard," the monk said, "that when you were on pilgrimage, Venerable Priest, you had the opportunity to interview two eminent elders. Did you acknowledge them?"

"I acknowledged them profoundly all right, but there still isn't any purpose in the Patriarch's coming from the West."

XXIII

徑山有五百衆、少人參請。黃檗令師到徑山。乃謂師曰、汝到彼作麼生。師云、某甲到彼、自有方便。

Five hundred monks were assembled at the monastery at Mount Jing, but few asked the master for instruction. Huangbo ordered Linji to go to Mount Jing, then asked, "What will you do when you get there?"

"When I get there I'll know what to do," said Linji.

XXIII

**Mount Jing**. For the history of the monastery on Mount Jing, see Introduction, note 17. As mentioned in that note, it is not clear who the master of Mount Jing was at the time of Huangbo and Linji, when this incident took place. One candidate is the priest Jianzong 鑒宗 (d. 866), who, according to the JC (T 51: 279c), was a disciple of Yanguan Qian and the second master of Mount Jing. It appears likely, however, that there was at least one other abbot of the temple between the tenures of Jianzong and Daoqin (founder and first master of Mount Jing), since Jianzong died in 866, or seventy-three years after Daoqin's death. Since Huangbo died in the period between 847 and 859, either Jianzong or his unknown predecessor could have been master at the time of this incident. The present anecdote suggests that the "master of Mount Jing" was not a very competent teacher, so he may well have been the predecessor, who is unknown today for just that reason.

The Linji section of both ZH 9 and WZ 2 contain somewhat a different version of this story. The ZH text reads:

> Though five hundred monks were living at Mount Jing, few of them took instruction from the master. Every day they marched in a procession around a big tree in front of the Buddha Hall, reciting the name of Guanyin. In this way [the master] instructed his disciples. Since the master of Mount Jing and Huangbo were dharma brothers, the master sent a letter to the latter, telling him about the situation stated above. Thereupon Huangbo had Linji go to Mount Jing and question him. (X 79: 82b)

師到徑山、裝腰上法堂、見徑山。徑山方擧頭、師便喝。徑山擬開口、師拂袖便行。尋有僧問徑山、這僧適來有什麼言句、便喝和尚。徑山云、這僧從黃檗會裏來。爾要知麼、且問取他。徑山五百衆、太半分散。

Upon arriving at Mount Jing he went to the Dharma Hall, still in his traveling clothes, to see the master. As the master raised his head, Linji shouted, and when the master started to open his mouth, Linji swung his sleeves [as he turned] and left.

Shortly afterwards a monk asked the master, "What did you say just now that made that monk shout at you, Venerable Priest?"

The master replied, "That monk came from Huangbo's assembly. If you want to know, go ask him."

Of the five hundred monks at Mount Jing, the greater part drifted away.

XXIV

普化一日、於街市中、就人乞直裰。人皆與之。普化俱不要。師令院主買棺一具。普化歸來。師云、我與汝做得箇直裰了也。普化便自擔去、繞街市叫云、臨濟與我做直裰了也。我往東門遷化去。市人競隨看之。普化云、我今日未、來日往南門遷化去。如是三日、人皆不信。至第四日、無人隨看。獨出城外、自入棺內、倩路行人釘之。即時傳布。市人競往開棺、乃見全身脫去。祇聞空中鈴響、隱隱而去。

One day Puhua went about the streets asking people he met for a one-piece gown. They all offered him one, but Puhua declined them all. Linji had the steward of the temple buy a coffin, and when Puhua came back the master said, "I've fixed up a one-piece gown for you."

Puhua put the coffin on his shoulders and went around the streets calling out, "Linji fixed me up a one-piece gown. I'm going to the East Gate to depart this life." All the townspeople scrambled after him to watch.

"No, not today," said Puhua, "but tomorrow I'll go to the South Gate to depart this life."

After he had done the same thing for three days no one believed him anymore. On the fourth day not a single person followed him to watch. He went outside the town walls all by himself, got into the coffin, and asked a passerby to nail it up. The news immediately got about. The townspeople all came scrambling; upon opening the coffin, they saw he had vanished, body and all. Only the sound of his bell could be heard in the sky, receding away: tinkle… tinkle… tinkle….

### XXIV

**One-piece gown** refers to an article of monk's clothing in which the coat section and the trousers are joined in one piece.

**He had vanished, body and all t**ranslates 全身脫去; the image is that of a snake or cicada that sheds its skin or shell and then disappears. The death of Puhua is described in the section on him in ZJ 17:

One day Puhua, carrying an armload of coffin-planks, went about town bidding farewell to the townspeople, saying, "I'm leaving this life." People gathered in crowds and followed him out of the east gate. He then said, "No, not today!" The second day he went to the south gate and the third day to the west gate. By that time fewer people were following him, and not many believed him. On the fourth day he went out of the north gate, but no one followed him. He dug a tunnel, lined it with bricks, and died therein.

## RECORD OF PILGRIMAGES 行錄

### I

師初在黃檗會下、行業純一。首座乃歎曰、雖是後生、與衆有異。遂問、上座在此、多少時。師云、三年。首座云、曾參問也無。師云、不曾參問。不知問箇什麼。首座云、汝何不去問堂頭和尚、如何是佛法的的大意。師便去問。聲未絶、黃檗便打。師下來。首座云、問話作麼生。師云、某甲問聲未絶、和尚便打。某甲不會。首座云、但更去問。師又去問。黃檗又打。如是三度發問、三度被打。

When Linji was one of the assembly of monks under Huangbo, he was plain and direct in his behavior. The head monk praised him saying, "Though he's a youngster, he's different from the other monks." So he asked, "Honorable monk, how long have you been here?"

"Three years," replied Linji.

"Have you ever asked for instruction?"

"No, I've never asked for instruction. I don't know what to ask," replied Linji.

"Why don't you go ask the head priest of this temple just what the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma is," said the head monk.

Linji went and asked. Before he had finished speaking Huangbo hit him. Linji came back. "How did your question go?" asked the head monk.

"Before I had finished speaking the master hit me. I don't understand," said Linji.

"Then go and ask him again," said the head monk.

So Linji went back and asked, and again Huangbo hit him. Thus Linji asked the same question three times and was hit three times.

師來白首座云、幸蒙慈悲、令某甲問訊和尚。三度發問、三度被打。自恨障緣不領深旨。今且辭去。首座云、汝若去時、須辭和尚去。師禮拜退。

Linji came back and said to the head monk, "It was so kind of you to send me to question the master. Three times I asked him and three times I was hit by him. I regret that some obstruction caused by my own past karma prevents me from grasping his profound meaning. I'm going away for awhile."

The head monk said, "If you are going away, you should go take your leave of the master." Linji bowed low and withdrew.

**Record of Pilgrimages** translates 行錄, a term that means, literally, "record of actions." All are accounts of the activities of a master compiled by his disciples following the master's death. It was after the Tang that such compilations became standard practice in Chan; later they became the source material for biographical works like the ZJ and JC. The account of Linji's life in this record concentrates on his younger years but includes at the end a description of his death and a reproduction of the Memorial Inscription 塔記 attributed to Baoshou Zhao 寶壽沼, which summarizes his life. See also Introduction, pages 65 and 84.

1

**I regret that some obstruction caused by my own past karma….** In Chan the karmic causes and conditions that lead to the realization of enlightenment are referred to as 因緣. Karmic obstructions that hinder such realization, as referred to here by Linji, are known by the term 障緣, which combines the character 障, "obstruction," with 緣, "cause." A similar term, used in the JC version of this exchange, is 所恨愚魯, "the stupidity of my nature":

> When, with your encouragement, I asked the master my question, I received only his stick. I regret the stupidity of my nature. I will now leave on a pilgrimage. (T 51: 290a)

It was customary in Chan that if a student practicing under a teacher sensed after a certain period that no true affinity or meeting of minds existed, then he or she would go elsewhere in search of instruction. Case 31 of the BL states that "if the men of old found after a single word that they had an affinity [with a certain teacher] they would follow that teacher, but if after a single word they found that they had no affinity, they would leave" (T 48: 170b). WH 5, in the chapter on Daowu Zongzhi 道吾宗智, gives an example of a lack of affinity:

> The master [Daowu] left Yaoshan and went to see Nanquan. Nanquan asked, "What is your name?" The master answered, "Zongzhi." Nanquan asked again, "How do you realize the realm where no wisdom 智 can reach?" Zongzhi said, "It is absolutely forbidden to speak of it." Then Nanquan said, "You have spoken of it just now. Animal horns will grow on your head."
>
> Three days later Zongzhi was sewing with Yunyan [his real brother and fellow monk] near the washroom. Nanquan came out and, seeing them together, he asked, "My dear Zhi, the other day we talked, didn't we, about how we shouldn't speak of the realm where no wisdom can reach, and about how animal horns will

首座先到和尚處云、問話底後生、甚是如法。若來辭時、方便接他。向後穿鑿成一株大樹、與天下人作陰涼去在。師去辭黃檗。檗云、不得往別處去。汝向高安灘頭大愚處去、必爲汝說。

The head monk went to the master's quarters before Linji and said, "The young man who has been questioning you is a man of dharma. If he comes to take his leave, please handle him expediently. In the future, with training, he is sure to become a great tree that will provide cool shade for the people of the world."

Linji came to take his leave. Huangbo said, "You mustn't go anywhere else but to Dayu's place by the river in Gao'an. He's sure to explain things for you."

grow on our heads if we do. But must we practice it?" Zongzhi left and ran into the Monks' Hall; Nanquan returned to his quarters. A little while later Zongzhi came back and resumed his work. Yunyan asked him, "Dear brother, why didn't you answer Heshang's question a while ago?" Zongzhi said, "You are very clever."

Yunyan did not quite understand the meaning of his brother's remark. He went to Nanquan and said, "I do not understand why my brother Zongzhi gave no answer to your question a while ago. Will you kindly explain it to me?" To this Nanquan said, "He can live within the realm of the beasts." Yunyan again said, "Please tell me what you mean by 'He can live within the realm of the beasts'." Nanquan then said, "Did I not say, a little while back, that we should not speak of the realm where no wisdom can reach, and that if we do animals horns will grow on our heads? To understand this you should only live within the realm of the beasts." Still Yunyan could not follow him.

The master, seeing his brother Yunyan unable to grasp the point, said, "This man's karmic affinity 因緣 does not seem to be here." So the two went back to Yaoshan, their former teacher. "Why have you returned so soon?" asked Yaoshan. Yunyan answered, "It was only because our karmic affinities did not connect there." (X 80: 113b–c)

The same story appears, with slight variations, in ZJ 16, in the section on Nanquan.

**Man of dharma** translates 如法, literally "dharma-like" or "in accord with dharma," a term of high praise for a steady, diligent person who observes regulations and acts with sincerity. See the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*:

> As far as the buddhadharma is concerned, if a monk persists in making discriminations, he cannot be considered dharma-like. Only if he does not make discriminations can he be called dharma-like. (T 14: 548a)

In the JC text of this passage, the term 奇特, "unusual," is used in place of 如法 (T 51: 299b). See also the "Sermons" section of the LL.

**In the future** translates 向後, a Tang colloquial adverb synonymous with 以後 or 已後.

**Cool shade**. Just as the shade of a great tree provides relief from the heat of the sun, a great Chan master alleviates the suffering of sentient beings. The *Nirvana Sutra*, "Shengxing pin" 聖行品 (Chapter on holy practices), says: "If sentient beings dwell in the cool shade of the buddha tree, then all of their delusions and ills will vanish" (T 12: 449c, 691c).

**Dayu's place by the river in Gao'an.** For "Dayu" and "Gao'an," see Introduction, note 9.

師到大愚。大愚問、什麼處來。師云、黃檗處來。大愚云、黃檗有何言句。師云、某甲三度問佛法的的大意、三度被打。不知某甲有過無過。大愚云、黃檗與麼老婆、爲汝得徹困。更來這裏、問有過無過。師於言下大悟云、元來黃檗佛法無多子。大愚搊住云、這尿床鬼子。

Linji arrived at Dayu's temple. Dayu said, "Where have you come from?"

"I have come from Huangbo's place," replied Linji.

"What did Huangbo have to say?" asked Dayu.

"Three times I asked him just what the cardinal principle of the buddhadharma is and three times he hit me. I don't know whether I was at fault or not."

"Huangbo is such a grandmother that he utterly exhausted himself with your troubles!" said Dayu. "And now you come here asking whether you were at fault or not!"

At these words Linji attained great enlightenment. "Ah, there isn't so much to Huangbo's buddhadharma!" he cried.

Dayu grabbed hold of Linji and said, "You bed-wetting little devil!

**Utterly exhausted** translates the term 徹困, an expression used also by such masters as Guishan Lingyou, Xuefeng Yicun 雪峯義存, Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835–908), and Lushan Guizong 廬山歸宗 (n.d.). The following passage is found in the JC 9 section on Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771–853):

> When the master assumed the high seat a monk stepped forward and said, "I beg of you to preach the dharma for the group." The master then answered, "I am totally exhausted by you all 我爲汝得徹困也." The monk bowed low. In later years someone related the incident to Xuefeng, who then remarked, "Men of former times used to have that kind of grandmotherly heart, didn't they." (T 51: 265a)

**Ah, there isn't so much to Huangbo's buddhadharma** translates 元來黃檗佛法無多子, where the term 元來 implies a feeling of surprise, as of something that for the first time has been noticed. 無多子 is similar in meaning to 無多事 and 無…多般, as in the phrases 無如許多般, "there isn't so much to do" (page 239, above) and 無許多般道理, "there really aren't so many problems" (page 267, above). This is explained in *Tongsu bian* 32, which gives as examples of the 無多子 construction not only the present passage from the LL but also a poem by Emperor Yang 煬 of the Sui dynasty:

> [無多子] is equivalent to today's 沒多兒, "there is not much…." 沒多兒 is found in poetry, such as the following example from Shao Yaofu's anthology: 天聽雖高只些子人情相去沒多兒, "Though the lord listens from above, the height is but slight; though human passions seem various, their variety is not great."

**Devil** translates 鬼子, used in Chan as a term both of abuse and, as in the present case, of praise. One finds a similar usage in Yuan drama, where 小鬼子 and 小鬼頭, both meaning "devil," are terms of endearment.

適來道有過無過、如今卻道、黃檗佛法無多子。爾見箇什麼道理、速道速道。師於大愚脅下、築三拳。大愚托開云、汝師黃檗、非于我事。師辭大愚、卻回黃檗。黃檗見來便問、這漢來來去去、有什麼了期。師云、祇爲老婆心切。便人事了侍立。黃檗問、什麼處去來。師云、昨奉慈旨、令參大愚去來。黃檗云、大愚有何言句。師遂擧前話。黃檗云、作麼生得這漢來、待痛與一頓。師云、說什麼待來、即今便喫。隨後便掌。黃檗云、這風顛漢、卻來這裏捋虎鬚。師便喝。黃檗云、侍者、引這風顛漢、參堂去。

You just asked whether you were at fault or not, and now you say, 'There isn't so much to Huangbo's buddhadharma.' What did you just see? Speak, speak!"

Linji jabbed Dayu in the side three times. Shoving him away, Dayu said, "You have Huangbo for a teacher. It's not my business."

Linji left Dayu and returned to Huangbo. Huangbo saw him coming and said, "What a fellow! Coming and going, coming and going—when will it end?"

"It's all due to your grandmotherly kindness," Linji said, and then presented the customary gift and stood waiting.

"Where have you been?" asked Huangbo.

"Recently you deigned to favor me by sending me to see Dayu," said Linji.

"What did Dayu have to say?" asked Huangbo. Linji then related what had happened. Huangbo said, "How I'd like to catch that fellow and give him a good dose of the stick!"

"Why say you'd 'like to'? Take it right now!" said Linji and immediately gave Huangbo a slap.

"You lunatic!" cried Huangbo. "Coming back here and pulling the tiger's whiskers." Linji gave a shout. "Attendant, get this lunatic out of here and take him to the Monks' Hall," said Huangbo.

**How I'd like to catch that fellow** translates 作麼生得這漢來, traditionally read in Japanese as *somosan ka kono kan no kitaru koto o en*, meaning, roughly, "How I'd like to get that fellow to come here!" However, in this case the Chinese 來 is an auxiliary verb accompanying the main verb 得, and thus possesses none of its usual meaning of "to come." 說什麼得來 in the subsequent paragraph has the same structure.

This structure—main verb + object + 來—is often found from the mid-Tang. An example in *Yinhua lu* 因話錄 (Notes from conversations) 4, by Zhao Lin 趙璘, reads 我弭當家沒處得盧皮遐來, "We are managing the house, [and we tell you that] nowhere here [will] you find Lu Pixia."

**Give him a good dose of the stick** translates 待痛與一頓. In the colloquial language

後、潙山擧此話、問仰山、臨濟當時、得大愚力、得黃檗力。仰山云、非但騎虎頭、亦解把虎尾。

Later Guishan, telling the story to Yangshan, asked, "On that occasion did Linji get help from Dayu, or Huangbo?"

"He not only rode on the tiger's head but also seized its tail," replied Yangshan.

II

師栽松次、黃檗問、深山裏栽許多作什麼。師云、一與山門作境致、二與後人作標榜。道了、將钁頭打地三下。黃檗云、雖然如是、子已喫吾三十棒了也。師又以钁頭打地三下、作噓噓聲。黃檗云、吾宗到汝、大興於世。

When Linji was planting pine trees, Huangbo asked, "What's the good of planting so many trees in the deep mountains?"

"First, I want to make a natural setting for the main gate. Second, I want to make a landmark for later generations," said Linji, thumping the ground with his mattock three times.

"Be that as it may, you've already tasted thirty blows of my stick," replied Huangbo.

Again Linji thumped the ground with his mattock three times and breathed out a great breath.

"Under you my line will flourish throughout the world," said Huangbo.

of this period the verb 待 meant not the usual "to wait," but "to want to" or "let me…," and is similar to the classical Chinese 欲, or to 要 (also commonly seen in modern Chinese). 待 in this usage appeared in literature later than 要; the compounds 欲待 and 待要 came afterwards.

**He not only rode… its tail**. This means that Linji fully grasped the teachings of both men.

The image is a common one in Chan works. For example, the "Puquan ji" 瀑泉集 (Anthology of Puquan) in *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Mingjue) 4, has 踞虎頭收虎尾, "to sit on the tiger's head and seize the tiger's tail" (T 47: 693a).

II

**When Linji was planting pine trees….** This section, well known in the Zen traditional as "The story of Linji planting pine trees," also appears as case 38 of the BL (T 48: 175c). In the version of the story found in the JC, however, the trees Linji is planting are cryptomerias 杉, and not pines 松 (T 51: 290b).

**Landmark** translates the term 標榜, literally a plaque hung up in front of someone's house that praised his or her virtuous qualities. For this the JC substitutes the word 古記, which means "ancient record," i.e., a pronouncement or prophesy handed down for the sake of posterity (T 51: 290b).

後潙山擧此語、問仰山、黄檗當時、祇囑臨濟一人、更有人在。仰山云、有。祇是年代深遠、不欲擧似和尚。潙山云、雖然如是、吾亦要知。汝但擧看。仰山云、一人指南、吳越令行、遇大風即止。讖風穴和尚也。

Later Guishan related these words to Yangshan. "On that occasion did Huangbo put his trust only in Linji, or will there also be someone else?" he asked.

"There will be," replied Yangshan. "But he'll come so far in the future that I don't want to tell you about him, Venerable Priest."

"Be that as it may, I'd like to know. Come on, try and tell me," said Guishan.

Yangshan said, "One man heading south: Wu and Yue well-governed. When one meets the Great Wind he stops." (Prophesying Venerable Fengxue)

III

師侍立德山次、山云、今日困。師云、這老漢寐語作什麼。山便打。師掀倒繩床。山便休。

When Linji was attending Deshan, Deshan said, "I'm tired today."

"Old man," said Linji, "what's the good of talking in your sleep?"

Deshan hit him. Linji overturned the rope-bottomed chair. Deshan desisted.

**But he'll come so far in the future**. "But" here translates 祇是 (also written 祇是, 只是, or 止是), a Tang colloquialism usually used in the sense of "intently" or "solely," as in most examples in the DB and in all eleven examples found in the LL except for the present one. Its use in the sense of "but," "however," as in this instance, is infrequent even in the DB, and seems to have become more common only later. We might therefore surmise that this exchange between Guishan and Yangshan was arranged in a somewhat later style of wording.

**Be that as it may… said Guishan**. The version of this exchange as recorded in the JC differs slightly up until this point:

> Guishan related this story to Yangshan and asked, "Would you say that Huangbo in this last pronouncement was putting his trust in Linji alone, or did he have some other meaning besides?" Yangshan replied, "He was putting his trust in Linji, but he was also indicating something in the future." Guishan asked, "What was this something in the future?" Yangshan replied, "A man indicating the South…." (T 51: 290c)

**One man heading south… he stops**. This passage, being a prophesy, is appropriately obscure. Later commentators have usually taken it to refer to Fengxue Yanzhao, as in the note to this effect immediately after the prophesy (see next note). The interpretation of the prophesy is as follows.

Fengxue, the fourth patriarch of the Linji school, studied originally under Xuefeng Yicun and others, but on their advice went to Ruzhou to visit Nanyuan

Huiyong, and thus joined the lineage of the Linji school. "One man heading south" is thus taken to refer not to the direction south but to Nanyuan Huiyong, whose name means "Huiyong of the South Monastery."

Wu and Yue, the names of two ancient states in south-central China near the mouth of the Yangzi, and hence in the southeast part of the Tang empire, are not so easily explained. The names may allude to the fact that Fengxue was originally from this region, or (if one does not limit the prophesy to Fengxue) to the fact that there were disciples of Linji spreading his teaching in this region.

"When one meets the Great Wind he stops" may refer to the fact that after leaving Nanyuan, Fengxue traveled to Dafeng 大風 (Great Wind) Mountain and settled there in an old temple called Fengxue 風穴 (Wind Cave), from whence he took his name.

It appears that among Fengxue's own disciples the prophesy was given quite a different meaning, namely that, when Linji's teaching had been handed down as far as Fengxue, those teachings would "stop" 止, i.e., come to an end. Fengxue is depicted as having been deeply troubled by this prophesy, and therefore to have worked especially hard to revive the Linji school. The *Shoushan Shengnian yulu* 首山省念語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shoushan Shengnian), gives the following account:

> One day, when Fengxue saw the master [Shengnian] waiting on him, he began to weep, and said to him, "Alas for the way of Linji! It has come down to me, and now it appears it will fall to the ground!" When Shoushan asked if no one was worthy of succession, Fengxue answered that his students, though bright, did not see self-nature. Shoushan suggested that he check further. Later, in the Dharma Hall, Fengxue said, "The World-Honored looked upon the assembly with his blue-lotus eyes. At that moment, what was the Buddha preaching? If you say he was preaching by not preaching, you are burying the Old Sage. So tell me, what was he preaching?"
>
> Shoushan Shengnian shook his sleeves and left. Fengxue threw down his staff and returned to his quarters. His attendant, following after him, asked, "Why didn't Shengnian answer you?"
>
> "Because he understood," replied Fengxue. (X 68: 50c)

However, the original meaning of the word 止 in such a word relation as this (遇…止) seems to have been just "to stay." For instance, the following passage appears in the section on Guishan in ZJ 16:

> Later [Guishan] went on a pilgrimage to Mount Tiantai and paid his respects…. A number of monks followed him. On the street in Tangxing 唐興 he met a hermit, who took his hand to guide him, then gave out a big laugh and said, "This man, during his remaining years, will enjoy good fortune, and the older he becomes the brighter he will become. If he meets 遇 a *tan* 潭 he will stay 止 there, if he meets a *gui* 潙 he will stay there." Guishan later lived in Tanzhou 潭州 on Mount Gui 潙. The hermit was none other than Hanshan the poet himself.

**Prophesying Venerable Fengxue.** This note seems to have been appended to the LL text from very early times. The JC relates how Fengxue received the teachings of the Linji line, then says, "After this, in accordance with the prophesy of Yangshan, he merged into the world and gathered disciples, and from this time onward Nanyuan's teachings flourished greatly in many regions" (T 51: 302b).

Thus it is apparent that by the time the JC was compiled in 1005 the prophesy was regarded as referring to Fengxue. In later times, however, more attention was paid to Yangshan's statement that the subject of the prophesy would "come so far in the future" that he has no desire to talk about it. It was argued that Fengxue followed too soon after Linji to fit this description,

IV

師普請鋤地次、見黃檗來、拄钁而立。黃檗云、這漢困那。師云、钁也未擧、困箇什麼。黃檗便打。師接住棒、一送送倒。黃檗喚維那、維那扶起我。維那近前扶云、和尚爭容得這風顛漢無禮。黃檗纔起、便打維那。師钁地云、諸方火葬、我這裏一時活埋。後溈山問仰山、黃檗打維那、意作麼生。仰山云、正賊走卻、邏蹤人喫棒。

Once, during group work, Linji was hoeing the ground. Seeing Huangbo coming, he stopped and stood leaning on his mattock.

"Is this guy tired already?" said Huangbo.

"I haven't even lifted my mattock yet. How could I be tired?" answered Linji.

Huangbo hit at him. Linji seized Huangbo's stick, jabbed him with it, and knocked him down.

Huangbo called to the duty-monk, "Duty-monk! Help me up!"

The duty-monk came running and helped him up. "Venerable Priest, how can you let this lunatic get away with such rudeness?" he said.

Huangbo no sooner got to his feet than he hit the duty-monk.

Hoeing the ground, Linji said, "Everywhere else the dead are cremated, but here I immediately bury them alive."

Later Guishan asked Yangshan, "What did Huangbo have in mind when he hit the duty-monk?"

"The real thief escapes, and his pursuer gets the stick," answered Yangshan.

and attempts were made to find an appropriate figure later in history. Thus a note appended to ZH 9 (X 79: 90A) argues that the prophesy must refer to Dahui 大慧 (1089–1163), who did much to spread Linji Chan in the southern Wu and Yue regions. Mujaku Dōchū mentions a theory that it referred to Yanxi Guangwen 偃溪廣聞 (1189–1263). Dōchū also mentions commentators like the Japanese master Tōyō Eichō 東陽英朝 (1428–1504), who felt the prophesy referred not to a particular individual but to the notion that the teachings themselves would continue until the end of the present era ("when the Great Wind comes"), and then come to an end.

IV

**Group work** translates 普請, which originally meant "to assemble people," but not necessarily for the sake of labor, as it came to signify later. Group labor was a time when all the monks of a monastery joined together in some kind of productive work, often farming. In early Indian Buddhist communities productive labor was strictly forbidden, but Chan, with its emphasis on self-sufficiency, made such work a regular part of the monastic life. The most famous expression of this outlook is the maxim of Baizhang Huaihai, "A day of no working—a day of no eating" (X

V

師一日、在僧堂前坐。見黃檗來、便閉卻目。黃檗乃作怖勢、便歸方丈。師隨至方丈禮謝。首座在黃檗處侍立。黃檗云、此僧雖是後生、卻知有此事。首座云、老和尚腳跟不點地、卻證據箇後生。黃檗自於口上打一摑。首座云、知即得。

One day Linji was sitting in front of the Monks' Hall. Seeing Huangbo coming, he closed his eyes. Giving the appearance of being frightened, Huangbo returned to his quarters. Linji followed him there and bowed low.

The head monk was attending Huangbo. Huangbo said to him, "Though he's a youngster, he knows about this matter."

"Venerable Priest, your own feet aren't on solid ground, yet you give recognition to this youngster," said the head monk.

Huangbo gave himself a slap on the mouth.

"It's all right as long as you know it," said the head monk.

69: 7b). This standpoint is also expressed in Baizhang's memorial inscription, written by Chen Xu 陳詡: "Baizhang's practice is exactly the same as his disciples', and therefore he shares their toil" (T 48: 1156b). For more information on Chan monastic labor, see Nakamura 1955.

**Duty-monk** translates 維那, the senior monk who was in charge of supervising the personnel and work activities of the monastery. The term 維那 is a combination of translation and transliteration, 維 being an abbreviation of 綱維, "supervisor," and 那, pronounced *na*, representing the last syllable of the Sanskrit term "karma-dāna," which is the Sanskrit term for the office of duty-monk.

V

**Your own feet aren't on solid ground**. For a similar statement, see the section on Xuefeng Yicun 雪峯義存 in ZJ 7, where it says,

> The master [Xuefeng] addressed the assembly, saying, "It is like a mirror. If a foreigner stands in front of it, it shows a foreigner. If a Chinese stands in front of it, it shows a Chinese." A monk told this to Xuansha 玄沙. "What happens if another mirror comes and stands in front of it?" said Xuansha. The monk went back and reported this to Xuefeng. "In that case both the foreigner and the Chinese will be hidden from sight," said Xuefeng. When the monk in turn reported this answer to Xuansha, he said, "That country priest! His feet are not even planted on solid ground 腳跟不踏實地." Sometime later Xuansha went to visit Xuefeng. Xuefeng held one foot in his hand and hopped along on the other. "What are you doing?" asked Xuansha. "Look, my feet are not even planted on solid ground!" answered Xuefeng.

**Huangbo gave himself a slap on the mouth**. In the original, the verb 摑 means "to strike someone with one's fist or open hand." Here, however, it is used as a numerary adjunct for blows. See the section on Dasui Fazhen 大隨法眞 in the JC:

> One day when the monks were assembled before him, the master [Fazhen] held his mouth in an odd way as though he were suffering from paralysis. "Is there anyone who can cure my mouth for me?" he asked.

VI

師在堂中睡。黃檗下來見、以拄杖打板頭一下。師擧頭、見是黃檗、卻睡。黃檗又打板頭一下、卻往上間、見首座坐禪、乃云、下間後生卻坐禪、汝這裏妄想作什麼。首座云、這老漢作什麼。黃檗打板頭一下、便出去。後、溈山問仰山、黃檗入僧堂、意作麼生。仰山云、兩彩一賽。

Linji was sleeping in the [Monks'] Hall. Huangbo came in, and, seeing him, struck the front plank [of the sitting platform] once with his staff. Linji lifted his head, and seeing it was Huangbo, went back to sleep.

Huangbo again struck the front plank, and went to the upper part of the hall. Seeing the head monk sitting in meditation, he said, "That youngster down in the lower part of the hall is sitting in meditation; what're you doing here, cooking up wild fancies?"

"What's this old man up to?" said the head monk.

Huangbo struck the front plank once more and left.

Later Guishan asked Yangshan, "What do you make of Huangbo in the Monks' Hall?"

"Two wins, one match," replied Yangshan.

Immediately the monks began falling over each other in their haste to bring him some medicine, and, when the news reached the lay believers, many of them sent medicine as well, but the master would not accept any of it. Seven days later the master gave himself a slap on the mouth, bringing it back to its normal shape. "All these years I have been flapping my lips [talking to the monks], and now there is no one who can cure my mouth!" (T 51: 286b)

**It's all right as long as you know it.** The meaning here is probably the same as in a similar example found in the *Zhaozhou lu*, in GY 13: "It's all right as long as you know your mistake" 自知罪過即得 (X 68: 80b).

VI

**Upper part of the hall.** The Monk's Hall traditionally faced east; the north side was called the upper part 上間 and the south side the lower part 下間. New students sat in the lower part, while longtime students sat in the upper part.

**Two wins, one match** translates 兩彩一賽, where the character 彩 designates the winning spots on a pair of dice, while 賽 means a match or competition. "Two" 兩 may be interpreted to mean either that one of the players won twice or that both players won, that is, that Huangbo won over both Linji and the head monk, or that Huangbo, Linji, and the head monk all won in their relations with each other. The traditional Japanese interpretation, which mistakenly takes 彩 to mean simply the spots on the dice and 賽 to mean a pair of dice, is that the spots on both dice or both throws of the dice were the same, i.e., that sleeping and meditating are equivalent to each other.

In this passage as it appears in the Song and Yuan editions of the JC, the wording and meaning of the phrase are reversed

VII

一日普請次、師在後行。黃檗回頭、見師空手、乃問、钁頭在什麼處。師云、有一人將去了也。黃檗云、近前來、共汝商量箇事。師便近前。黃檗豎起钁頭云、祇這箇、天下人拈掇不起。師就手掣得、豎起云、爲什麼卻在某甲手裏。黃檗云、今日大有人普請。便歸院。

One day during the group work, Linji was going along behind the others. Huangbo looked around, and, seeing that Linji was empty-handed, asked, "Where is your mattock?"

"Somebody took it away from me," said Linji.

"Come here," said Huangbo. "I want to talk the matter over with you."

Linji stepped forward. Huangbo lifted up his mattock and said, "Just *this* people on the earth cannot hold up."

Linji snatched the mattock from Huangbo's grasp and held it high. "Then why is *this* in my hand now?" he asked.

"Today there's a man who really is working," said Huangbo, and returned to the temple.

to read 一彩兩賽, "one win, two matches." In this case the phrase was probably interpreted to mean that Huangbo had one match with Linji and one match with the head monk, of which he won one and lost one. The Ming edition of the JC, however, agrees with the reading in the LL. It would seem, therefore, that the wording and interpretation of Yangshan's answer varied in different periods.

These two phrases, 兩彩一賽 and 一彩兩賽, are found in other Chan works, though in no more illuminating a context than the present. See, for example, the section on Huangbo in JC 12 (T 51: 290b) and the section on Yunmen in GY 18 (X 68: 115c and 117b). See also case 2 of the WG, Wumen's verse on the main case, "Baizhang and the Fox":

> Not falling and not being blind / Two wins, one match 兩采一賽.
> Not blinded and not falling / A thousand mistakes, ten thousand mistakes.
> (T 48: 293b)

VII

**Hold up** translates 拈掇, which originally meant weighing something by putting it on the palm of the hand. In this passage of the LL, however, the word seems to have lost the meaning of "to weigh" and is used merely in the sense of taking something up in the hand.

**Today there's a man who really is working**. A related statement is found in the section on Guishan in ZJ 16:

> Yangshan returned from the fields. The master [Guishan] asked, "Were there many men working in the fields? Yangshan stuck his hoe into the ground, folded his hands and stood where he was. The master said, "Today there is a man who is really cutting grass!"

There are records suggesting that the custom in ancient Chan monasteries was to stop work and celebrate whenever anyone attained enlightenment during the outdoor work period. There is a passage

後潙山問仰山、鑊頭在黃檗手裏、爲什麼卻被臨濟奪卻。仰山云、賊是小人、智過君子。

Sometime later Guishan asked Yangshan, "The mattock was in Huangbo's hand. How could it have been taken away by Linji?"

"The thief is an inferior fellow, but in cleverness he surpasses his superiors," answered Yangshan.

VIII

師爲黃檗馳書去潙山。時仰山作知客。接得書、便問、這箇是黃檗底、那箇是專使底。師便掌。仰山約住云、老兄知是般事、便休。同去見潙山。潙山便問、黃檗師兄多少衆。師云、七百衆。潙山云、什麼人爲導首。

Linji went to Guishan bearing a letter from Huangbo. Yangshan, who at that time was in charge of receiving guests, took the letter and said, "This is Huangbo's; where's the messenger's?" Linji slapped at him.

Yangshan seized Linji and said, "Brother, since you know this much, that's enough." Then they went together to see Guishan.

Guishan asked, "How many students has my brother Huangbo?"

"Seven hundred," answered Linji.

"Who is their leader?" asked Guishan.

depicting such a situation in fascicle 1 of the *Dahui pushuo* 大慧普說 (The discourses of Chan Master Dahui Pujue), in the chapter entitled "Zhengxinsi rushanzhu qing pushuo" 政信寺如山主請普說:

> In olden times the monks in Chan temples used to go for outdoor work every day, very much unlike present-day monks who never so much as dip their ten fingers in water and are unconcerned about the various affairs of the temple, who always wear fine clothes and eagerly accept offerings from the people, and who are utterly lacking in shame. There were none such as these in the old days, when each monk carried a sickle and a spade. That was the way they lived then, exactly as the saying goes, "A day of no working—a day of no eating." And if, during their outdoor work, a monk attained enlightenment, the other monks would stop work on the spot.

VIII

**Since you know this much, that's enough** translates 知是般事便休, traditionally read in Japanese as *koretsura no ji o shiraba, sunawachi kyū seyo*, meaning, "If you know *this*, then take a rest." But 休 here does not have its literal meaning of "to rest," but implies instead that "we may let the matter rest," i.e., that "it is all right," "nothing more needs to be done," etc.

**Leader** translates 導首, the equivalent of 長老 and usually indicating the leader of the monastery, that is, the Chan master. For example, in the section on Jiashan Shanhui in ZJ 7, it says:

> The master asked a monk, "Where did you come from?" "From Xinfeng 新豐," the monk replied. "And who is the leader 導首 of the group there?" the master asked.

師云、適來已達書了也。師卻問潙山、和尚此間多少衆。潙山云、一千五百衆。師云、太多生。潙山云、黃檗師兄亦不少。師辭潙山。仰山送出云、汝向後北去、有箇住處。師云、豈有與麼事。仰山云、但去、已後有一人佐輔老兄在。此人祇是有頭無尾、有始無終。師後到鎮州、普化已在彼中。師出世、普化佐賛於師。師住未久、普化全身脫去。

"He has just delivered a letter to you," replied Linji. Then Linji, in his turn, asked Guishan, "Venerable Priest, how many students do you have here?"

"Fifteen hundred," answered Guishan.

"That's a lot!" said Linji.

"My brother Huangbo also has no small number," said Guishan.

Linji took his leave of Guishan. As Yangshan was seeing him off, he said "Later on you'll go to the north and there'll be a place for you to stay."

"How can that be?" said Linji.

"Just go," replied Yangshan. "Afterwards there'll be a man to help you, my venerable brother. He'll have a head but no tail, a beginning but no end."

Later Linji arrived in Zhenzhou; Puhua was already there. When Linji became head of a temple, Puhua was of help to him. But the master had not been there very long when Puhua just vanished, body and all.

The monk replied, "The first part of his name is Liang 良 [good] and the second part Jie 价 [good] [referring to the master Dongshan Liangjie].

**When Linji became head of a temple** translates 師出世, in which 出世 literally means "to go out into the world." The word is originally seen in the "Fangbian" 方便 (Skillful means) chapter of the *Lotus Sutra*, where the buddhas are described as "going out and appearing in the world" in order to save all living beings. In Chan the term means to assume the priesthood of a temple and devote one's efforts to preaching the dharma. A representative example of this usage is found in the section on Jingshan Hongyan 徑山鴻諲 in ZJ 19, where it says:

> When the master first came out into the world 出世 he did not know all the skillful means for teaching and could not seem to acquire a calm and moderate approach. Therefore he did not preach the dharma. After two years had gone by, however, he suddenly had a change of heart.

IX

師因半夏上黃檗、見和尚看經。師云、我將謂是箇人、元來是揜黑豆老和尚。

Linji came up to Mount Huangbo in the middle of the summer session. Seeing Huangbo reading a sutra, he said, "I always used to think you were a *man*. Now I see you're just a black-bean-eating old priest!"

### IX

**Linji came up to Mount Huangbo….** This section, called "Linji poxia yinyuan" 臨濟破夏因緣 (How Linji violated the rules of the summer session), has traditionally been regarded as one of the most important koans in the text, and the incident it relates as central to the formation of the Linji school.

**Summer session** translates 夏 (lit., "summer"), also known as 安居 (Skr., varṣa). This was originally a retreat that took place during the three months of the Indian rainy season in the summer. One theory hypothesizes that it lasted from the sixteenth day of the fourth lunar month until the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month; another that it lasted from the sixteenth day of the fifth month until the fifteenth day of the eighth month. During this period monks gathered to practice meditation, and it was forbidden for anyone to arrive or leave while the period was in session. The violation of these regulations was called 破夏(lit., "breaking the [summer] retreat").

**I always used to think… old priest.** These phrases express the speaker's feeling of surprise. For example, in the description of Huangbo's initial encounter with Baizhang, described in ZJ 16, we read:

> [Huangbo] went to Baizhang and asked, "How do you, Heshang, teach your students about the matter the patriarchs have handed down to us?" Baizhang was silent for a long while. Then Huangbo said, "You cannot cut off your followers." Baizhang responded, "I always used to think that you were just a man," and, rising to his feet, he went to his room. As he was about to shut the door, the master [Huangbo] said, "What I came to see you about is only to be given this certificate 印信." Baizhang turned around and said, "If so, you shouldn't from now on fall short of my expectations."

The character 揜, which means "to hide, to suppress," is difficult to explain. In the version of this anecdote found in the JC the text reads 唵, which means to eat with the hand, and this is almost certainly correct. The "black beans" 黑豆 are a metaphor for the printed or written characters in the sutras.

A somewhat similar story is found in the section on Yangshan in the JC:

> When the master [Yangshan] was living at Guanyin Temple, he posted a notice saying that he could not give instruction at those times when he was reading the sutras. Later a monk came to pay his respects, and, seeing that the master was engaged in reading a sutra, stood by his side and waited for him to finish. When the master had finished he rolled up the text, then asked, "Do you understand?" "I have not read the sutra. How could I understand?" the monk replied. "Later you certainly will," said the master.
>
> The monk went to visit Yantou 巖頭 (828–887), who asked, "Where did you come from?" "I have come from Guanyin Temple in Jiangxi," said the monk. "And what sort of instruction did the priest

住數日、乃辭去。黃檗云、汝破夏來、不終夏去。師云、某甲暫來禮拜和尚。黃檗遂打、趁令去。師行數里、疑此事、卻回終夏。師一日、辭黃檗。檗問、什麼處去。師云、不是河南、便歸河北。黃檗便打。師約住與一掌。黃檗大笑、乃喚侍者、將百丈先師禪板机案來。師云、侍者、將火來。黃檗云、雖然如是、汝但將去。已後坐卻天下人舌頭去在。

Linji stayed a few days and then tried to take his leave. Huangbo said, "You came in violation of the rules of the summer session, and now you're leaving before it's over."

"I came for a little while to pay my respects to you, Venerable Priest," said Linji.

Huangbo hit him and chased him out. After he had gone a few *li*, Linji, thinking the matter over, returned to the temple and finished the summer session.

One day he took his leave of Huangbo. Huangbo asked, "Where are you going?"

"If I don't go to Henan, I'll return to Hebei," replied Linji.

Huangbo hit at him. Linji seized Huangbo and gave him a slap. Laughing heartily, Huangbo called to his attendant, "Bring me the backrest and armrest that belonged to my late teacher Baizhang."

"Attendant, bring me some fire!" cried Linji.

"Be that as it may, just take them with you. In the future you'll cut off the tongues of every man on earth," said Huangbo.

there have to give?" asked Yantou, whereupon the monk told him of the earlier incident. Yantou said, "That old teacher! I used to think that he was completely buried in old paper, but now I see that he is still alive!" (T 51: 283c)

**If I don't go to Henan, I'll return to Hebei.** This sentence, 不是江南, 便歸江北, can also be translated "I'm not going to Henan, but to Hebei."

**Bring me the backrest…Baizhang.** According to the commentary section of BL 68, Huaihai gave his backrest 禪版 (see page 309, above) and cushion to Huangbo and his staff and whisk to Guishan, but there are various versions to the story. Here, by calling for Huaihai's backrest and armrest, Huangbo is indicating that he recognizes Linji as the heir to the teaching that he himself received from Huaihai.

The term 枕案, translated as "armrest," originally referred to a table, but here it refers to a kind of chair against which a meditator rests his back and legs when tired from long sitting. The term also appears in the *Fahua yishu* 法華義疏 (Commentary on the meaning of the *Lotus Sutra*) of Jizang 吉藏 (549–623), and therefore it would be natural to consider this meditation instrument to have been one of those introduced originally from India to China (T 34: 524a).

**Cut off the tongues** translates 坐卻; the text in the JC reads 坐斷. For a discussion of these terms see page 167, above.

後潙山問仰山、臨濟莫辜負他黃檗也無。仰山云、不然。潙山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、知恩方解報恩。潙山云、從上古人、還有相似底也無。仰山云、有。祇是年代深遠、不欲擧似和尚。潙山云、雖然如是、吾亦要知。子但擧看。仰山云、祇如楞嚴會上、阿難讚佛云、將此深心奉塵刹、是則名爲報佛恩。豈不是報恩之事。潙山云、如是如是。見與師齊、減師半德。見過於師、方堪傳授。

Later, Guishan asked Yangshan, "Didn't Linji abuse Huangbo's trust?"

"Not at all!" said Yangshan.

"Well then, what do you think?"

"Only one who recognizes beneficence can requite it," said Yangshan.

"From ancient times to the present, has there been anyone like him?" asked Guishan.

"Yes there has, but he lived so long ago I don't want to tell you about him, Venerable Priest," replied Yangshan.

"Be that as it may, I'd like to know. Come on, try and tell me," said Guishan.

Yangshan said, "At the Śūraṅgama assembly, Ānanda, in praising the Buddha, said, 'With my whole heart I shall serve all beings throughout the myriad worlds. This is called "requiting the Buddha's beneficence".' Isn't this [also] an example of requiting beneficence?"

"Just so, just so!" replied Guishan. "One whose insight is the same as his teacher's lacks half of his teacher's power. Only one whose insight surpasses his teacher's is worthy to be his heir."

**Only one who recognizes beneficence can requite it.** In the *Taigong jiajiao* 太公家教, a book of popular proverbs written by an unknown author during the middle Tang period and thereafter widely read into the Ming era, it is written, "One who recognizes and requites beneficence is a true gentleman; one who fails to requite beneficence is not a human being."

**Śūraṅgama assembly** refers to the *Śūraṅgama Sutra*, from which Ānanda's praise for the Buddha's teaching is quoted. A Tantric work, the sutra is said to have been translated in 705 by an Indian monk named Pāramiti, though there are other accounts of its origin. It was an influential work in the formation of Chan doctrine, and was very popular from Tang times onward as a topic for lectures. The verses would therefore have been well known to Chan monks of the time.

Ānanda, after hearing the Buddha's preaching, thanks him on behalf of the entire assembly:

> You are the mysteriously profound Dhāraṇī / The immovable Honored One, the King of Śūraṅgama;
> Ones like you are seldom found in the world.
> You have eliminated the myriad false thoughts / I accumulated over millions of kalpas,
> So I could acquire a dharma body / Before asaṃkhyeya kalpas had gone by.
> I now wish to attain the state of buddha-

X

師到達磨塔頭。塔主云、長老、先禮佛、先禮祖。師云、佛祖俱不禮。塔主云、佛祖與長老是什麼冤家。師便拂袖而出。

Linji arrived at Bodhidharma's memorial tower. The master of the tower said to him, "Venerable sir, will you pay homage first to the Buddha or to Bodhidharma?"

"I don't pay homage to either the Buddha or to Bodhidharma," said Linji.

"Venerable sir, why are the Buddha and Bodhidharma your enemies?" asked the master of the tower.

Linji swung his sleeves and left.

hood and become a Treasure King / To save beings [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges.

With all my heart I will serve all beings throughout the myriad worlds / This is called requiting the Buddha's beneficence. (T 19: 119b)

**Only one whose insight… his heir.** The same remark is attributed to Baizhang, who made it in a conversation with his student Huangbo:

One day when Huangbo went to see the master [Baizhang] and was taking his leave, he said, "I would like to visit Master Mazu to pay my respects." Baizhang said, "Mazu has already passed away." "But I wonder," asked Huangbo, "what kind of teaching he gave to his students." Baizhang… then said, "The buddhadharma is no trifling matter. When I was with Master Mazu he once gave a great shout that left me deaf for three days." Upon hearing this Huangbo let out a gasp. Baizhang asked, "Don't you intend to carry on Mazu's teaching?" "No, Reverend, I do not. Today I heard you speak of Mazu and could perceive his marvelous functioning. Yet I have never known Mazu's true being. If I were to succeed to his dharma, I would surely forfeit my descendants," replied Huangbo. "Just so! Just so!" replied the master. "One whose insight is the same as his teacher's lacks half his teacher's power. Only one whose insight surpasses his teacher's is worthy to be his heir. You certainly seem to possess insight surpassing that of your teacher." (GY 1; X 68: 5a)

X

**Memorial tower** translates 塔頭, a small hall or tower built by a teacher's disciples on the site of his grave. Bodhidharma's memorial tower was at Wuban 吳坂 on Mount Xiong'er 熊耳 ("Bear's Ear Mountain") in Henan, where the master was said to have been buried. BZ 8 reports:

Then Bodhidharma said to Huike, "I shall clarify what the buddha-nature is, using the four volumes of the *Laṇkāvatara sutra*, and I want you to know this: since coming to China I have been served poison in my food six times, but each time I successfully removed it. Now Putiliuzhi Sanzang 菩提流支三藏 [Bodhiruci] and Guangtong Fashi 光統法師 have mixed poison in my food again, but I shall not remove it this time. Why not? Because I now have an heir to whom I can transmit my dharma."

Bodhidharma entered nirvana after this, that is, in the ninteenth year of Dahe 大和, in the reign of Emperor Xiaoming 孝明, the eighth sovereign of the Latter Wei dynasty, and was buried at Wuban on Xiongershan….

The Tang-dynasty emperor Daizong 代

XI

師行腳時、到龍光。光上堂。師出問云、不展鋒鋩、如何得勝。光據坐。師云、大善知識、豈無方便。光瞪目云、嗄。師以手指云、這老漢、今日敗闕也。

Linji, while on a pilgrimage, arrived at the place of Longguang. Longguang had already ascended the high seat [to give a discourse] when Linji advanced and asked, "Without unsheathing the point of a weapon, how can one win a battle?"

Longguang straightened up in his seat.

"Has the venerable teacher no expedient [means]?" asked Linji.

Staring fixedly at Linji, Longguang exhaled loudly.

Linji pointed his finger at Longguang and said, "Today you lose, old man."

XII

到三峯。平和尚問曰、什麼處來。師云、黃檗來。平云、黃檗有何言句。師云、金牛昨夜遭塗炭、直至如今不見蹤。

Linji arrived at Sanfeng. Venerable Ping asked him, "Where did you come from?"

"I came from Huangbo," replied Linji.

"What does Huangbo have to say?" asked Ping.

Linji said:

The golden ox met with disaster last night,
And no one has seen a trace of it since.

宗 (727–779) gave him the posthumous name Chan Master Yuanjue 圓覺禪師 and named his memorial tower the Kongguan Zhi Ta 空觀之塔.

XI

**Longguang** 龍光 (n.d.). Nothing is known of this particular Longguang.

**Straightened up in his seat** translates the expression 據坐, which literally means "to lean on the chair" or "to sit on the chair." From its context in Chan literature, however, it appears to have the meaning given in the translation. See, for example, the following passage in the section on Wuxie Lingmo 五洩靈默 (747–818) in the JC, which describes Lingmo's first visit to Shitou:

> Still in his traveling clothes, [Lingmo] went straight to Shitou's quarters and, seeing Shitou seated there, said, "If you can enlighten me in a single word, I will stay. If not, I will leave!" Shitou straightened up in his seat 據坐. The master [Lingmo] left. (T 51: 254b)

XII

**Linji arrived at Sanfeng. Ven. Ping….** Neither the place Sanfeng 三峯 nor the person Ven. Ping 平和尚 have been identified. Sanfeng, meaning "three peaks," is a common place name in China.

平云、金風吹玉管、那箇是知音。師云、直透萬重關、不住清霄內。平云、子這一問太高生。師云、龍生金鳳子、衝破碧琉璃。平云、且坐喫茶。又問、近離甚處。師云、龍光。平云、龍光近日如何。師便出去。

Ping said:

The autumn wind blows a flute of jade;
Who is he who knows the tune?

Linji said:

He goes right through the manifold barrier,
And stays not even within the clear sky.

"Your question is much too lofty," said Ping.

Linji said:

The dragon's given birth to a golden phoenix
Who breaks through the azure dome of heaven.

"Do sit down and have some tea," said Ping. Then he asked, "Where have you been recently?"

"At Longguang," said Linji.

"How is Longguang these days?" asked Ping.

At that Linji went off.

**The golden ox met with disaster** translates 塗炭, lit., "mud and ashes"; the implication here is that the golden ox was swallowed up in mud or melted down by intense heat. A somewhat similar expression is found in the section on Nanquan in ZJ 16. The section on Longshan 龍山 in the JC has, "Two clay oxen were fighting and walked into the sea; since then no one has had any news of them" (T 51: 263a).

**Much too lofty** can be interpreted as a compliment of Linji's lofty understanding, but it seems more likely that it is intended sarcastically. See the section on Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?–740) in the JC:

> When Xiqian arrived [at Nanyue Huairang's place] he asked, "If one does not admire the sages [outside] nor prize his own holy spirit within, what then?" Huairang replied, "Your question is too lofty. Why don't you ask at a lower level?" Xiqian then said, "I would rather transmigrate forever than ask the sages for the way of self-emancipation." Huairang had no reply. (T 51: 240b)

**The dragon's given birth to a golden phoenix.** The dragon and the phoenix symbolize Huangbo and Linji. It was customary to speak of eminent teachers and disciples in such terms, as in the Chan saying, "A dragon gives birth to a dragon child; a phoenix gives birth to a phoenix," meaning that a good teacher naturally produces good students (see, for example, the ZJ 4 section on Danxia Tianran). But Linji gives the saying an added twist by making a dragon give birth to a phoenix.

**The azure dome of heaven** translates 碧瑠璃, meaning, lit., "blue lapis lazuli." The expression can be interpreted in two ways. It is usually used as an epithet for the clear blue color of either the ocean or

XIII

到大慈。慈在方丈內坐。師問、端居丈室時如何。慈云、寒松一色千年別、野老拈花萬國春。師云、今古永超圓智體、三山鎖斷萬重關。慈便喝。師亦喝。慈云、作麼。師拂袖便出。

Linji arrived at the place of Daci. Daci was sitting in his quarters. Linji asked, "How is it with you when you're sitting erect in your quarters?" Daci replied:

The green of the winter pines endures a thousand years.
An aged rustic picks a flower and in myriad lands it's spring.

Linji answered:

Forever transcending past and present is the body of perfect wisdom.
Blocking the way to the Three Mountains there is a manifold barrier.

Daci gave a shout. Linji also shouted.
"Well?" said Daci. Linji swung his sleeves and left.

the sky, and has been so translated here, but it can also indicate a phoenix egg, in which case the image would be that of a young phoenix pecking its way out of an azure-colored shell.

The term 瑠璃, however, often means a circle, which brings to mind the roundness of sky and sea. There is a verse by Mazu that says, "The golden chick pecks through the lapis lazuli shell; the jade hare pushes open the blue sea gate." If the golden fowl and the jade hare are taken to be symbolic of the sun and the moon, respectively, the "lapis lazuli shell" is, logically, just a metaphor for the sky.

### XIII

**Daci**. This refers to the master Daci Huanzhong 大慈寰中 (780–862). Huanzhong was a native of Puzhou 蒲州; his family name was Lu 盧. Huanzhong's mother died when he was still a child; after the mourning period was finished he became a monk at the temple Tongzisi 童子寺 in Bingzhou 并州, and later received the precepts at Chongyue 崇嶽. After studying the vinaya he went to study under Baizhang Huaihai, whose dharma heir he became. He later lived on Mount Daci 大慈 in Zhejiang Province. During the suppression of Buddhism under Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 814–846) in 844 he returned to lay life, but shaved his head once again when Xuanzong 宣宗 (810–859) ascended the throne and ended the persecution. He was accorded the posthumous title Great Teacher Xingkong 性空大師.

**Three Mountains.** The name "Three Mountains" (Sanshan 三山) is usually taken to refer to the three mythical mountains known as Penglai 蓬來, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 瀛州, which were believed to be situated in the middle of the sea to the east of China, and to be the home of Taoist immortals.

Dōchū, however, interprets the name to refer to an actual range of mountains located southwest of Jinling 金陵. This

XIV

到襄州華嚴。嚴倚拄杖、作睡勢。師云、老和尚瞌睡作麼。嚴云、作家禪客、宛爾不同。師云、侍者、點茶來、與和尚喫。嚴乃喚維那、第三位安排這上座。

Linji arrived at the temple of Huayan in Xiangzhou. Huayan was leaning on his staff, giving the appearance of being asleep. Linji said, "Venerable Priest, what's the good of dozing?"

"A true Chan adept is clearly different!" said Huayan.

"Attendant, make some tea and serve it to the Venerable Priest to drink," said Linji. Huayan called the duty-monk and said, "Place this honorable monk in the third seat."

range overlooks the Yangzi and is marked by a row of three peaks. It is thus a famous landmark in the neighborhood of Daci, where Linji was at the time. Dōchū quotes the following line from a poem by Li Bo entitled "Deng Jinling Fenghuangtai" 登金陵鳳凰臺 (Ascending the Phoenix Terrace at Jinling): "The Three Mountains are half sunk from sight beyond the blue sky."

XIV

**The temple of Huayan in Xiangzhou** translates 襄州華嚴. Huayan yuan 華嚴院 was the name of a temple—probably the Huayan yuan 華嚴院 on Mount Lumen 鹿門 mentioned in the JC (T 51: 364b)—located in the area of Xiangyangxian 襄陽縣 in present-day Hebei Province. The JC identifies a certain Chan Master Chuzhen 處眞禪師 as the resident priest at Huayan yuan, but as this figure lived much later than Linji he could not have been there at the time of Linji's visit. Some commentators identify the Huayan in this anecdote as Huayan Zhizang 華嚴智藏, a disciple of Mazu, but on the basis of what is known of Zhizang from JC 8 and SG 11, he would seem to have had no connection with Xiangzhou.

**Make some tea.** In China tea has been drunk from very early times to refresh the spirit and ward off drowsiness. Legend traces its use among Chan monks back to Bodhidharma, but many other masters have promoted its use to ward of drowsiness and maintain health. In the section on Wuzhu 無住 (714–774) in the Dunhuang versions of the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Chronicles of the dharma treasure) there is a passage that reads:

> That day, when the priest [Wuzhu] was drinking tea, there arrived about thirty military officers and other officials from the government, who saluted the priest and sat down. One of them said to Wuzhu that he seemed quite fond of tea. "Yes, I am," replied Wuzhu, who then recited a verse:
>
> Deep in the valleys grows this heavenly plant/A suitable guide to the Way.
> Woodcutters pick its leaves / And its delicious flavor fills their bowls;
> It stills and clears the delusions of thought / The bright mind illuminates the highest state
> Without exhausting one's energy / The dharma gate opens before one's eyes. (T 51: 193b)

Myōan Yōsai (Eisai) 明庵榮西 (1141–1218), the Japanese priest honored as the first person to introduce the tradition of Linji Chan (J., Rinzai Zen) to Japan,

XV

到翠峯。峯問、甚處來。師云、黃檗來。峯云、黃檗有何言句、指示於人。師云、黃檗無言句。峯云、爲什麼無。師云、設有、亦無擧處。峯云、但擧看。師云、一箭過西天。

When Linji reached Cuifeng's place, Cuifeng asked, "Where did you come from?"

"I came from Huangbo," said Linji.

"What words does Huangbo use to instruct people?" asked Cuifeng.

"Huangbo has no words," said Linji.

"Why not?" asked Cuifeng.

"Even if he had any, I wouldn't know how to state them," answered Linji.

"Come on, try and tell me," said Cuifeng.

"The arrow has flown off to the Western Heaven," said Linji.

XVI

到象田。師問、不凡不聖、請師速道。田云、老僧祇與麼。師便喝云、許多禿子、在這裏覓什麼椀。

Linji visited Xiangtian and said to him, "[It's] neither secular nor sacred—please, master, speak!"

"I'm just this way," Xiangtian replied.

Linji shouted and said, "What kind of vittles are all these baldpates looking for here!"

XVII

到明化。化問、來來去去作什麼。師云、祇徒踏破草鞋。化云、畢竟作麼生。師云、老漢話頭也不識。

Linji arrived at Minghua's place. Minghua asked, "What's the good of all this coming and going!"

"I'm just trying to wear out my straw sandals," said Linji.

"What for, then?" asked Minghua.

"Old man, you don't even know the subject of the conversation!" replied Linji.

promoted the use of tea upon returning to Japan after completing his training in China. One of his remaining writings is the treatise *Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記 (Drinking tea to promote life).

**The third seat** is traditionally taken to be the seat of the head of the "lower hall," that is, the back section of the meditation hall (see comment on page 133, above). The first seat was occupied by the head

of the upper hall, while the second was allocated to his assistant, the third to the head of the lower hall, and the fourth to his assistant.

The head of the lower hall played an important part in assisting the Chan master in the instruction of the other monks, and it was therefore a position of great honor.

XV

**Cuifeng** 翠峯. Nothing is known of Cuifeng.

**The arrow has flown off to the Western Heaven.** The expression indicates being long gone and far away, without so much as a trace remaining. A similar statement, made by Yunmen, is found in the YK: "An arrow has flown to Silla, and in the land of Great Han everyone talks'" (T 47: 547c).

XVI

**Xiangtian** 象田 and **Minghua** 明化. Nothing is known of either Xiangtian or Minghua.

XVII

**I'm just trying to wear out my straw sandals** translates the sentence 祇徒踏破草鞋. In Chinese colloquial language the words represented by the characters 祇 and 徒 are adverbial in function and convey a more or less similar meaning, with 祇 signifying "merely" or "at most" and 徒 signifying "vainly" or "uselessly." Both characters can probably be dispensed with in the written language.

Here the two characters are used together in what is for all appearances a compound word. However, since another example of such a usage has never been found, it is possible that it may not be a compound at all. For purposes of the present translation we have assumed that 徒 is of the same meaning as its homophone 圖 ("desire," "try"); these two characters are often used interchangeably, as if synonymously, in the Dunhuang manuscripts. The *Zuting shiyuan* quotes a phrase, 徒什麼, from the YK and maintains that "the character 徒 must be written 圖, which means 'to desire'" (X 64: 320b). Another possibility is that the characters 徒 and 待 ("want") have been confused because of their close resemblance (many instances of this can be found in the Dunhuang manuscripts).

**You don't even know the subject of the conversation**. A similar statement is found in the BL, case 49:

> "When the golden fish has slipped through the net, what does he do for food?" asked Sansheng. Xuefeng replied, "I'll tell you after you've gotten out of the net." Sansheng responded, "You're a teacher of fifteen hundred students, and you don't even know what I'm talking about!" Xuefeng answered, "I have all I can do tending to temple affairs."

XVIII

往鳳林。路逢一婆。婆問、甚處去。師云、鳳林去。婆云、恰值鳳林不在。師云、甚處去。婆便行。師乃喚婆。婆回頭。師便打。

When Linji was going to Fenglin's place, he met an old woman on the road. "Where are you going?" she asked.

"I'm going to Fenglin's place," replied Linji.

"Fenglin happens to be away just now," said the old woman.

"Where did he go?" asked Linji.

At that the old woman walked away.

Linji called to her. The old woman turned her head. Linji hit her.

## XVIII

**Fenglin** 鳳林. Nothing is known of this figure.

**Linji hit her** 師便打. This sentence appears as "Linji then walked away" 師便行 in the LL text found in the SY, in TG 11 (X 78: 474c); in ZH 9 (X 79: 82c); and in GY 5 (X 68: 32c). In view of the circumstances this would seem to make better sense, since there was presumably some distance between Linji and the old woman when he called to her and she turned her head, and it is hard to imagine him running up and hitting her.

The following passage appears in the *Xuefeng Huikong Chanshi yulu* 雪峯慧空禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Xuefeng Huikong; 1183):

> At the beginning of the Zhenghe 政和 era [1111–1117] I [Huikong] received from Master Xin of Shigong [Shigong Xin 石鞏新] a copy of Mazu's *Sijia lu*. At the back there was an account of the interview between Linji and the old woman that read, "The old woman asked Linji, 'Where are you going?' 'I am going to Fenglin,' replied Linji. 'Fenglin is away just now,' said the old woman. 'Where has he gone?' Linji asked. The old woman walked away. Linji called to her. The old woman turned her head. Linji then walked away 濟便行." (X 69: 253b)

Huikong reports that he was delighted with this version of the story, but adds that in the new edition of the *Sijia lu* published in his time, the final lines read, "The old woman turned her head. Linji said, 'Who says he is away?' 誰道不在." Huikong considers this change to greatly weaken the effectiveness of the anecdote, and suggests that it must have been a later addition by someone who did not understand the point of the original version (X 69: 253b).

The version with the comment "Who says he is away?" is found in the present text of the *Zongmen tongyao ji* as recorded in the *Dainihon kōtei zōkyō* 大日本校訂藏經 (Kyoto edition of the revised Buddhist canon) (31:1:79d), and is cited in a note in ZH 9 (X 79: 82c), WH 11 (X 80: 222c), the *Zhiyue lu* 指月錄 (Pointing at the moon record; X 83: 550c), and several other collections. It is not possible now to determine which version of the story is the earliest, but it should be noted that different accounts have been in existence since Song times.

XIX

到鳳林。林問、有事相借問、得麼。師云、何得剜肉作瘡。林云、海月澄無影、遊魚獨自迷。師云、海月既無影、遊魚何得迷。鳳林云、觀風知浪起、翫水野帆飄。師云、孤輪獨照江山靜、自笑一聲天地驚。林云、任將三寸輝天地、一句臨機試道看。

Linji arrived at Fenglin. Fenglin said, "There is something I wish to ask you. May I?"

"Why gouge out [good] flesh and make a wound?" replied Linji.

Fenglin said:

The moon shines on the sea, there are no shadows
Yet the gamboling fish get lost.

Linji replied:

Since shadowless is the moon over the sea,
How can the gamboling fish get lost!

Fenglin said:

Watching the wind I know the arising of waves;
[And see boats] asport on the water with fluttering sails.

Linji replied:

The solitary moon alone does shine—rivers and mountains are still;
One laugh from me startles both heaven and earth.

Fenglin said:

Your tongue may illumine heaven and earth, but
Try speaking a word apropos of the moment.

XIX

**Why gouge out [good] flesh and make a wound** translates 何得剜肉作瘡, which can also be rendered, "Why have you gouged out a piece of your good healthy flesh to make a wound?" The emphasis on the intentional injuring of a healthy body implies the despoiling of one's own original nature. In the YK there is a passage in which Yunmen says, "One who says that the dharma body eats rice is gouging out a piece of flesh to make a wound" (T 47: 557b).

**One laugh from me startles both heaven and earth.** This line is most likely based on the following passage in the biography of Yaoshan Weiyan, found in ZJ 4; SG 17; and in the JC:

> The master [Weiyan] one night ascended Mount Yao and was walking about on top. When the clouds suddenly parted and the moon appeared he gave a great laugh, the sound of which carried over ninety *li* to the east of Liyang 澧陽, so that people from the area all supposed that it came from a neighboring house. The next morning they began to question each other and

師云、路逢劍客須呈劍、不是詩人莫獻詩。鳳林便休。師乃有頌、大道絶同、任向西東、石火莫及、電光罔通。溈山問仰山、石火莫及、電光罔通。從上諸聖、將什麼爲人。仰山云、和尚意作麼生。溈山云、但有言說、都無寔義。仰山云、不然。溈山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、官不容針、私通車馬。

Linji replied:

If on the road you meet a swordsman, offer him your sword;
To a man who's not a poet, don't present a poem.

Fenglin desisted. Linji then recited this verse:

The Great Way defies comparison—one goes east or west at will.
No spark from flint can go so fast, nor lightning flash pass by.

Guishan asked Yangshan, "If no spark from flint can go so fast, nor lightning flash pass by, how did the old-time sages save men?"

"What do you think, Venerable Priest?" asked Yangshan.

Guishan said, "No words have actual significance."

"Not so," disagreed Yangshan.

"Then what do you think?" asked Guishan.

"Officially, a needle is not permitted to enter; privately, carriages can get through."

carried their inquiry as far as Yueshan, where Weiyan's disciples told them, "Last night the priest gave a great laugh on top of the mountain." (T 51: 312b)

**To a man who's not a poet, don't present a poem.** This was a popular saying of the time, and is quoted in numerous works. For example, see the section on Muzhou 睦州 in the JC:

A monk asked, "What is the true intention of the Sixth Patriarch?" The master [Muzhou] replied, "I like anger; I don't care for jollity." The monk asked, "Why is that?" The master replied, "If you meet a swordsman on the road, offer him your sword; if a man is not a poet, don't discuss poetry with him." (T 51: 291b)

**No words have actual significance.** This is a quotation from the *Śūraṅgama Sutra*. In a discussion of the tathāgatagarbha, the following passage appears several times:

Not understanding that whatever manifests does so according to karma, worldly people mistakenly assign its origin to causes, conditions, or spontaneity. This [misunderstanding] arises from the discrimination and reasoning of the conscious mind, and is nothing but words and explanations without actual significance. (T 19: 117c)

**Officially, a needle… get through.** This appears to have been a popular saying of the time. In the XG mention is made of a priest named Daoxing 道興, who put up guests at his temple although this was strictly forbidden by the government at the time. Asked how he could break the law in this fashion, he replied with the saying quoted here, indicating that he had ways of getting around the official ruling (T 50: 623b). A popular fable found among the Dunhuang manuscripts mentions a sparrow who was imprisoned for usurping a swallow's home,

XX

到金牛。牛見師來、横按拄杖、當門踞坐。師以手敲拄杖三下、卻歸堂中第一位坐。牛下來見、乃問、夫賓主相見、各具威儀。上座從何而來、太無禮生。師云、老和尚道什麼。牛擬開口。師便打。牛作倒勢。師又打。牛云、今日不著便。潙山問仰山、此二尊宿、還有勝負也無。仰山云、勝即總勝、負即總負。

Linji arrived at Jinniu's place. Jinniu saw him coming and, holding a stick crosswise, sat down at the gate. Linji struck the stick three times with his hand, then entered the [Monks'] Hall and seated himself in the first seat.

Jinniu came in, saw him, and said, "In an interview between host and guest, each should conform to the prescribed formalities. Where do you come from, Elder Monk, that you are so rude?"

"What are you talking about, Old Priest?" replied Linji.

Jinniu started to open his mouth, and Linji hit him. Jinniu gave the appearance of falling down. Linji hit him again. Jinniu said, "I'm not doing so well today."

Guishan asked Yangshan, "In the case of these two venerable ones, was there a winner or a loser?"

"Call it a victory, then both won; call it a loss, then both lost," replied Yangshan.

and who attempted to bribe the guard into freeing him while quoting this same saying (see the DB, 252, "Yanzi fu" 燕子賦 [The fable of a swallow]).

XX

**Jinniu** 金牛 is the name of a temple in Zhenzhou 鎮州. According to the "Zhendingfu Dinglin Tongfa Dashi taming" 眞定府定林通法大師塔銘 (Memorial tower inscription for Great Teacher Dinglin Tongfa), contained in *Changshan zhenshi zhi* 常山貞石志 13, the temple was the site of a memorial tower to a certain Chan Master Jinniu 金牛禪師, who died in the Kaiyuan 開元 era (713–741); hence the temple's name.

In JC 8 mention is made of a certain Jinniu Heshang of Zhen, a dharma-heir of Mazu. It is recorded that he cooked the monk's rice himself, and, as he carried the rice into the hall, he always did a little dance, clapping his hands, roaring with laughter, and shouting, "Bodhisattvas, come get your rice!" He seems to have lived a little earlier than Linji, but, since the Jinniu in the text is addressed as "Old Priest," it may refer to the same man.

**Call it a victory… both lost.** *Editor's note*: The original translation, "The winner indeed won; the loser indeed lost," has been changed in accordance with subsequent research in YANAGIDA 1977 and IRIYA 1989.

XXI

師臨遷化時、據坐云、吾滅後、不得滅卻吾正法眼藏。三聖出云、爭敢滅卻和尚正法眼藏。師云、已後有人問爾、向他道什麼。三聖便喝。師云、誰知吾正法眼藏、向這瞎驢邊滅卻。言訖、端然示寂。

When the master was about to pass away, he seated himself and said, "After I am extinguished, do not let my True Dharma Eye be extinguished." Sansheng came forward and said, "How could I let your True Dharma Eye be extinguished!"

"Later on, when somebody asks you about it, what will you say to him?" asked the master.

Sansheng gave a shout.

"Who would have thought that my True Dharma Eye would be extinguished upon reaching this blind ass!" said the master. Having spoken these words, sitting erect, the master revealed his nirvana.

XXI

**True Dharma Eye** translates 正法眼藏, which refers to the fundamental principles of Buddhism handed down generation by generation from the Buddha to the Chan masters. The ninth-century text BZ has:

> Before the Buddha entered nirvana he said to his disciple Mahakaśyapa, "I possess the pure Dharma Eye, the Ineffable Mind of Nirvana, the True Form of the Formless that I now entrust to you. You must transmit it and not allow it to come to an end." Mahakaśyapa respectfully acknowledged his willingness, and accordingly received the teaching.

Later, in fascicle 3 of the same work, when the ninth Indian patriarch, Buddhamitra (Futuomituo 伏馱密陀), is similarly described as transmitting the teaching to his heir, he speaks of it as the "Eye of the True Dharma" 正法眼藏. See also the note on the "ancestral school," page 118.

**Sansheng**. See Introduction, note 36. There is considerable doubt as to just when this story of the exchange between Linji and Sansheng first appeared. The original JC compiled in 1005, from which the Song and Yuan editions were printed, did not contain any such passage. Its earliest appearance outside of the LL itself is in TG 10, where the account of Linji's death, taken from the JC, is combined with the description of the exchange between Linji and Sansheng (X 78: 468a).

In the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Biographies of monks of the Chan school) we find the following exchange between Fengxue and Nanyuan:

> Nanyuan asked, "Have you heard the story of Linji's death?" "Yes," replied Fengxue. Nanyuan continued, "Linji said, 'Who would have thought that my True Dharma Eye would be extinguished upon reaching this blind ass!' All his life Linji was like a lion, ready to kill a man the minute he saw him. Why, when he was about to die, did he bow and scrape and hang his tail between his legs like that?"
>
> Fengxue replied, "If the secret transmission had come to an end, it would have meant the annihilation of all the former masters."

XXII

師諱義玄、曹州南華人也。俗姓邢氏。幼而顥異、長以孝聞。及落髮受具、居於講肆、精究毘尼、博賾經論。俄而歎曰、此濟世之醫方也、非教外別傳之旨。

The master's name as a monk was Yixuan. He was a native of the prefecture of Nanhua in the province of Cao. His family name was Xing. As a child he was exceptionally brilliant, and when he became older he was known for his filial piety. After shaving his head and receiving the full precepts, he frequented lecture halls; he mastered the vinaya and made a thorough study of the sutras and śāstras.

Suddenly [one day] he said with a sigh, "These are prescriptions for helping the world, not the principle of the transmission outside the scriptures."

> Again Nanyuan asked, "Why didn't Sansheng reply?" "He was a true disciple, familiar with the master and permitted to enter his room, quite different from mere travelers who passed by outside the gate," said Fengxue. Nanyuan nodded his head. (X 79: 496c)

XXII

**The master's name as a monk was Yixuan**. The summary of Linji's life that follows is a reproduction of the Memorial Inscription 塔記 attributed to Baoshou Zhao 寶壽沼. The stele inscription refers to the *Record of Pilgrimages*, and it is therefore obvious that the latter was already in existence when the inscription was composed. The stele text is found also in the GY, at the end of the recorded sayings of Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 (X 68: 35a), where it is prefixed by the words "Memorial Tower Inscription of Linji Huizhao Chanshi" 臨濟慧照禪師塔記.

**"Name as a monk"** translates 諱, the name that a monk receives from his ordaining teacher. The literal meaning of the term is "tabooed name," since later, when the monk has acquired students of his own, the students avoid using it when addressing him as a sign of respect.

**The Province of Cao** 曹州 is a region in present-day Shandong. According to the *Dushi fangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 (Essentials of historical geography of China) the region was named Caozhou 曹州 in the Latter Zhou dynasty (late sixth c.), renamed Jiyinjun 濟陰郡 during the succeeding Zui dynasty, then renamed several more times during the Tang dynasty. After the Ganyuan 乾元 era (758–759), however, it reverted to Caozhou.

**Lecture halls** translates 講肆, lit., "lecture shops." These were temples or places of assembly in the cities where people gathered to hear talks on the Buddhist teachings. Monks often traveled about listening to a variety of lectures.

**The transmission outside the scriptures**. The concept of a "separate tradition outside the scriptures" is of course very old in Chan, and is considered one of its fundamental teachings. The earliest known occurrence of the expression is in the *Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission), attributed to Bodhidharma:

> The arisings of the three realms all trace back to the One Mind. The former buddhas and later buddhas transmitted it from mind to mind without depending on written words. (T 48: 373b)

即更衣游方、首參黃檗、次謁大愚。其機緣語句、載于行錄。既受黃檗印可、尋抵河北。鎮州城東南隅、臨滹沱河側、小院住持。其臨濟因地得名。時普化先在彼、佯狂混衆、聖凡莫測。師至即佐之。師正旺化、普化全身脫去。乃符仰山小釋迦之懸記也。

Then he changed his robe and traveled on a pilgrimage. First he studied under Huangbo. Then he visited Dayu. What was said on those occasions has been set down in the "Record of Pilgrimages."

After receiving the seal of dharma from Huangbo, the master went to Hebei and became priest of a small temple on the banks of the Hutuo River, outside the southeast corner of the capital of Zhenzhou. Because of its location the temple was called "Linji" ("Overlooking the Ford"). By that time Puhua was already there. Pretending to be crazy, Puhua mixed with the people and no one could tell whether he was a sage or a commoner. When the master arrived there Puhua was of help to him. When the master's teaching began to flourish, Puhua vanished, body and all. This agreed with the prediction made by Yangshan, the "Little Śākya."

Huangbo has a similar remark in the CF:

> When the First Patriarch arrived from India, he pointed directly to the mind, by which one may see into his real nature and become a buddha, and did not use words or explanations. (T 48: 384a)

However, apart from the LL, the earliest appearance of the exact expression "separate tradition outside the scriptures" 教外別傳 seems to be a Song-dynasty work, an introduction to the *Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 (Laṅkāvatāra Sutra) by Jiang Zhiqi 蔣之奇 (1030–1104). The present passage may thus be the origin of this expression.

**Seal of dharma** 印可. See pages 145 and 195, above.

**Yangshan, the "Little Śākya"** 仰山小釋迦 is an expression that originates in the biography of Yangshan, where it is written:

> An Indian master appeared from the sky before Yangshan. "Where have you come from?" asked Yangshan. "From India," the Indian master replied. "When did you depart?" asked Yangshan. "This morning," answered the Indian. "And what took you so long?" asked Yangshan. The Indian said, "I was roaming around the mountains and idling by the rivers along the way." Yangshan replied, "There is no question about your ability to roam abroad by means of supernatural powers, but as for your knowledge of buddhadharma, that you will have to get from me!" The Indian said, "I came to this eastern land merely with the intention of paying my respects to Mañjuśrī, but quite unexpectedly I meet a little Śākya!"
>
> He then presented Yangshan with an Indian book written on palm leaves and, after making a bow, rose up into the sky and departed. Because of this Yangshan was referred to as "the little Śākya." (T 47: 586a)

The same story appears in ZH 8 (X 79: 75c).

**Mo Junhe** 默君和. For the identity and story of Mo Junhe, see Introduction, pages 98–99, note 25.

適丁兵革、師即棄去。太尉默君和、於城中捨宅爲寺、亦以臨濟爲額、迎師居焉。後拂衣南邁、至河府。府主王常侍、延以師禮。住未幾、即來大名府興化寺、居于東堂。師無疾、忽一日攝衣據坐、與三聖問答畢、寂然而逝。時唐咸通八年丁亥、孟陬月十日也。門人以師全身、建塔于大名府西北隅。

It happened that local fighting broke out, and Linji abandoned the temple. The Grand Marshal, Mo Junhe, donated his house inside the town walls and made it into a temple. Hanging up a plaque there, inscribed with the old name "Linji," he had the master make it his residence.

Later the master tucked up his robes and went south to the prefecture of He. The governor of the prefecture, Councilor Wang, extended to him the honors due a master. After staying for a short while, the master went to Xinghua temple in Daming Prefecture, where he lived in the Eastern Hall.

Suddenly one day the master, although not ill, adjusted his robes, sat erect, and when his exchange with Sansheng was finished, quietly passed away. It was on the tenth day of the first month in the eighth year of Xiantong of the Tang dynasty.

His disciples built a memorial tower for the master's body in the northwest corner of the capital of Daming Prefecture.

**Hanging up a plaque there, inscribed with the old name "Linji".** In other words, although the location of his residence was no longer the Temple Overlooking the Ford, the master still used his old name Linji. Originally the "plaque" 額 was a kind of license showing that the temple was authorized by the government; temples without such authorization were called "plaque-less temples," and there were constant efforts during the Tang to eliminate such establishments. It is possible that in the present case the authorization for Linji's temple was issued not by the central Tang government, but by the regional officials who had usurped political power in that region.

**Later, the master… south to the prefecture of He.** See Introduction, pages 74–76.

**Xinghua temple… Eastern Hall**. See Introduction, pages 76–77.

**The tenth day of the first month in the eighth year of Xiantong of the Tang dynasty**. This corresponds to 18 February 867, a date different from that given in other texts. For a consideration of the most likely date of Linji's death, see Introduction, page 77.

**His disciples built a stupa for the master's body** translates 門人以師全身, in which the expression 全身, "whole body," signifies that Linji's body was not cremated but interred.

勅謚慧照禪師、塔號澄靈。合掌稽首、記師大略。住鎮州保壽嗣法小師延沼謹書。鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄終。住大名府興化嗣法小師存獎校勘。永亨九年八月十五日板在法性寺東經所。

The emperor decreed that the master be given the posthumous title Meditation Master Huizhao ["Illuminating Wisdom"] and his stupa be called Chengling ["Translucent Spirit"]. Joining my hands with palms together and bowing low my head, I have recorded in summary the life of the master.

*Respectfully inscribed by the humble heir Yanzhao of Baoshou in Zhenzhou.*

*Here ends the Recorded Sayings of Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou.*

*Collated by the humble heir Cunjiang of Xinghua in Daming Prefecture.*

**Posthumous title**. The custom of conferring posthumous titles upon eminent monks began under the Northern Wei dynasty (fifth and early sixth c.). It then fell out of use and was not revived until the Tang, when Empress Wu (685–704) conferred the posthumous title Chan Master Datong 大通禪師 upon Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), traditional founder of the Northern school of Chan.

The custom of giving stupa names 塔號 appears to have started with Emperor Xuanzong (r. 713–755). The present passage gives Linji's stupa name as Chengling 澄靈 (Clear [or Pure] Spirit), while the ZJ and other sources on Linji's life give it as Chengxu 澄虛 (Clear [or Translucent] Emptiness).

**Yanzhao of Baoshou**. Concerning the identity of this figure, see Introduction, page 101, note 37.

**Xinghua**. See Introduction, page 101, note 38.

PREFACE 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語録序

延康殿學士金紫光祿大夫眞定府路安撫使兼馬步軍都總管兼知成德軍府事馬防、撰。黃檗山頭、曾遭痛棒。大愚肋下、方解築拳。饒舌老婆、尿床鬼子。這風顛漢、再捋虎鬚。巖谷栽松、後人標榜。鑊頭斸地、幾被活埋。肯箇後生、鬻口自摑。辭焚机案、坐斷舌頭。不是河南、便歸河北。院臨古渡、運濟往來。把定要津、壁立萬仞。奪人奪境、陶鑄仙陀。三要三玄、鈐鎚衲子。常在家舍、不離途中。無位眞人、面門出入。兩堂齊喝、賓主歷然。照用同時、本無前後。菱花對像、虛谷傳聲。妙應無方、不留朕跡。拂衣南邁、戾止大名。興化師承、東堂迎侍。銅瓶鐵鉢、掩室杜詞。松老雲閑、曠然自適。面壁未幾、密付將終。正法誰傳、瞎驢邊滅。圓覺老演、今爲流通。點撿將來、故無差舛。唯餘一喝、尚要商量。具眼禪流、冀無賺擧。宣和庚子中秋日謹序。

*Preface to the Recorded Sayings of*
*Chan Master Linji Huizhao of Zhenzhou*

Compiled by Ma Fang, Scholar of the Yankang Hall; Gentleman of the Gold and Purple Rank in attendance at Imperial Banquets; Emissary in Charge of Keeping Order in Zhending Circuit; concurrently Chief Commandant of Cavalry and Infantry Forces; concurrently Administrator of Chengde Military Prefecture.

On top of Mount Huangbo he met the painful stick.
On Dayu's ribs he could use his fist.
"Garrulous grandmother!" "Bed-wetting little devil!"
"This lunatic, twice pulling the tiger's whiskers!"
In a rocky gorge he planted pines, a landmark for later generations.
He dug the ground with his mattock; the others were nearly buried alive.
Having approved the youngster, Huangbo slapped himself right on the mouth.
On leaving, Linji wanted to burn the armrest; he'll cut off the tongues [of everyone].
If he didn't go to Henan, he'd return to Hebei.
His temple overlooked the old ferry landing—he carried travelers across the stream.

He guarded the vital ford like an escarpment ten thousand spans high.
Snatching away the man or the surroundings, he shaped and fashioned superlative students.
With his Three States and Three Fundamentals, he forged and tempered black-robed monks.
He's always at home, yet forever on the way.
The true man without rank went in and out the face.
The monks of the two halls gave equal shouts, but guest and host were obvious.
Illumination and action are simultaneous, fundamentally without front or back.
A mirror confronting a form, an empty valley echoing a sound.
Marvelously responding in any direction, he left not a trace behind.
Tucking up his robe, he journeyed southward, then went to stay in Daming.
Xinghua took him as his teacher and attended him in the Eastern Hall.
Still using the copper pitcher and iron bowl, he closed his room and stopped his words.
As the pines grew old and the clouds idled, he found boundless contentment within himself.
He had not long sat facing the wall when the secret transmission neared its end.
To whom was the true dharma transmitted? It was extinguished upon reaching the blind ass!
Old Yan of Yuanjue has now undertaken to circulate this text.
It has been examined and corrected, therefore it contains no error or confusion.
There is still one more shout coming; it needs further consideration:
Chan students who have the eye [to see], I entreat you not to exploit this text.
Preface respectfully composed on the day of the midautumn festival, the year Gengzi of the Xuanhe era [1120].

# *Chinese Text*

# 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄

住三聖嗣法小師慧然集

## Discourses 上堂

I 府主王常侍、與諸官請師升座。師上堂云、山僧今日事不獲已、曲順人情、方登此座。若約祖宗門下、稱揚大事、直是開口不得、無爾措足處。山僧此日以常侍堅請、那隱綱宗。還有作家戰將、直下展陣開旗麼。對眾證據看。僧問、如何是佛法大意。師便喝。僧禮拜。師云、這箇師僧、卻堪持論。問、師唱誰家曲、宗風嗣阿誰。師云、我在黃檗處、三度發問、三度被打。僧擬議。師便喝、隨後打云、不可向虛空裏釘橛去也。有座主問、三乘十二分教、豈不是明佛性。師云、荒草不曾鋤。主云、佛豈賺人也。師云、佛在什麼處。主無語。師云、對常侍前、擬瞞老僧。速退速退。妨他別人請問。復云、此日法筵、爲一大事故。更有問話者麼。速致問來。爾纔開口、早勿交涉也。何以如此。不見釋尊云、法離文字、不屬因不在緣故。爲爾信不及、所以今日葛藤。恐滯常侍與諸官員、昧他佛性。不如且退。喝一喝云、少信根人、終無了日。久立珍重。

II 師、因一日到河府。府主王常侍、請師升座。時麻谷出問、大悲千手眼、那箇是正眼。師云、大悲千手眼、那箇是正眼、速道速道。麻谷拽師下座、麻谷卻坐。師近前云、不審。麻谷擬議。師亦拽麻谷下座、師卻坐。麻谷便出去。師便下座。

III 上堂。云、赤肉團上有一無位眞人、常從汝等諸人面門出入。未證據者看看。時有僧出問、如何是無位眞人。師下禪床、把住云、道道。其僧擬議。師托開云、無位眞人是什麼乾屎橛。便歸方丈。

IV 上堂。有僧出禮拜。師便喝。僧云、老和尚莫探頭好。師云、爾道落在什麼處。僧便喝。又有僧問、如何是佛法大意。師便喝。僧禮拜。師云、爾道好喝也無。僧云、草賊大敗。師云、過在什麼處。僧云、再犯不容。師便喝。是日兩堂首座相見、同時下喝。僧問師、還有賓主也無。師云、賓主歷然。師云、大衆、要會臨濟賓主句、問取堂中二首座。便下座。

V 上堂。僧問、如何是佛法大意。師豎起拂子。僧便喝。師便打。又僧問、如何是佛法大意。師亦豎起拂子。僧便喝。師亦喝。僧擬議。師便打。師乃云、大衆、夫爲法者、不避喪身失命。我二十年、在黃檗先師處、三度問佛法的的大意、三度蒙他賜杖。如蒿枝拂著相似。如今更思得一頓棒

喫。誰人爲我行得。時有僧出衆云、某甲行得。師拈棒與他。其僧擬接。師便打。

VI 上堂。僧問、如何是劍刃上事。師云、禍事、禍事。僧擬議。師便打。問、祇如石室行者、踏碓忘卻移腳、向什麼處去。師云、沒溺深泉。師乃云、但有來者、不虧欠伊。總識伊來處。若與麼來、恰似失卻。不與麼來、無繩自縛。一切時中、莫亂斟酌。會與不會、都來是錯。分明與麼道。一任天下人貶剝。久立珍重。

VII 上堂。云、一人在孤峯頂上、無出身之路。一人在十字街頭、亦無向背。那箇在前、那箇在後。不作維摩詰、不作傅大士。珍重。

VIII 上堂。云、有一人、論劫在途中、不離家舍。有一人、離家舍、不在途中。那箇合受人天供養。便下座。

IX 上堂。僧問、如何是第一句。師云、三要印開朱點側、未容擬議主賓分。問、如何是第二句。師云、妙解豈容無著問、漚和爭負截流機。問、如何是第三句。師云、看取棚頭弄傀儡、抽牽都來裏有人。師又云、一句語須具三玄門、一玄門須具三要、有權有用。汝等諸人、作麼生會。下座。

X 師晚參示衆云、有時奪人不奪境、有時奪境不奪人、有時人境俱奪、有時人境俱不奪。時有僧問、如何是奪人不奪境。師云、煦日發生鋪地錦、瓔孩垂髮白如絲。僧云、如何是奪境不奪人。師云、王令已行天下遍、將軍塞外絶烟塵。僧云、如何是人境兩俱奪。師云、并汾絶信、獨處一方。僧云、如何是人境俱不奪。師云、王登寶殿、野老謳歌。師乃云、今時學佛法者、且要求眞正見解。若得眞正見解、生死不染、去住自由。不要求殊勝、殊勝自至。道流、祇如自古先德、皆有出人底路。如山僧指示人處、祇要爾不受人惑。要用便用、更莫遲疑。如今學者不得、病在甚處。病在不自信處。爾若自信不及、即便忙忙地徇一切境轉、被他萬境回換、不得自由。爾若能歇得念念馳求心、便與祖佛不別。爾欲得識祖佛麼。祇爾面前聽法底是。學人信不及、便向外馳求。設求得者、皆是文字勝相、終不得他活祖意。莫錯、諸禪德。此時不遇、萬劫千生、輪回三界、徇好境掇去、驢牛肚裏生。道流、約山僧見處、與釋迦不別。今日多般用處、欠少什麼。六道神光、未曾間歇。若能如是見得、祇是一生無事人。大德、三界無安、猶如火宅。此不是爾久停住處。無常殺鬼、一剎那間、不揀貴賤老少。爾要與祖佛不別、但莫外求。爾一念心上淸淨光、是爾屋裏法身佛。爾一念心上無分別光、是爾屋裏報身佛。爾一念心上無差別光、是爾屋裏化身佛。此三種身、是爾即今目前聽法底人。祇爲不向外馳求、有此功用。據經論家、取三種身爲極則。約山僧見處、不然。此三種身是名言、亦是三種依。古人云、身依義立、土據體論。法性身、法性土、明知是光影。大德、爾且識取弄光影底人、是諸佛之本源、一切處是道流歸舍處。是爾四大色身、不解說法聽法。脾胃肝膽、不解說法聽法。虛空不解說法聽法。是什麼解說法聽法。是爾目前歷歷底、勿一箇形段孤明、是這箇解說法聽法。若如是見得、便與祖佛不別。但一切時中、更莫間斷、觸

目皆是。祇爲情生智隔、想變體殊、所以輪回三界、受種種苦。若約山僧見處、無不甚深、無不解脫。道流、心法無形、通貫十方。在眼曰見、在耳曰聞、在鼻嗅香、在口談論、在手執捉、在足運奔。本是一精明、分爲六和合。一心既無、隨處解脫。山僧與麼說、意在什麼處。祇爲道流一切馳求心不能歇、上他古人閑機境。道流、取山僧見處、坐斷報化佛頭、十地滿心、猶如客作兒、等妙二覺、擔枷鎖漢、羅漢辟支、猶如厠穢、菩提涅槃、如繫驢橛。何以如此、祇爲道流不達三祇劫空、所以有此障礙。若是眞正道人、終不如是。但能隨緣消舊業、任運著衣裳、要行即行、要坐即坐、無一念心希求佛果。緣何如此。古人云、若欲作業求佛、佛是生死大兆。大德、時光可惜。祇擬傍家波波地、學禪學道、認名認句、求佛求祖、求善知識意度。莫錯、道流。爾祇有一箇父母、更求何物。爾自返照看。古人云、演若達多失卻頭、求心歇處即無事。大德、且要平常、莫作模樣。有一般不識好惡禿奴、便即見神見鬼、指東劃西、好晴好雨。如是之流、盡須抵債、向閻老前、吞熱鐵丸有日。好人家男女、被這一般野狐精魅所著、便即捏怪。瞎屡生、索飯錢有日在。

XI 師示衆云、道流、切要求取眞正見解、向天下橫行、免被這一般精魅惑亂。無事是貴人。但莫造作、祇是平常。爾擬向外傍家求過、覓腳手。錯了也。祇擬求佛、佛是名句。爾還識馳求底麼。三世十方佛祖出來、也祇爲求法。如今參學道流、也祇爲求法。得法始了。未得、依前輪回五道。云何是法。法者是心法。心法無形、通貫十方、目前現用。人信不及、便乃認名認句、向文字中、求意度佛法。天地懸殊。道流、山僧說法、說什麼法。說心地法。便能入凡入聖、入淨入穢、入眞入俗。要且不是爾眞俗凡聖、能與一切眞俗凡聖、安著名字。眞俗凡聖、與此人安著名字不得。道流、把得便用、更不著名字、號之爲玄旨。山僧說法、與天下人別。祇如有箇文殊普賢、出來目前、各現一身問法、纔道咨和尚、我早辨了也。老僧穩坐、更有道流、來相見時、我盡辨了也。何以如此。祇爲我見處別、外不取凡聖、內不住根本、見徹更不疑謬。

XII 師示衆云、道流、佛法無用功處、祇是平常無事。屙屎送尿、著衣喫飯、困來即臥。愚人笑我、智乃知焉。古人云、向外作工夫、總是癡頑漢。爾且隨處作主、立處皆眞。境來回換不得。縱有從來習氣、五無間業、自爲解脫大海。今時學者、總不識法、猶如觸鼻羊、逢著物安在口裏。奴郎不辨、賓主不分。如是之流、邪心入道、鬧處即入。不得名爲眞出家人、正是眞俗家人。夫出家者、須辨得平常眞正見解、辨佛辨魔、辨眞辨僞、辨凡辨聖。若如是辨得、名眞出家。若魔佛不辨、正是出一家入一家。喚作造業衆生、未得名爲眞出家。祇如今有一箇佛魔、同體不分、如水乳合、鵝王喫乳。如明眼道流、魔佛俱打。爾若愛聖憎凡、生死海裏浮沈。

XIII 問、如何是佛魔。師云、爾一念心疑處是魔。爾若達得萬法無生、心如幻化、更無一塵一法、處處清淨是佛。然佛與魔、是染淨二境。約山僧見處、無佛無衆生、無古無今、得者便得、不歷時節。無修無證、無得無

失。一切時中、更無別法。設有一法過此者、我說如夢如化。山僧所說皆是。道流、即今目前孤明歷歷地聽者、此人處處不滯、通貫十方、三界自在。入一切境差別、不能回換。一剎那間、透入法界、逢佛說佛、逢祖說祖、逢羅漢說羅漢、逢餓鬼說餓鬼。向一切處、游履國土、教化衆生、未曾離一念。隨處淸淨、光透十方、萬法一如。道流、大丈夫兒、今日方知本來無事。祇爲爾信不及、念念馳求、捨頭覓頭、自不能歇。如圓頓菩薩、入法界現身、向淨土中、厭凡忻聖。如此之流、取捨未忘、染淨心在。如禪宗見解、又且不然。直是現今、更無時節。山僧說處、皆是一期藥病相治、總無實法。若如是見得、是眞出家、日消萬兩黃金。道流、莫取次被諸方老師印破面門、道我解禪解道。辯似懸河、皆是造地獄業。若是眞正學道人、不求世間過、切急要求眞正見解。若達眞正見解圓明、方始了畢。

XIV 問、如何是眞正見解。師云、爾但一切入凡入聖、入染入淨、入諸佛國土、入彌勒樓閣、入毘盧遮那法界、處處皆現國土、成住壞空。佛出于世、轉大法輪、卻入涅槃、不見有去來相貌。求其生死、了不可得。便入無生法界、處處游履國土、入華藏世界、盡見諸法空相、皆無實法。唯有聽法無依道人、是諸佛之母。所以佛從無依生。若悟無依、佛亦無得。若如是見得者、是眞正見解。學人不了、爲執名句、被他凡聖名礙、所以障其道眼、不得分明。祇如十二分教、皆是表顯之說。學者不會、便向表顯名句上生解。皆是依倚、落在因果、未免三界生死。爾若欲得生死去住、脫著自由、即今識取聽法底人。無形無相、無根無本、無住處、活撥撥地。應是萬種施設、用處祇是無處。所以覓著轉遠、求之轉乖。號之爲祕密。道流、爾莫認著箇夢幻伴子。遲晚中間、便歸無常。爾向此世界中、覓箇什麼物作解脫。覓取一口飯喫、補毳過時、且要訪尋知識。莫因循逐樂。光陰可惜、念念無常。麁則被地水火風、細則被生住異滅四相所逼。道流、今時且要識取四種無相境、免被境擺撲。

XV 問、如何是四種無相境。師云、爾一念心疑、被地來礙。爾一念心愛、被水來溺。爾一念心嗔、被火來燒。爾一念心喜、被風來飄。若能如是辨得、不被境轉、處處用境。東涌西沒、南涌北沒、中涌邊沒、邊涌中沒、履水如地、履地如水。緣何如此。爲達四大如夢如幻故。道流、爾祇今聽法者、不是爾四大、能用爾四大。若能如是見得、便乃去住自由。約山僧見處、勿嫌底法。爾若愛聖、聖者聖之名。有一般學人、向五臺山裏求文殊。早錯了也。五臺山無文殊。爾欲識文殊麼。祇爾目前用處、始終不異、處處不疑、此箇是活文殊。爾一念心無差別光、處處總是眞普賢。爾一念心自能解縛、隨處解脫、此是觀音三昧法。互爲主伴、出則一時出。一即三、三即一。如是解得、始好看教。

XVI 師示衆云、如今學道人、且要自信。莫向外覓。總上他閑塵境、都不辨邪正。祇如有祖有佛、皆是教迹中事。有人拈起一句子語、或隱顯中出、便即疑生、照天照地、傍家尋問、也大忙然。大丈夫兒、莫祇麼論主論賊、

論是論非、論色論財、論說閑話過日。山僧此間、不論僧俗、但有來者、盡識得伊。任伊向甚處出來、但有聲名文句、皆是夢幻。卻見乘境底人、是諸佛之玄旨。佛境不能自稱我是佛境。還是這箇無依道人、乘境出來。若有人出來、問我求佛、我即應清淨境出。有人問我菩薩、我即應慈悲境出。有人問我菩提、我即應淨妙境出。有人問我涅槃、我即應寂靜境出。境即萬般差別、人即不別。所以應物現形、如水中月。道流、爾若欲得如法、直須是大丈夫兒始得。若萎萎隨隨地、則不得也。夫如甚嗄[上音西下所嫁切]之器、不堪貯醍醐。如大器者、直要不受人惑。隨處作主、立處皆眞。但有來者、皆不得受。爾一念疑、即魔入心。如菩薩疑時、生死魔得便。但能息念、更莫外求。物來則照。爾但信現今用底、一箇事也無。爾一念心生三界、隨緣被境、分爲六塵。爾如今應用處、欠少什麼。一刹那間、便入淨入穢、入彌勒樓閣、入三眼國土、處處遊履、唯見空名。

XVII 問、如何是三眼國土。師云、我共爾入淨妙國土中、著清淨衣、說法身佛。又入無差別國土中、著無差別衣、說報身佛。又入解脫國土中、著光明衣、說化身佛。此三眼國土、皆是依變。約經論家、取法身爲根本、報化二身爲用。山僧見處、法身即不解說法。所以古人云、身依義立、土據體論。法性身、法性土、明知是建立之法、依通國土。空拳黃葉、用誑小兒。蒺藜菱刺、枯骨上覓什麼汁。心外無法、內亦不可得、求什麼物。爾諸方言道、有修有證。莫錯。設有修得者、皆是生死業。爾言六度萬行齊修。我見皆是造業。求佛求法、即是造地獄業。求菩薩、亦是造業。看經看教、亦是造業。佛與祖師、是無事人。所以有漏有爲、無漏無爲、爲清淨業。有一般瞎禿子、飽喫飯了、便坐禪觀行、把捉念漏、不令放起、厭喧求靜、是外道法。祖師云、爾若住心看靜、擧心外照、攝心內澄、凝心入定、如是之流、皆是造作。是爾如今與麼聽法底人、作麼生擬修他證他莊嚴他。渠且不是修底物、不是莊嚴得底物。若教他莊嚴、一切物即莊嚴得。爾且莫錯。道流、爾取這一般老師口裏語、爲是眞道、是善知識不思議、我是凡夫心、不敢測度他老宿。瞎屪生、爾一生祇作這箇見解、辜負這一雙眼。冷噤噤地、如凍凌上驢駒相似。我不敢毀善知識、怕生口業。道流、夫大善知識、始敢毀佛毀祖、是非天下、排斥三藏教、罵辱諸小兒、向逆順中覓人。所以我於十二年中、求一箇業性、知芥子許不可得。若似新婦子禪師、便即怕趁出院、不與飯喫、不安不樂。自古先輩、到處人不信、被遮出、始知是貴。若到處人盡肯、堪作什麼。所以師子一吼、野干腦裂。道流、諸方說、有道可修、有法可證。爾說證何法、修何道。爾今用處、欠少什麼物、修補何處。後生小阿師不會、便即信這般野狐精魅、許他說事、繫縛人、言道理行相應、護惜三業、始得成佛。如此說者、如春細雨。古人云、路逢達道人、第一莫向道。所以言、若人修道道不行、萬般邪境競頭生。智劍出來無一物、明頭未顯暗頭明。所以古人云、平常心是道。大德、覓什麼物。現今目前聽法無依道人、歷歷地分明、未曾欠少。爾若欲得與祖佛不別、但如是見、不用疑誤。爾心心不

異、名之活祖。心若有異、則性相別。心不異故、即性相不別。

XVIII 問、如何是心心不異處。師云、爾擬問、早異了也、性相各分。道流、莫錯。世出世諸法、皆無自性、亦無生性。但有空名、名字亦空。爾祇麼認他閑名爲實。大錯了也。設有、皆是依變之境。有箇菩提依、涅槃依、解脫依、三身依、境智依、菩薩依、佛依。爾向依變國土中、覓什麼物。乃至三乘十二分教、皆是拭不淨故紙。佛是幻化身、祖是老比丘。爾還是娘生已否。爾若求佛、即被佛魔攝。爾若求祖、即被祖魔縛。爾若有求皆苦。不如無事。有一般禿比丘、向學人道、佛是究竟、於三大阿僧祇劫、修行果滿、方始成道。道流、爾若道佛是究竟、緣什麼八十年後、向拘尸羅城、雙林樹間、側臥而死去。佛今何在。明知與我生死不別。爾言、三十二相八十種好是佛。轉輪聖王應是如來。明知是幻化。古人云、如來擧身相、爲順世間情。恐人生斷見、權且立虛名。假言三十二、八十也空聲。有身非覺體、無相乃眞形。爾道、佛有六通、是不可思議。一切諸天、神仙、阿修羅、大力鬼、亦有神通。應是佛否。道流、莫錯。祇如阿修羅、與天帝釋戰、戰敗領八萬四千眷屬、入藕絲孔中藏。莫是聖否。如山僧所擧、皆是業通依通。夫如佛六通者、不然。入色界不被色惑、入聲界不被聲惑、入香界不被香惑、入味界不被味惑、入觸界不被觸惑、入法界不被法惑。所以達六種色聲香味觸法皆是空相、不能繫縛此無依道人。雖是五蘊漏質、便是地行神通。道流、眞佛無形、眞法無相。爾祇麼幻化上頭、作模作樣。設求得者、皆是野狐精魅、並不是眞佛、是外道見解。夫如眞學道人、並不取佛、不取菩薩羅漢、不取三界殊勝。迥無獨脫、不與物拘。乾坤倒覆、我更不疑。十方諸佛現前、爲一念心喜、三塗地獄頓現、無一念心怖。緣何如此。我見諸法空相、變即有、不變即無。三界唯心、萬法唯識。所以夢幻空花、何勞把捉。唯有道流、目前現今聽法底人、入火不燒、入水不溺、入三塗地獄、如遊園觀、入餓鬼畜生、而不受報。緣何如此。無嫌底法。爾若愛聖憎凡、生死海裏沈浮。煩惱由心故有、無心煩惱何拘。不勞分別取相、自然得道須臾。爾擬傍家波波地學得、於三祇劫中、終歸生死。不如無事、向叢林中、床角頭交腳坐。道流、如諸方有學人來、主客相見了、便有一句子語、辨前頭善知識。被學人拈出箇機權語路、向善知識口角頭攛過、看爾識不識。爾若識得是境、把得便拋向坑子裏。學人便即尋常、然後便索善知識語。依前奪之。學人云、上智哉、是大善知識。即云、爾大不識好惡。如善知識、把出箇境塊子、向學人面前弄。前人辨得、下下作主、不受境惑。善知識便即現半身、學人便喝。善知識又入一切差別語路中擺撲。學人云、不識好惡老禿奴。善知識歎曰、眞正道流。如諸方善知識、不辨邪正。學人來問、菩提涅槃、三身境智、瞎老師便與他解說。被他學人罵著、便把棒打他、言無禮度。自是爾善知識無眼、不得嗔他。有一般不識好惡禿奴、即指東劃西、好晴好雨、好燈籠露柱。爾看、眉毛有幾莖。這箇具機緣。學人不會、便即心狂。如是之流、總是野狐精魅魍魎。被他好學人嗌嗌微笑、

言瞎老禿奴惑亂他天下人。道流、出家兒且要學道。祇如山僧、往日曾向毘尼中留心、亦曾於經論尋討。後方知是濟世藥、表顯之說、遂乃一時拋卻、即訪道參禪。後遇大善知識、方乃道眼分明、始識得天下老和尚、知其邪正。不是娘生下便會、還是體究練磨、一朝自省。道流、爾欲得如法見解、但莫受人惑。向裏向外、逢著便殺。逢佛殺佛、逢祖殺祖、逢羅漢殺羅漢、逢父母殺父母、逢親眷殺親眷、始得解脫、不與物拘、透脫自在。如諸方學道流、未有不依物出來底。山僧向此間、從頭打。手上出來手上打。口裏出來口裏打。眼裏出來眼裏打。未有一箇獨脫出來底。皆是上他古人閑機境。山僧無一法與人、祇是治病解縛。爾諸方道流、試不依物出來、我要共爾商量。十年五歲、並無一人。皆是依草附葉、竹木精靈、野狐精魅、向一切糞塊上亂咬。瞎漢、枉消他十方信施、道我是出家兒、作如是見解。向爾道、無佛無法、無修無證。祇與麼傍家擬求什麼物。瞎漢、頭上安頭。是爾欠少什麼。道流、是爾目前用底、與祖佛不別。祇麼不信、便向外求。莫錯。向外無法、內亦不可得。爾取山僧口裏語、不如休歇無事去。已起者莫續、未起者不要放起、便勝爾十年行腳。約山僧見處、無如許多般、祇是平常。著衣喫飯、無事過時。爾諸方來者、皆是有心求佛求法、求解脫、求出離三界。癡人、爾要出三界、什麼處去。佛祖是賞繫底名句。爾欲識三界麼。不離爾今聽法底心地。爾一念心貪是欲界。爾一念心瞋是色界。爾一念心癡是無色界、是爾屋裏家具子。三界不自道、我是三界。還是道流、目前靈靈地照燭萬般、酌度世界底人、與三界安名。大德、四大色身是無常。乃至脾胃肝膽、髮毛爪齒、唯見諸法空相。爾一念心歇得處、喚作菩提樹。爾一念心不能歇得處、喚作無明樹。無明無住處、無明無始終。爾若念念心歇不得、便上他無明樹、便入六道四生、披毛戴角。爾若歇得、便是淸淨身界。爾一念不生、便是上菩提樹、三界神通變化、意生化身、法喜禪悅、身光自照。思衣羅綺千重、思食百味具足、更無橫病。菩提無住處、是故無得者。道流、大丈夫漢、更疑箇什麼。目前用處、更是阿誰。把得便用、莫著名字、號爲玄旨。與麼見得、勿嫌底法。古人云、心隨萬境轉、轉處實能幽。隨流認得性、無喜亦無憂。道流、如禪宗見解、死活循然。參學之人、大須子細。如主客相見、便有言論往來。或應物現形、或全體作用、或把機權喜怒、或現半身、或乘師子、或乘象王。如有眞正學人、便喝先拈出一箇膠盆子。善知識不辨是境、便上他境上、作模作樣。學人便喝。前人不肯放。此是膏肓之病、不堪醫。喚作客看主。或是善知識不拈出物、隨學人問處即奪。學人被奪、抵死不放。此是主看客。或有學人、應一箇淸淨境、出善知識前。善知識辨得是境、把得拋向坑裏。學人言、大好善知識。即云、咄哉、不識好惡。學人便禮拜。此喚作主看主。或有學人、披枷帶鎖、出善知識前。善知識更與安一重枷鎖。學人歡喜、彼此不辨。呼爲客看客。大德、山僧如是所擧、皆是辨魔揀異、知其邪正。道流、寔情大難、佛法幽玄、解得可可地。山僧竟日與他說破、學者總不在意。千遍

萬遍、腳底踏過、黑沒焮地、無一箇形段、歷歷孤明。學人信不及、便向名句上生解。年登半百、祇管傍家負死屍行、檐卻檐子天下走。索草鞋錢有日在。大德、山僧說向外無法、學人不會、便即向裏作解、便即倚壁坐、舌拄上齶、湛然不動、取此爲是祖門佛法也。大錯。是爾若取不動清淨境爲是、爾即認他無明爲郎主。古人云、湛湛黑暗深坑、寔可怖畏。此之是也。爾若認他動者是、一切草木皆解動、應可是道也。所以動者是風大、不動者是地大。動與不動、俱無自性。爾若向動處捉他、他向不動處立。爾若向不動處捉他、他向動處立。譬如潛泉魚、鼓波而自躍。大德、動與不動、是二種境。還是無依道人、用動用不動。如諸方學人來、山僧此間、作三種根器斷。如中下根器來、我便奪其境、而不除其法。或中上根器來、我便境法俱奪。如上上根器來、我便境法人俱不奪。如有出格見解人來、山僧此間、便全體作用、不歷根器。大德、到這裏、學人著力處不通風、石火電光即過了也。學人若眼定動、即沒交涉。擬心即差、動念即乖。有人解者、不離目前。大德、爾檐鉢囊屎檐子、傍家走求佛求法。即今與麼馳求底、爾還識渠麼。活撥撥地、祇是勿根株。擁不聚、撥不散。求著即轉遠、不求還在目前、靈音屬耳。若人不信、徒勞百年。道流、一剎那間、便入華藏世界、入毘盧遮那國土、入解脫國土、入神通國土、入清淨國土、入法界、入穢入淨、入凡入聖、入餓鬼畜生、處處討覓尋、皆不見有生有死、唯有空名。幻化空花、不勞把捉、得失是非、一時放卻。道流、山僧佛法、的的相承、從麻谷和尚、丹霞和尚、道一和尚、盧山拽石頭和尚、一路行遍天下。無人信得、盡皆起謗。如道一和尚用處、純一無雜、學人三百五百、盡皆不見他意。如盧山和尚、自在眞正、順逆用處、學人不測涯際、悉皆忙然。如丹霞和尚、翫珠隱顯、學人來者、皆悉被罵。如麻谷用處、苦如黃檗、近皆不得。如石鞏用處、向箭頭上覓人、來者皆懼。如山僧今日用處、眞正成壞、翫弄神變、入一切境、隨處無事、境不能換。但有來求者、我即便出看渠。渠不識我、我便著數般衣、學人生解、一向入我言句。苦哉、瞎禿子無眼人、把我著底衣、認青黃赤白。我脫卻入清淨境中、學人一見、便生忻欲。我又脫卻、學人失心、忙然狂走、言我無衣。我即向渠道、爾識我著衣底人否。忽爾回頭、認我了也。大德、爾莫認衣。衣不能動、人能著衣。有箇清淨衣、有箇無生衣、菩提衣、涅槃衣、有祖衣、有佛衣。大德、但有聲名文句、皆悉是衣變。從臍輪氣海中鼓激、牙齒敲磕、成其句義。明知是幻化。大德、外發聲語業、內表心所法。以思有念、皆悉是衣。爾祇麼認他著底衣爲寔解。縱經塵劫、祇是衣通。三界循還、輪回生死。不如無事。相逢不相識、共語不知名。今時學人不得、蓋爲認名字爲解。大策子上、抄死老漢語、三重五重複子裏、不教人見、道是玄旨、以爲保重。大錯。瞎屪生、爾向枯骨上、覓什麼汁。有一般不識好惡、向教中取意度商量、成於句義。如把屎塊子、向口裏含了、吐過與別人。猶如俗人打傳口令相似、一生虛過。也道我出家、被他問著佛法、便即杜口無詞、眼似漆突、口如

楠檐。如此之類、逢彌勒出世、移置他方世界、寄地獄受苦。大德、爾波波地往諸方、覓什麼物、踏爾腳板闊。無佛可求、無道可成、無法可得。外求有相佛、與汝不相似。欲識汝本心、非合亦非離。道流、眞佛無形、眞道無體、眞法無相。三法混融、和合一處。辨既不得、喚作忙忙業識衆生。

XIX 問、如何是眞佛眞法眞道、乞垂開示。師云、佛者心淸淨是。法者心光明是。道者處處無礙淨光是。三即一、皆是空名、而無寔有。如眞正學道人、念念心不間斷。自達磨大師從西土來、祇是覓箇不受人惑底人。後遇二祖、一言便了、始知從前虛用功夫。山僧今日見處、與祖佛不別。若第一句中得、與祖佛爲師。若第二句中得、與人天爲師。若第三句中得、自救不了。

XX 問、如何是西來意。師云、若有意、自救不了。云、既無意、云何二祖得法。師云、得者是不得。云、既若不得、云何是不得底意。師云、爲爾向一切處馳求心不能歇。所以祖師言、咄哉丈夫、將頭覓頭。爾言下便自回光返照、更不別求、知身心與祖佛不別、當下無事、方名得法。大德、山僧今時、事不獲已、話度說出許多不才淨。爾且莫錯。據我見處、寔無許多般道理。要用便用、不用便休。祇如諸方說六度萬行、以爲佛法、我道、是莊嚴門佛事門、非是佛法。乃至持齋持戒、擎油不潤、道眼不明、盡須抵債、索飯錢有日在。何故如此。入道不通理、復身還信施。長者八十一、其樹不生耳。乃至孤峯獨宿、一食卯齋、長坐不臥、六時行道、皆是造業底人。乃至頭目髓腦、國城妻子、象馬七珍、盡皆捨施、如是等見、皆是苦身心故、還招苦果。不如無事、純一無雜。乃至十地滿心菩薩、皆求此道流蹤跡、了不可得。所以諸天歡喜、地神捧足、十方諸佛、無不稱歎。緣何如此。爲今聽法道人、用處無蹤跡。

XXI 問、大通智勝佛、十劫坐道場、佛法不現前、不得成佛道。未審此意如何。乞師指示。師云、大通者、是自己於處處、達其萬法無性無相、名爲大通。智勝者、於一切處不疑、不得一法、名爲智勝。佛者心淸淨、光明透徹法界、得名爲佛。十劫坐道場者、十波羅蜜是。佛法不現前者、佛本不生、法本不滅、云何更有現前。不得成佛道者、佛不應更作佛。古人云、佛常在世間、而不染世間法。道流、爾欲得作佛、莫隨萬物。心生種種法生、心滅種種法滅。一心不生、萬法無咎。世與出世、無佛無法、亦不現前、亦不曾失。設有者、皆是名言章句、接引小兒、施設藥病、表顯名句。且名句不自名句、還是爾目前昭昭靈靈、鑒覺聞知照燭底、安一切名句。大德、造五無間業、方得解脫。

XXII 問、如何是五無間業。師云、殺父害母、出佛身血、破和合僧、焚燒經像等、此是五無間業。云、如何是父。師云、無明是父。爾一念心、求起滅處不得、如響應空、隨處無事、名爲殺父。云、如何是母。師云、貪愛爲母。爾一念心、入欲界中、求其貪愛、唯見諸法空相、處處無著、名爲害母。云、如何是出佛身血。師云、爾向淸淨法界中、無一念心生解、便處

處黑暗、是出佛身血。云、如何是破和合僧。師云、爾一念心、正達煩惱結使、如空無所依、是破和合僧。云、如何是焚燒經像。師云、見因緣空、心空、法空、一念決定斷、迥然無事、便是焚燒經像。大德、若如是達得、免被他凡聖名礙。爾一念心、祇向空拳指上生寔解、根境法中虛捏怪。自輕而退屈言、我是凡夫、他是聖人。禿屡生、有甚死急、披他師子皮、卻作野干鳴。大丈夫漢、不作丈夫氣息、自家屋裏物不肯信、祇麼向外覓、上他古人閑名句、倚陰博陽、不能特達。逢境便緣、逢塵便執、觸處惑起、自無准定。道流、莫取山僧說處。何故。說無憑據、一期間圖畫虛空、如彩畫像等喻。道流、莫將佛爲究竟。我見猶如厠孔、菩薩羅漢、盡是枷鎖、縛人底物。所以文殊仗劍、殺於瞿曇、鴦掘持刀、害於釋氏。道流、無佛可得。乃至三乘五性、圓頓教迹、皆是一期藥病相治、並無實法。設有、皆是相似、表顯路布、文字差排、且如是說。道流、有一般禿子、便向裏許著功、擬求出世之法。錯了也。若人求佛、是人失佛。若人求道、是人失道。若人求祖、是人失祖。大德、莫錯。我且不取爾解經論、我亦不取爾國王大臣、我亦不取爾辯似懸河、我亦不取爾聰明智慧、唯要爾眞正見解。道流、設解得百本經論、不如一箇無事底阿師。爾解得、即輕蔑他人。勝負修羅、人我無明、長地獄業。如善星比丘、解十二分教、生身陷地獄、大地不容。不如無事休歇去。飢來喫飯、睡來合眼。愚人笑我、智乃知焉。道流、莫向文字中求。心動疲勞、吸冷氣無益。不如一念緣起無生、超出三乘權學菩薩。大德、莫因循過日。山僧往日、未有見處時、黑漫漫地。光陰不可空過、腹熱心忙、奔波訪道。後還得力、始到今日、共道流如是話度。勸諸道流、莫爲衣食。看世界易過、善知識難遇。如優曇花時一現耳。爾諸方聞道有箇臨濟老漢、出來便擬問難、教語不得。被山僧全體作用、學人空開得眼、口總動不得。懵然不知以何答我。我向伊道、龍象蹴踏、非驢所堪。爾諸處祇指胸點肋、道我解禪解道、三箇兩箇、到這裏不奈何。咄哉、爾將這箇身心、到處簸兩片皮、誑謾閭閻。喫鐵棒有日在。非出家兒、盡向阿修羅界攝。夫如至理之道、非諍論而求激揚、鏗鏘以摧外道。至於佛祖相承、更無別意。設有言教、落在化儀三乘五性、人天因果。如圓頓之教、又且不然。童子善財、皆不求過。大德、莫錯用心。如大海不停死屍。祇麼擔卻、擬天下走。自起見障、以礙於心。日上無雲、麗天普照。眼中無翳、空裏無花。道流、爾欲得如法、但莫生疑。展則彌綸法界、收則絲髮不立。歷歷孤明、未曾欠少。眼不見、耳不聞、喚作什麼物。古人云、說似一物則不中。爾但自家看。更有什麼。說亦無盡、各自著力。珍重。

## Critical Examinations 勘辨

1 黃檗、因入厨次、問飯頭、作什麼。飯頭云、揀衆僧米。黃檗云、一日喫多少。飯頭云、二石五。黃檗云、莫太多麼。飯頭云、猶恐少在。黃檗便打。飯頭卻擧似師。師云、我爲汝勘這老漢。纔到侍立次、黃檗擧前話。

師云、飯頭不會、請和尚代一轉語。師便問、莫太多麼。黃檗云、何不道、來日更喫一頓。師云、說什麼來日、即今便喫。道了便掌。黃檗云、這風顛漢、又來這裏捋虎鬚。師便喝出去。後溈山問仰山、此二尊宿、意作麼生。仰山云、和尚作麼生。溈山云、養子方知父慈。仰山云、不然。溈山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、大似勾賊破家。

II 師問僧、什麼處來。僧便喝。師便揖坐。僧擬議。師便打。師見僧來、便豎起拂子。僧禮拜。師便打。又見僧來、亦豎起拂子。僧不顧。師亦打。

III 師、一日同普化、赴施主家齋次、師問、毛吞巨海、芥納須彌。爲是神通妙用、本體如然。普化踏倒飯床。師云、太麁生。普化云、這裏是什麼所在、說麁說細。師來日、又同普化赴齋。問、今日供養、何似昨日。普化依前踏倒飯床。師云、得即得、太麁生。普化云、瞎漢、佛法說什麼麁細。師乃吐舌。

IV 師一日、與河陽木塔長老、同在僧堂地爐內坐。因說、普化每日在街市、掣風掣顛。知他是凡是聖。言猶未了、普化入來。師便問、汝是凡是聖。普化云、汝且道、我是凡是聖。師便喝。普化以手指云、河陽新婦子、木塔老婆禪。臨濟小廝兒、卻具一隻眼。師云、這賊。普化云賊賊、便出去。

V 一日、普化在僧堂前、喫生菜。師見云、大似一頭驢。普化便作驢鳴。師云、這賊。普化云賊賊、便出去。

VI 因普化、常於街市搖鈴云、明頭來、明頭打、暗頭來、暗頭打、四方八面來、旋風打、虛空來、連架打。師令侍者去、纔見如是道、便把住云、總不與麼來時如何。普化托開云、來日大悲院裏有齋。侍者回、擧似師。師云、我從來疑著這漢。

VII 有一老宿參師、未曾人事、便問、禮拜即是、不禮拜即是。師便喝。老宿便禮拜。師云、好箇草賊。老宿云賊賊、便出去。師云、莫道無事好。首座侍立次、師云、還有過也無。首座云、有。師云、賓家有過、主家有過。首座云、二俱有過。師云、過在什麼處。首座便出去。師云、莫道無事好。後有僧擧似南泉。南泉云、官馬相踏。

VIII 師因入軍營赴齋、門首見員僚。師指露柱問、是凡是聖。員僚無語。師打露柱云、直饒道得、也祇是箇木橛。便入去。

IX 師問院主、什麼處來。主云、州中糴黃米去來。師云、糴得盡麼。主云、糴得盡。師以杖面前畫一畫云、還糴得這箇麼。主便喝。師便打。典座至。師擧前語。典座云、院主不會和尚意。師云、爾作麼生。典座便禮拜。師亦打。

X 有座主來相看次、師問、座主講何經說。主云、某甲荒虛、粗習百法論。師云、有一人、於三乘十二分教明得。有一人、於三乘十二分教明不得。是同是別。主云、明得即同、明不得即別。樂普爲侍者、在師後立云、座主、這裏是什麼所在、說同說別。師回首問侍者、汝又作麼生。侍者便

喝。師送座主回來、遂問侍者、適來是汝喝老僧。侍者云、是。師便打。

XI 師聞第二代德山垂示云、道得也三十棒、道不得也三十棒、師令樂普去問、道得爲什麼也三十棒、待伊打汝、接住棒送一送、看他作麼生。普到彼、如教而問。德山便打。普接住送一送。德山便歸方丈。普回擧似師。師云、我從來疑著這漢。雖然如是、汝還見德山麼。普擬議。師便打。

XII 王常侍、一日訪師。同師於僧堂前看、乃問、這一堂僧、還看經麼。師云、不看經。侍云、還學禪麼。師云、不學禪。侍云、經又不看、禪又不學、畢竟作箇什麼。師云、總教伊成佛作祖去。侍云、金屑雖貴、落眼成翳。又作麼生。師云、將爲爾是箇俗漢。

XIII 師問杏山、如何是露地白牛。山云、吽吽。師云、咄那。山云、長老作麼生。師云、這畜生。

XIV 師問樂普云、從上來、一人行棒、一人行喝。阿那箇親。普云、總不親。師云、親處作麼生。普便喝。師乃打。

XV 師見僧來、展開兩手。僧無語。師云、會麼。云、不會。師云、渾崙擘不開、與爾兩文錢。

XVI 大覺到參。師擧起拂子。大覺敷坐具。師擲下拂子。大覺收坐具、入僧堂。衆僧云、這僧莫是和尚親故、不禮拜、又不喫棒。師聞、令喚覺。覺出。師云、大衆道、汝未參長老。覺云不審、便自歸衆。

XVII 趙州行腳時參師。遇師洗腳次、州便問、如何是祖師西來意。師云、恰値老僧洗腳。州近前、作聽勢。師云、更要第二杓惡水潑在。州便下去。

XVIII 有定上座、到參問、如何是佛法大意。師下繩床、擒住與一掌、便托開。定佇立。傍僧云、定上座、何不禮拜。定方禮拜、忽然大悟。

XIX 麻谷到參。敷坐具問、十二面觀音、阿那面正。師下繩床、一手收坐具、一手搊麻谷云、十二面觀音、向什麼處去也。麻谷轉身、擬坐繩床。師拈拄杖打。麻谷接卻、相捉入方丈。

XX 師問僧、有時一喝、如金剛王寶劍。有時一喝、如踞地金毛師子。有時一喝、如探竿影草。有時一喝、不作一喝用。汝作麼生會。僧擬議。師便喝。

XXI 師問一尼、善來惡來。尼便喝。師拈棒云、更道更道。尼又喝。師便打。

XXII 龍牙問、如何是祖師西來意。師云、與我過禪板來。牙便過禪板與師。師接得便打。牙云、打即任打、要且無祖師意。牙後到翠微問、如何是祖師西來意。微云、與我過蒲團來。牙便過蒲團與翠微。翠微接得便打。牙云、打即任打、要且無祖師意。牙住院後、有僧入室請益云、和尚行腳時、參二尊宿因緣、還肯他也無。牙云、肯即深肯、要且無祖師意。

XXIII 徑山有五百衆、少人參請。黃檗令師到徑山。乃謂師曰、汝到彼作麼生。師云、某甲到彼、自有方便。師到徑山、裝腰上法堂、見徑山。徑山方擧頭、師便喝。徑山擬開口、師拂袖便行。尋有僧問徑山、這僧適來有什麼

言句、便喝和尚。徑山云、這僧從黃檗會裏來。爾要知麼、且問取他。徑山五百衆、太半分散。

xxiv 普化一日、於街市中、就人乞直裰。人皆與之。普化俱不要。師令院主買棺一具。普化歸來。師云、我與汝做得箇直裰了也。普化便自擔去、繞街市叫云、臨濟與我做直裰了也。我往東門遷化去。市人競隨看之。普化云、我今日未、來日往南門遷化去。如是三日、人皆不信。至第四日、無人隨看。獨出城外、自入棺內、倩路行人釘之。即時傳布。市人競往開棺、乃見全身脫去。祇聞空中鈴響、隱隱而去。

## Record of Pilgrimages 行錄

i 師初在黃檗會下、行業純一。首座乃歎曰、雖是後生、與衆有異。遂問、上座在此、多少時。師云、三年。首座云、曾參問也無。師云、不曾參問。不知問箇什麼。首座云、汝何不去問堂頭和尚、如何是佛法的的大意。師便去問。聲未絶、黃檗便打。師下來。首座云、問話作麼生。師云、某甲問聲未絶、和尚便打。某甲不會。首座云、但更去問。師又去問。黃檗又打。如是三度發問、三度被打。師來白首座云、幸蒙慈悲、令某甲問訊和尚。三度發問、三度被打。自恨障緣不領深旨。今且辭去。首座云、汝若去時、須辭和尚去。師禮拜退。首座先到和尚處云、問話底後生、甚是如法。若來辭時、方便接他。向後穿鑿成一株大樹、與天下人作陰涼去在。師去辭黃檗。檗云、不得往別處去。汝向高安灘頭大愚處去、必爲汝說。師到大愚。大愚問、什麼處來。師云、黃檗處來。大愚云、黃檗有何言句。師云、某甲三度問佛法的的大意、三度被打。不知某甲有過無過。大愚云、黃檗與麼老婆、爲汝得徹困。更來這裏、問有過無過。師於言下大悟云、元來黃檗佛法無多子。大愚搊住云、這尿床鬼子、適來道有過無過、如今卻道、黃檗佛法無多子。爾見箇什麼道理、速道速道。師於大愚脅下、築三拳。大愚托開云、汝師黃檗、非于我事。師辭大愚、卻回黃檗。黃檗見來便問、這漢來來去去、有什麼了期。師云、祇爲老婆心切。便人事了侍立。黃檗問、什麼處去來。師云、昨奉慈旨、令參大愚去來。黃檗云、大愚有何言句。師遂擧前話。黃檗云、作麼生得這漢來、待痛與一頓。師云、說什麼待來、即今便喫。隨後便掌。黃檗云、這風顛漢、卻來這裏捋虎鬚。師便喝。黃檗云、侍者、引這風顛漢、參堂去。後、溈山擧此話、問仰山、臨濟當時、得大愚力、得黃檗力。仰山云、非但騎虎頭、亦解把虎尾。

ii 師栽松次、黃檗問、深山裏栽許多作什麼。師云、一與山門作境致、二與後人作標榜。道了、將钁頭打地三下。黃檗云、雖然如是、子已喫吾三十棒了也。師又以钁頭打地三下、作噓噓聲。黃檗云、吾宗到汝、大興於世。後溈山擧此語、問仰山、黃檗當時、祇囑臨濟一人、更有人在。仰山云、有。祇是年代深遠、不欲擧似和尚。溈山云、雖然如是、吾亦要知。

汝但擧看。仰山云、一人指南、吳越令行、遇大風即止。讖風穴和尚也。

III 師侍立德山次、山云、今日困。師云、這老漢寐語作什麼。山便打。師掀倒繩床。山便休。

IV 師普請鋤地次、見黃檗來、拄钁而立。黃檗云、這漢困那。師云、钁也未擧、困箇什麼。黃檗便打。師接住棒、一送送倒。黃檗喚維那、維那扶起我。維那近前扶云、和尚爭容得這風顛漢無禮。黃檗纔起、便打維那。師钁地云、諸方火葬、我這裏一時活埋。後溈山問仰山、黃檗打維那、意作麼生。仰山云、正賊走卻、邏蹤人喫棒。

V 師一日、在僧堂前坐。見黃檗來、便閉卻目。黃檗乃作怖勢、便歸方丈。師隨至方丈禮謝。首座在黃檗處侍立。黃檗云、此僧雖是後生、卻知有此事。首座云、老和尚腳跟不點地、卻證據箇後生。黃檗自於口上打一摑。

VI 首座云、知即得。師在堂中睡。黃檗下來見、以拄杖打板頭一下。師擧頭、見是黃檗、卻睡。黃檗又打板頭一下、卻往上間、見首座坐禪、乃云、下間後生卻坐禪、汝這裏妄想作什麼。首座云、這老漢作什麼。黃檗打板頭一下、便出去。後、溈山問仰山、黃檗入僧堂、意作麼生。仰山云、兩彩一賽。

VII 一日普請次、師在後行。黃檗回頭、見師空手、乃問、钁頭在什麼處。師云、有一人將去了也。黃檗云、近前來、共汝商量箇事。師便近前。黃檗豎起钁頭云、祇這箇、天下人拈掇不起。師就手掣得、豎起云、爲什麼卻在某甲手裏。黃檗云、今日大有人普請。便歸院。後溈山問仰山、钁頭在黃檗手裏、爲什麼卻被臨濟奪卻。仰山云、賊是小人、智過君子。

VIII 師爲黃檗馳書去溈山。時仰山作知客。接得書、便問、這箇是黃檗底、那箇是專使底。師便掌。仰山約住云、老兄知是般事、便休。同去見溈山。溈山便問、黃檗師兄多少衆。師云、七百衆。溈山云、什麼人爲導首。師云、適來已達書了也。師卻問溈山、和尚此間多少衆。溈山云、一千五百衆。師云、太多生。溈山云、黃檗師兄亦不少。師辭溈山。仰山送出云、汝向後北去、有箇住處。師云、豈有與麼事。仰山云、但去、已後有一人佐輔老兄在。此人祇是有頭無尾、有始無終。師後到鎮州、普化已在彼中。師出世、普化佐贊於師。師住未久、普化全身脫去。

IX 師因半夏上黃檗、見和尚看經。師云、我將謂是箇人、元來是掊黑豆老和尚。住數日、乃辭去。黃檗云、汝破夏來、不終夏去。師云、某甲暫來禮拜和尚。黃檗遂打、趁令去。師行數里、疑此事、卻回終夏。師一日、辭黃檗。檗問、什麼處去。師云、不是河南、便歸河北。黃檗便打。師約住與一掌。黃檗大笑、乃喚侍者、將百丈先師禪板机案來。師云、侍者、將火來。黃檗云、雖然如是、汝但將去。已後坐卻天下人舌頭去在。後溈山問仰山、臨濟莫辜負他黃檗也無。仰山云、不然。溈山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、知恩方解報恩。溈山云、從上古人、還有相似底也無。仰山云、有。祇是年代深遠、不欲擧似和尚。溈山云、雖然如是、吾亦要知。子但

舉看。仰山云、祇如楞嚴會上、阿難讚佛云、將此深心奉塵刹、是則名爲報佛恩。豈不是報恩之事。潙山云、如是如是。見與師齊、減師半德。見過於師、方堪傳授。

x 師到達磨塔頭。塔主云、長老、先禮佛、先禮祖。師云、佛祖俱不禮。塔主云、佛祖與長老是什麼冤家。師便拂袖而出。

xi 師行腳時、到龍光。光上堂。師出問云、不展鋒鋩、如何得勝。光據坐。師云、大善知識、豈無方便。光瞪目云、嗄。師以手指云、這老漢、今日敗闕也。

xii 到三峯。平和尚問曰、什麼處來。師云、黃檗來。平云、黃檗有何言句。師云、金牛昨夜遭塗炭、直至如今不見蹤。平云、金風吹玉管、那箇是知音。師云、直透萬重關、不住清霄內。平云、子這一問太高生。師云、龍生金鳳子、衝破碧琉璃。平云、且坐喫茶。又問、近離甚處。師云、龍光。平云、龍光近日如何。師便出去。

xiii 到大慈。慈在方丈內坐。師問、端居丈室時如何。慈云、寒松一色千年別、野老拈花萬國春。師云、今古永超圓智體、三山鎖斷萬重關。慈便喝。師亦喝。慈云、作麼。師拂袖便出。

xiv 到襄州華嚴。嚴倚拄杖、作睡勢。師云、老和尚瞌睡作麼。嚴云、作家禪客、宛爾不同。師云、侍者、點茶來、與和尚喫。嚴乃喚維那、第三位安排這上座。

xv 到翠峯。峯問、甚處來。師云、黃檗來。峯云、黃檗有何言句、指示於人。師云、黃檗無言句。峯云、爲什麼無。師云、設有、亦無擧處。峯云、但擧看。師云、一箭過西天。

xvi 到象田。師問、不凡不聖、請師速道。田云、老僧祇與麼。師便喝云、許多禿子、在這裏覓什麼椀。

xvii 到明化。化問、來來去去作什麼。師云、祇徒踏破草鞋。化云、畢竟作麼生。師云、老漢話頭也不識。

xviii 往鳳林。路逢一婆。婆問、甚處去。師云、鳳林去。婆云、恰値鳳林不在。師云、甚處去。婆便行。師乃喚婆。婆回頭。師便打。

xix 到鳳林。林問、有事相借問、得麼。師云、何得剜肉作瘡。林云、海月澄無影、遊魚獨自迷。師云、海月既無影、遊魚何得迷。鳳林云、觀風知浪起、翫水野帆飄。師云、孤輪獨照江山靜、自笑一聲天地驚。林云、任將三寸輝天地、一句臨機試道看。師云、路逢劍客須呈劍、不是詩人莫獻詩。鳳林便休。師乃有頌、大道絶同、任向西東、石火莫及、電光罔通。潙山問仰山、石火莫及、電光罔通。從上諸聖、將什麼爲人。仰山云、和尚意作麼生。潙山云、但有言說、都無寔義。仰山云、不然。潙山云、子又作麼生。仰山云、官不容針、私通車馬。

xx 到金牛。牛見師來、横按拄杖、當門踞坐。師以手敲拄杖三下、卻歸堂中第一位坐。牛下來見、乃問、夫賓主相見、各具威儀。上座從何而來、太

無禮生。師云、老和尚道什麼。牛擬開口。師便打。牛作倒勢。師又打。牛云、今日不著便。潙山問仰山、此二尊宿、還有勝負也無。仰山云、勝即總勝、負即總負。

xxi 師臨遷化時、據坐云、吾滅後、不得滅卻吾正法眼藏。三聖出云、爭敢滅卻和尚正法眼藏。師云、已後有人問爾、向他道什麼。三聖便喝。師云、誰知吾正法眼藏、向這瞎驢邊滅卻。言訖、端然示寂。

xxii 師諱義玄、曹州南華人也。俗姓邢氏。幼而穎異、長以孝聞。及落髮受具、居於講肆、精究毘尼、博賾經論。俄而歎曰、此濟世之醫方也、非教外別傳之旨。即更衣游方、首參黃檗、次謁大愚。其機緣語句、載于行錄。既受黃檗印可、尋抵河北。鎮州城東南隅、臨滹沱河側、小院住持。其臨濟因地得名。時普化先在彼、佯狂混衆、聖凡莫測。師至即佐之。師正旺化、普化全身脫去。乃符仰山小釋迦之懸記也。適丁兵革、師即棄去。太尉默君和、於城中捨宅爲寺、亦以臨濟爲額、迎師居焉。後拂衣南邁、至河府。府主王常侍、延以師禮。住未幾、即來大名府興化寺、居于東堂。師無疾、忽一日攝衣據坐、與三聖問答畢、寂然而逝。時唐咸通八年丁亥、孟陬月十日也。門人以師全身、建塔于大名府西北隅。勅謚慧照禪師、塔號澄靈。合掌稽首、記師大略。住鎮州保壽嗣法小師延沼謹書。鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語錄終。 住大名府興化嗣法小師存獎校勘。永享九年八月十五日板在法性寺東經所。

## Preface 鎮州臨濟慧照禪師語録序

延康殿學士金紫光祿大夫眞定府路安撫使兼馬步軍都總管兼知成德軍府事馬防、撰。黃檗山頭、曾遭痛棒。大愚肋下、方解築拳。饒舌老婆、尿床鬼子。這風顛漢、再捋虎鬚。巖谷栽松、後人標榜。鑊頭斸地、幾被活埋。肯箇後生、蓦口自摑。辭焚机案、坐斷舌頭。不是河南、便歸河北。院臨古渡、運濟往來。把定要津、壁立萬仞。奪人奪境、陶鑄仙陀。三要三玄、鈐鎚衲子。常在家舍、不離途中。無位眞人、面門出入。兩堂齊喝、賓主歷然。照用同時、本無前後。菱花對像、虛谷傳聲。妙應無方、不留朕跡。拂衣南邁、戾止大名。興化師承、東堂迎侍。銅瓶鐵鉢、掩室杜詞。松老雲閑、曠然自適。面壁未幾、密付將終。正法誰傳、瞎驢邊滅。圓覺老演、今爲流通。點撿將來、故無差舛。唯餘一喝、尚要商量。具眼禪流、冀無賺擧。宣和庚子中秋日謹序。

# *Bibliography*

## PRINCIPAL SOURCES

*Ahan jing* 阿含經 (*Āgama* sutras). "Āgama" means "sutras that have been handed down." The *Āgama*s are traditionally regarded to be Śākyamuni's actual sermons as memorized and recited by his disciples, then recorded about one hundred years after his death. The important *Āgama*s were translated into Chinese as the *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經, a translation of the *Dīrgha Āgama* (T 1: #1); the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經, a translation of the *Madhyama Āgama* (T 1: #26); the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, a translation of the *Saṃyukta Āgama*) (T 2: #99); and the *Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (增壹阿含經), a translation of the *Ekottara Āgama* (T 2: #125).

*Anxin famen* 安心法門 (Dharma gate for pacifying the mind), 1 chapter (T 48: #2009, 370a–c). One of the works in the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (Bodhidharma's six gates), a collection of six short works attributed to Bodhidharma (C., Putidamo 菩提達磨, d. 530?) the First Chan Patriarch of China. The *Anxin famen* is written in question-and-answer form and discusses the nature of true "peace of mind" 安心 as understood in the Chan school.

*Editor's note:* As noted in the Editor's Prologue, Ruth Sasaki had planned an extensive descriptive bibliography for this project, in line with her vision of providing as full a context as possible for the teachings of the *Linji lu*. Only a small amount of work on this portion of the project had been completed at the time of her death. The present abbreviated version of the bibliography contains basic information on the texts mentioned in *The Record of Linji*, assembled from the material that Ruth had completed, considerably augmented by information from standard reference works, both published and digital. I would like to gratefully acknowledge the considerable aid provided by works such as the *Oxford Dictionary of Buddhism*, by Damien Keown; *The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism*, by the English Buddhist Dictionary Committee of Soka Gakkai; the *Sōgō Bukkyō daijiten* 総合佛教大辞典, by Yokochō Enichi 横超慧日 et al.; the *Daizōkyō zenkaisetsu daijiten* 大蔵経全解説大事典, by Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄 et al.; the *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 佛書解説大辭典, by Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙 et al.; the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, maintained by Charles Muller; and the *WWW Database of Chinese Buddhist Texts*, maintained by Christian Wittern.

*Avataṃsaka Sutra*. See *Huayan jing* 華嚴經.

*Baifa lun* 百法論 (Clear introduction to the one hundred dharmas), 1 fascicle (T 31: #1614). Full title *Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* 大乘百法明門論; sometimes abbreviated to *Luechen mingshu lun* 略陳名數論. A translation by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) of the *Mahāyāna śatadharmā-prakāśamukha śāstra*, a brief Yogācāra (Weishi 唯識) text attributed to Vasubandhu (C., Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親; 4th or 5th c.), although the true author is unknown—in addition to Vasubandhu, the text has been ascribed to Nāgārjuna's disciple Óryadeva (C., Tipo 提婆, 3rd c.) and to the Yogācāra thinker Dharmapāla (C., Hufa 護法, 530?–560?). The treatise describes the Yogācāra doctrine of the "one hundred dharmas in five categories" 五位百法, as described in the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra* (*Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論, Treatise on the stages of yoga practice). According to this all phenomena can be divided into the five categories of mind 心法 (8), mental factors 心所有法 (51), form 色法 (11), phenomena that are associated with neither mind nor matter 心不相應行法 (24), and the unconditioned 無爲法 (6).

*Baishi wenji* 白氏文集 (Anthology of Bai Juyi). An anthology of the poems of the great Tang poet Bai Juyi 白居易(772–846), compiled by the poet at the age of seventy-four. Bai Juyi, a member of the Hanlin Academy and, later, the prefect of Hangzhou and Suzhou, is famous as a poet for the elegance and simplicity of his work, and for his strong social conscience.

*Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄 (Extensive record of Baizhang), 3 fascicles (X 68: #1315 [GY 2] and X 69: #1323 [SY 3]). The first two fascicles of the *Guanglu* comprise the two fascicles of the *Dazhi Chanshi yuyao* 大智禪師語要, found in the GY, plus the single fascicle of the *Baizhang Huaihai Chanshi yulu* 百丈懷海禪師語録, found in the SY. In addition, one of the two GY fascicles is itself known as the *Baizhang guanglu*. The text presents the biography, sermons, and dialogues of Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814), traditionally regarded as the founder of the Chan monastic system. Baizhang's tomb inscription 塔銘 relates that after the master's death his disciples Shenxing 神行 (n.d.) and Fanyun 梵雲 (n.d.) edited and published the materials associated with their teacher. This first edition is now lost; the present text is found in GY 2 and SY 3.

*Baizhang Huaihai Chanshi yuyao* 百丈懷海禪師語要*; Baizhang Huaihai Chanshi yulu* 百丈懷海禪師語録. See entry above.

*Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (Baizhang's rules for purity), 8 fascicles (T 48: #2025). The title *Baizhang qinggui* refers to two works. The first, full title *Baizhang conglin qinggui* 百丈叢林清規 or *Baizhang gu qinggui* 百丈古清規, is attributed to *Baizhang Huaihai* 百丈懷海 (720–814) and is regarded as the earliest written monastic rule in Chan monasticism, setting forth Baizhang's rules for Chan life and practice at his monastery on Baizhang 百丈 Peak. The second, full title *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* 敕修百丈清規 is a work compiled upon imperial command by Dongyang Dehui 東陽德輝 (n.d.), revised by

Xiaoyin Daxin 笑隱大訢 (1284–1344), and published in 1336. A much longer work than the *Baizhang gu qinggui*, the *Chixiu Baizhang qinggui* includes instructions for ritual practice, regulations for entering and leaving the clergy and many other aspects of monastic life, descriptions of monastic offices and duties, etc. This is the version of the *Baizhang qinggui* included in the *Taishō daizōkyō*.

*Baizhangshan heshang yaojue* 百丈山和尚要訣 (Essential secrets of the priest of Mount Baizhang), 1 fascicle. One of the works reported in the *Jikaku Daishi shōrai mokuroku* 慈覺大師將來目錄 to have been brought back to Japan from Tang China by the Japanese Tendai monks Ennin and Enchin.

*Bannan shō* 萬安鈔 (Bannan's commentary on the *Rinzai roku*), 4 fascicles. Full title *Rinzai Eshō Zenji goroku shō* 臨濟慧照禪師語錄鈔; also known as the *Rinzai roku Bannan shō* 臨濟錄萬安鈔. A commentary on the LL by the Japanese Sōtō monk Bannan Eishu 萬安英種 (1591–1654), published in 1632.

*Baoji jing* 寶積經. See *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經.

*Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (Biographies of the Precious Forest Temple), 10 fascicles. Full title *Datang shaozhou shuangfengshan caohouxi baolin zhuan* 大唐韶州雙峯山曹候溪寶林傳. Compiled in 801 by Huiju 慧炬 (n.d.), also known as Zhiju 智炬. At present only the first seven fascicles of the work are extant. The *Baolin zhuan*—which took its name from Huineng's monastery Baolin si 寶林寺 in the mountains at Caoxi 曹溪—is one of the earliest and most important of the Chan biographical works, setting forth for the first time what became the accepted lineage of the Chan school, from Śākyamuni through the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs and the six Chinese patriarchs to Huineng, then continuing until Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). It is also the first work in which the ancestral transmission verses are found.

*Baozang lun* 寶藏論 (Treatise on the treasure storehouse), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1857). A work attributed to Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), an eminent Chinese disciple of Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409), and said to have been written in the week of grace allowed Sengzhao by the king of the Latter Qin 後秦 (386–417), Yao Xing 姚興 (r. 394–416), who had ordered the monk to commit suicide. The story appears to be apocryphal, however, as the influence on the text of Huayan tathāgatagarbha thought suggests that it most probably was composed in the Chan school near the beginning of the Tang. The work was highly regarded in Chan circles, and was frequently quoted in Chan works.

*Baozhi heshang shisike song* 寶誌和尚十四科頌. See *Shisike song* 十四科頌.

*Biexing yishu* 別行義疏. See *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏.

*Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (The blue cliff record), 10 fascicles (T 48: #2003). Full title *Foguo Yuanwu Keqin Chanshi biyan lu* 佛果圜悟克勤禪師碧巖錄. The work, one of the most important koan collections in the Linji school of Chan, was compiled by Puzhao 普照 (n.d.), edited by Guan Wudang 關無黨 (n. d.),

and published in 1128. The work is based on a series of lectures delivered between 1111 and 1117 at the temple Lingquan yuan 靈泉院 on Mount Jia 夾 by the Chan master Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135). The subject of the lectures was the *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古, a collection of one hundred koans selected and commented upon by Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052). Each of the one hundred cases in the *Biyan lu* consists of a *chuishi* 垂示 (a short introduction by Yuanwu), *benze* 本則 (the original koan text interspersed with Yuanwu's terse remarks), *pingchang* 評唱 (a full commentary on the koan by Yuanwu), *song* 頌 (Xuedou's verse comments interspersed with Yuanwu's terse remarks), and another *pingchang* 評唱 (a full commentary by Yuanwu on Xuedou's verse comments). After Yuanwu's death his disciple Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), believing that the text constituted a hindrance to true Chan practice, ordered it burned, and it was not reissued until 1317.

*Bore jing* 般若經. The general name for the Chinese translations of the prajñā-pāramitā (perfection of wisdom) sutras, a corpus of over forty texts that expound the teaching of prajñā-pāramitā, the perfect understanding that the true nature of existence is śūnyatā. Among the most important of these translations are the *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 or *Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經 (*Pañcaviṃ-śatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*; Larger perfection of wisdom sutra) (T 8: #223); the *Xiaopin bore jing* 小品般若經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*; Smaller perfection of wisdom sutra) (T 8: #227); the *Renwang bore jing* 仁王般若經 (no Sanskrit title as this is a Chinese apocryph; Benevolent kings perfection of wisdom sutra) (T 8: #245); the *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (*Vajracchedika-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*; Diamond sutra) (T 8: #235, etc.); *Bore boluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (*Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya Sutra*; Heart sutra) (T 8: #251); and the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra*; Great perfection of wisdom sutra) (T 5–T 7: #220). The prajñā-pāramitā sutras are among the earliest of the Mahayana sutras, with the earliest, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* (Perfection of wisdom in eight-thousand lines; translated as the *Xiaopin bore jing* 小品般若經) being written about 100 BCE. The corpus grew over the following centuries, until about 500 CE. The teaching of the prajñā-pāramitā literature centers on the ideal of the bodhisattva, who practices in accordance with the six pāramitās and who, while continuing to strive toward ultimate enlightenment, remains in the world of samsara out of compassion in order to work for the liberation of all sentient beings. This is accomplished only through prajñā insight into the nature of śūnyatā, the essential emptiness of all that exists. Prajñā functions in the world through upāya, "skillful means," by which the bodhisattva uses various devices to help free sentient beings from delusion.

*Buzhenkong lun* 不眞空論 (Treatise on śūnyatā), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1858, 152a–153a).

This short work is the second thesis in the *Zhao lun* 肇論, by Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), in which the author discusses the meaning of emptiness, and explains that the true nature of things cannot be understood through words. See also *Zhao lun*.

*Cantong qi* 參同契 (Harmony of difference and sameness) (T 51: #2076, 459b). A short Chan poem by Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (700–790) in JC 30. Full title *Nanyue Shitou heshang cantong qi* 南嶽石頭和尚參同契. The text, drawing from the *Zhao lun* 肇論 of Sengzhao and the doctrine of the Four Dharma Realms 四法界 of the Huayan school, sets forth what might be called the cosmology of Chan, teaching the mutual interpenetration of the phenomenal world of distinction and the absolute world of tathatā (essential suchness), and explaining the relationship of the suchness 体, the characteristics 相, and the function 用 of the universe. The text is especially esteemed in the Japanese Sōtō school, but it is important for the Rinzai (Linji) tradition too in that it contains the basis for the doctrine of the Five Ranks.

*Caoan ge* 草庵歌 (Song of the grass hut) (T 51: #2076, 461c). One of the short Chan poems in JC 30, by Shitou Xiqian. Full title *Shitou heshang caoan ge* 石頭和尚草庵歌. A 32-line, 217-character poem written by Shitou while he was dwelling in a hut he built on top of a large rock near the temple Nanyue si 南嶽寺. In the poem the hut represents the profound meaning of the Way of enlightenment.

*Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (Long discourses of the Buddha), 22 fascicles (T 1: #1). A translation of the *Dīrgha Āgama*, one of the *Āgama* sutras, by the Kashmirian monk Buddhayaśas (C., Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍, n.d.) and the Chinese monk Zhu Fonian (竺佛念, n.d.) during the Latter Qin dynasty 後秦 (386–417). The collection, consisting of thirty longer sermons attributed to Śākyamuni, basically corresponds to the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the Pali canon, which contains thirty-four sutras.

*Changshan zhenshi zhi* 常山貞石志 (Record of Changshan stele inscriptions), 24 fascicles. A collection of stele inscriptions, compiled by Shen Tao 沈濤 (18th c.) and published in 1842.

*Chanlin leiju* 禪林類聚 (Classified anthology of the Chan forest), 20 fascicles (X 67: #1299). Compiled by the monks Shanjun 善俊, Zhijing 智境, Daotai 道泰, and others at the temple Tianning Wanshou si 天寧萬壽寺, and published with a preface dated 1307. The *Chanlin leiju*, an anthology of old koans and verses classified into over one hundred categories and with comments by later masters, is one of the largest and most comprehensive of the koan collections.

*Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳 (Biographies of monks of the Chan school), 30 fascicles (X 79: #1560). Commonly abbreviated to *Sengbao zhuan* 僧寶傳. Compiled by Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128), who biographed one hundred monks active from the late Tang to his own time and entitled the

work *Chanlin baishi zhuan* 禪林百師傳 (Biographies of one hundred Chan masters). Later, however, Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) and others eliminated nineteen biographies for a total of eighty-one monks, and the collection was published in 1331 as the *Chanlin sengbao zhuan*. Later editions of the work have a supplementary section added by Qinglao 慶老 (n.d.), a disciple of Dahui, giving biographies of Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?–1104) and two other masters.

*Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 (Regulations of the Chan school), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 250c–251b). A short work that is traditionally regarded as the core chapter of the *Baizhang qinggui* 百丈清規 (Baizhang's rules for purity) of *Baizhang Huaihai* 百丈懷海 (720–814), reputed to have been the first monastic rule for the Chan school.

*Chanmen zhang* 禪門章 (Essay on the meditation gate), 1 fascicle (X 55: #907). A short meditation text by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school; date of publication unknown.

*Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Poems of the Chan patriarchs), 4 fascicles (X 66: #1298). A collection of gathas, inscriptions, poems, and short works by Buddhist and Chan masters, from the Seven Buddhas of the Past through Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). The collection, edited by the Southern Song monks Zi Sheng 子昇 (n.d.) and Ruyou 如祐 (n.d.) of Wulaofeng 五老峰 at Lushan 廬山, includes works like the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 by the Third Patriarch, Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606?); the *Yuanzhong ming* 玄中銘 (Verses on the mystery) by Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869); and the *Linji zhenzong ji* 臨濟正宗記 (Record of the true school of Linji) by Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135).

*Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 (Preface to the *Anthology of essential writings on the origins of Chan*), 4 fascicles (T 48: #2015). Compiled by the Chan and Huayan master Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841). This work constitutes Zongmi's general introduction to his *Chanyuan zhuquanji* 禪源諸詮集, a 100- (or, according to some accounts, 160-) fascicle collection, no longer extant, of important materials relating to early Chan thought and history. The *Chanyuan zhuquanji duxu* elucidates the correspondence between, on the one hand, Chan praxis and realization, and, on the other, the teachings and doctrine of the scholastic schools. Zongmi classifies the two sides into three traditions each, the Chan traditions being 1) the Northern school 北宗 ("cultivation of mind through elimination of delusion"), 2) the Oxhead 牛頭 and Shitou 石頭 schools ("complete destruction, no support"), and 3) the Heze 荷澤 and Hongzhou 洪州 schools ("direct revelation of mind-nature"); and the doctrinal traditions being 1) the Hinayana 小乘 and Yogācāra 唯識 doctrines ("explain appearances on the basis of dependency"), 2) the Madhyamaka 般若空觀 doctrine ("negate appearances to reveal nature"), and 3) the Tathāgatagarbha 如來藏 and Huayan 華嚴 doc-

trines ("revelation that true mind is essential nature"). Zongmi regarded 1) the Northern school as correspondent to the Yogācāra doctrines; 2) the Oxhead and Shitou schools as correspondent to the Madhyamaka doctrine; 3) the Heze and Hongzhou schools (which he saw as the truest practical expression of the Buddha's intent) as correspondent to the Tathāgatagarbha and Huayan doctrines (which he saw as the truest doctrinal expression of the Buddha's intent).

*Chanzong wumen guan* 禪宗無門關. See *Wumen guan* 無門關.

*Chanzong Yongjia ji* 禪宗永嘉集 (Anthology of Yongjia of the Chan School), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2013). Compiled by Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (663–713); published with a preface by Wei Jing 魏靜, the governor of Qingzhou 慶州. The ten-chapter work explains the meaning and process of Chan training.

*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (Discourse on the establishment of consciousness-only), 10 fascicles (T 31: #1585). Usually abbreviated to *Weishi lun* 唯識論. A translation by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) of the *Vijñaptimātratā siddhi*, a commentary by Dharmapāla (C., Hufa 護法, 530?–560?) and nine other commentators on Vasubandhu's *Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridasa śāstra* (*Weishi sanshi lun song* 唯識三十論頌; Thirty-stanza treatise on the consciousness-only doctrine). Xuanzang's translation, published in 659, was an edited version based primarily on the commentary of Dharmapāla, with ideas from the other commentators (particularly Sīlabhadra 尸羅拔陀提 [529–645]) incorporated as necessary. A central text of the Faxiang 法相 (Chinese Yogācāra) school, the *Cheng weishi lun* discusses in detail the central Yogācāra doctrine of the eight consciousnesses.

*Chengye lun* 成業論. See *Dasheng chengye lun* 大乘成業論.

*Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan Chanshi yuyao* 池州南泉普願禪師語要 (Essential words of Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan of Chizhou), 1 fascicle (X 68: #1315). Also known as *Chizhou Nanquan Puyuan heshang yuyao* 池州南泉普願和尚語要. The collected sermons and instructions of the Chan master Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835), an eminent heir of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) and teacher of Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897). Published in the Shaoxing era 紹興 (1131–1162), with a postscript by Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135).

*Chongke guzunsu yulu* 重刻古尊宿語錄. See *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄.

*Chuandeng da guangming zang* 傳燈大光明藏. See *Da guangming zang* 大光明藏.

*Chuandeng lu* 傳燈錄. See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄.

*Chuandeng yuying ji* 傳燈玉英集 (Precious flowers of the lamp transmission), 15 fascicles. Compiled by Wang Sui 王隋 (n.d.), a noted prime minister and a disciple of Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–995), and completed in 1034. The work comprised a selection of the fifteen fascicles of the *Jingde*

*chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 that Wang Sui regarded as most useful for lay koan practice. The work never attained any great popularity.

*Chuanfa baoji* 傳法寶紀 (Record of the transmission of the dharma treasure), 1 fascicle (T 85: #2838). A Dunhuang manuscript of the Northern school tradition, compiled by the layman Du Fei 杜朏 (n.d.). The text describes the lives and teachings of early Chan figures from Bodhidharma to mid-Tang masters. The preface, based on the *Chanjing xu* 禪經序 (Preface to the meditation sutra) of Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416), describes the Indian dharma lineage. The main text gives the Northern version of the transmission: Bodhidharma, Huike 慧可 (487–593), Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), Hongren 弘忍 (601–674), Faru 法如 (637–689), and Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706). The presence of Faru in the lineage between Hongren and Shenxiu is unique to this text.

*Chuanfa zhenzong ji* 傳法正宗記 (Record of the transmission of the dharma in the true school), 9 fascicles (T 51: #2078). Compiled by Fori Qisong 佛日契崇 (1007–1072), fifth patriarch of the Yunmen school. Completed in 1062 and first published in 1064, the oldest extant edition is the second, published in 1164. The *Chuanfa zhenzong ji*, a traditional account of the transmission from Śākyamuni through the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the first six Chinese ancestors, and the masters of the Five Schools, was an attempt to answer Tiantai-school attacks upon the authenticity of the Chan lineage. Qisong also wrote two other works for the same purpose: the *Chuanfa zhenzong ding zutu* 傳法正宗定祖圖 (Definitive chart of the ancestry for the transmission of the dharma in the true school), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2079) and the *Chuanfa zhenzong lun* 傳法正宗論 (Treatise on the transmission of the dharma in the true school), 2 fascicles (T 51: #2080).

*Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 (Essentials on the transmission of mind-dharma), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2012). Full title *Huangboshan Duanji Chanshi chuanxin fayao* 黃蘗山斷際禪師傳心法要. A collection of sermons by Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850?), recorded and edited by Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), an eminent government official and lay disciple of Huangbo. The preface, by Pei, is dated 857. The fundamental message of the text is that "nothing excels sudden awakening to the original dharma. This very dharma is mind; apart from mind there is no dharma. This very mind is dharma; apart from dharma there is no mind. Mind in itself is no-mind, also there is no no-mind." The title Chuanxin fayao is sometimes used inclusively of this compilation and another collection of Huangbo's sermons known as the *Wanling lu* 宛陵録 (also attributed to Pei but almost certainly compiled by other disciples), but strictly speaking it applies only to the former text. See also *Wanling lu*.

*Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄 (Notes while resting from farm work), 30 fascicles. Full title *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕録. A Ming-dynasty collection of tales compiled by Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (c. 1320–1402), a writer and scholar of the late

Yuan and early Ming dynasties. Tao is said to have repeatedly refused invitations to official posts, preferring to remain on his farm working, studying, and writing.

*Chusanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (Collection of records concerning the Tripiṭaka), 15 fascicles (T 55: #2145). Compiled by Sengyou 僧祐 during the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–556) and traditionally dated to about 510, the *Chusanzang jiji* is the oldest extant catalogue of Tripiṭaka texts translated into Chinese. The work lists the sutras, treatises, and vinaya text translations produced from the Later Han dynasty (25–220) to the Liang dynasty, and in addition provides introductions to the important texts and biographies of the translators. The *Chusanzang jiji* was based on an earlier catalogue, the nonextant *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理衆經目錄 (Organized catalogue of the sutras) compiled by Daoan 道安 (312–385) and published in 374.

*Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 (The great mindfulness of breathing sutra), 2 fascicles (see T 15: #602). Full title *Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經. A translation of a sutra on counting-of-breath meditation by An Shigao 安世高, who worked in Luoyang from about 147 until 170. The sutra also explains other basic Buddhist meditation practices, such as the four objects of contemplation 四念處 and the meditations on the five sense organs 五根, the seven aids to enlightenment 七覺支, and the eightfold noble path 八正道.

*Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏 (Commentary on the *Nirvana Sutra*), 33 fascicles (T 38: #1767). Also known as the *Nanben niepan jing shu* 南本涅槃經疏. Compiled by Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) and published in 619. The *Da banniepan jing shu* intersperses the text of the sutra with Guanding's comments, based on the lectures of his master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school.

*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Sutra of the great treasure collection), 120 fascicles (T 11: #310). Short title *Baoji jing* 寶積經. A compilation by the Indian monk Bodhiruci (C., Putiliuzhi 菩提流志; d. 727) of forty-nine unrelated short sutras on various subjects. Of the forty-nine sutras, twenty-six were translated by Bodhiruci himself (ten of previously untranslated texts, and sixteen of previously translated texts), and the remainder were older translations by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409) and others. The translation and compilation were carried out 705–713.

*Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shouleng'yan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 or *Da foding shouleng'yan jing* 大佛頂首楞嚴經. See *Shouleng'yan jing* 首楞嚴經.

*Da guangming zang* 大光明藏 (Treasury of great light), 3 fascicles (X 79: #1563). Full title *Chuandeng da guangming zang* 傳燈大光明藏. Compiled by the monk Baotan 寶曇 (1129–1197) and published with a preface dated 1265. The text presents biographical material relating to the Chan lineage from the

Seven Buddhas of the Past to the generation of Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), Baotan's teacher.

*Da Huayan jing shu* 大華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), 30 fascicles. A treatise, no longer extant, attributed to Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), the patriarch of the Northern school.

*Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*), 20 fascicles (T 39: #1796). Also known as the *Dari jing shu* 大日經疏. Compiled by Yixing 一行 (683–727) from lectures on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* by Śubhākarasiṃha (C., Shanwuwei 善無畏; 637–735), an Indian monk who arrived in China in 716 and was instrumental in introducing the esoteric Buddhist teachings and translating esoteric texts (notably the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*). The *Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu*, published in 725, deals in its first section with the doctrinal aspects of the esoteric teachings, while the second section concerns ritual practice.

*Dafangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經 (Great collection sutra), 60 fascicles (T 13: #397). Short title *Daji jing* 大集經. A collection of short sutras translated into Chinese by Dharmakṣema (Dharmakṣa, Dharmākṣara; C., Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433?) and Narendrayaśas (C., Nalianyeshe 那連耶舍, 6th c.), and compiled into a single text by Sengjiu 僧就 (6th c.) in 586. The sutra is presented as a sermon delivered by the Buddha sixteen years after his enlightenment to a great assembly of buddhas and bodhisattvas from buddha-realms throughout the universe. The teachings are varied, showing among other influences those of prajñā-pāramitā and tantric thought, and many topics are covered, including the dharma categories 法數, the dharma characteristics 法相, and the rise and decline of the buddhadharma over the course of five five-hundred-year periods after Śākyamuni's parinirvāṇa.

*Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of buddha), 80 fascicles (T 10: #279). The so-called "New Translation" of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, by Śikṣānanda (C., Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) and others. See *Huayan jing* 華嚴經.

*Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (An exegesis of the commentary on the *Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of Buddha*), 90 fascicles (T 36: #1736). Also known as the *Huayan dashu chao* 華嚴大疏鈔 or the *Yanyi chao* 演義鈔. Compiled by Cheng Guan 澄觀 (738–839), the fourth patriarch of the Huayan school. The work is a more detailed explanation of the teachings Cheng Guan presented in his *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*) delivered for the sake of his disciples. The relatively informal style of the commentary makes it particularly accessible among the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* commentaries.

*Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經. See *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經.

*Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu* 大慧普覺禪師年譜 (The chronology of Chan

Master Dahui Pujue), 1 fascicle. Also known as the *Dahui Chanshi nianpu* 大慧禪師年譜 and the *Dahui nianpu* 大慧年譜. A chronological history of Dahui Zonggao, compiled soon after Dahui's death by a disciple, Zuyong 祖詠 (n.d.), and published in 1183. A revised and expanded edition was subsequently issued by Huazang Zongyan 華藏宗演 (n.d.), another of the master's disciples. The *Dahui Pujue Chanshi nianpu* was incorporated into the Tripiṭaka in the Ming dynasty, but is not presently included in either T or X.

*Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue), 30 fascicles (T 47: #1998A). Also known as the *Dahui Chanshi yulu* 大慧禪師語録 or simply the *Dahui yulu* 大慧語録, the text is a collection of the work of Dahui Zonggao. Edited by the priest Yunwen 蘊聞 (n.d.), it was completed in 1171 and presented to Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1163–1189). The work includes Dahui's formal sermons 上堂 and 秉拂, sermons for lay believers 普説, informal talks 法語, verse commentaries on koans 頌古, poems, and letters.

*Dahui pushuo* 大慧普說 (The discourses of Chan Master Dahui Pujue), 4 fascicles. Full title *Dahui Pujue Chanshi pushuo* 大慧普覺禪師普說; also called the *Dahui Chanshi pushu* 大慧禪師普説. A work, compiled by Zuqing 祖慶 (n.d.), comprising various talks given by Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163) to his lay believers. The same discourses as compiled by Yunwen 蘊聞 (n.d.) constitute fascicles 13–18 of the *Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* 大慧普覺禪師語錄 (see entry above).

*Dahui wuku* 大慧武庫 (The Chan arsenal of Chan Master Dahui Pujue), 1 fascicle (T 47: #1998B). Full title *Dahui Pujue Chanshi zongmen wuku* 大慧普覺禪師宗門武庫. Edited by Daoqian 道謙 (n.d.), a disciple of Dahui Zonggao. The *Dahui wuku* contains comments and anecdotes, taken from Dahui's talks to his disciples, regarding various Chan masters both of the past and of the same period as Dahui. There is a preface by Li Yong 李泳 (n.d.) dated 1186.

*Dai-Nippon kōtei daizōkyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 (Japanese revised Buddhist canon), printed in 418 volumes. This collection, based on the second edition of the Korean canon, was the first Japanese Buddhist canon printed with moveable type. Edited by Fukuda Gyōkai 福田行誡, Shimada Bankon 島田蕃根, and Shikikawa Seiichi 色川誠一, and published in 1880–1885 by the Kōkyō Shoin 弘教書院.

*Dai-Nippon kōtei zōkyō* 大日本校訂藏經 (Kyoto edition of the revised Buddhist canon), printed in 347 volumes. Commonly known as the *Dainihon kōtei manjiban zōkyō* 大日本校訂卍版藏經 or *Manji ban* 卍版. A Japanese edition of the Buddhist canon with *kundoku* readings, edited by Maeda Eun 前田慧雲 and Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, and published in 1902–1905 by the Zōkyō Shoin 藏經書院.

*Daji jing* 大集經. See *Dafangdeng daji jing* 大方等大集經.

*Danxia heshang wanzhuyin* 丹霞和尚翫珠吟. See *Wanzhuyin* 翫珠吟.

*Daode jing* 道德經 (Classic of the Way and its virtue), 2 fascicles, 81 chapters. The *Daode jing*, the fundamental text of the Taoist tradition, is attributed to Laozi 老子, a Taoist sage said to have lived in about the sixth century BCE. The oldest extant copy of the text itself dates from about 200 BCE. The two central concepts of the *Daode jing* are that of the Way 道 (the unnamable source of all existence) and virtue or power 德 (the active functioning, or cultivation, of Tao in the world). Other central concepts are "nondoing" or "the action of nonaction," simplicity ("the uncarved block"), emptiness, and harmony with the universe. The *Daode jing* is also deeply concerned with the nature of true virtue in government.

*Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經 (Larger perfection of wisdom sutra). See *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經.

*Dapin jing* 大品經. See *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經.

*Dari jing shu* 大日經疏. See *Da piluzhe'na chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏.

*Dasazhe Niqianzi suoshuo jing* 大薩遮尼乾子所說經 (Sutra expounded to Mahasatya Nirgrantha), 10 fascicles (T 9: #272). A late Mahayana work translated into Chinese by Bodhiruci (C. Putiliuzhi 菩提留支, 6th c.). In answer to a request by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the Buddha preaches the twelve excellent means of arousing bodhicitta, the twelve practices of giving, etc., and teaches that the Three Vehicles—śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, and bodhisattva—are simply expedient means for bringing beings to the One Buddha Vehicle. He then answers a request by Mahasatya Nirgrantha for guidance on the practice of the ten good acts.

*Dasheng baifa mingmen lun* 大乘百法明門論 (Lucid introduction to the one hundred dharmas), 1 fascicle (T 31: #1614). See *Baifa lun* 百法論.

*Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 (Mahayana sutra on contemplation of the mind-ground of essential nature), 8 fascicles (T 3: #159). Believed by some scholars to be spurious, but by many others to be a late Indian Mahayana work. The Chinese translation is attributed to Prajñā (C., Bore 般若), a Kashmirian monk who worked in Chang'an c. 785–810. The sutra stresses the merits of becoming a Mahayana world-renouncer, on the basis of the concept of the four duties or gratitudes 四恩 (gratitude to parents, to all sentient beings, to the ruler, and to the three treasures). The sutra expounds the doctrines of the triple body 三身, the four wisdoms 四智, etc., and has strong elements of Yogācāra thought. It also teaches a number of meditation practices.

*Dasheng chengye lun* 大乘成業論 (Mahayana treatise on karma), 1 fascicle (T 31: #1609). Also known as the *Chengye lun* 成業論. The *Mahāyāna-karmasiddha śāstra* (or *Karmasiddhi-prakaraṇa*), by Vasubandhu (C., Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親), translated into Chinese by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) and published in 651. An earlier Chinese translation of the same text by

Vimoksaprajñāṛṣi (C., Pimuzhixian 毘目智仙) was entitled the *Yechengjiu lun* 業成就論 and published in 541 (T 31: #1608). The text explains the function of karma, both expressed and unexpressed.

*Dasheng dunjiao song* 大乘頓教頌 (Poem on the sudden enlightenment of the Mahayana). A short poem by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) on the teaching of sudden enlightenment, found at the conclusion of the *Heze Shenhui Chanshi yulu* 荷澤神會禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Heze Shenhui).

*Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章 (Essays on the forest of meanings in the Mahayana garden of the dharma), 7 fascicles (T 45: #1861). Often abbreviated as the *Fayuan yilin* 法苑義林 or the *Yilin zhang* 義林章. A treatise explaining under twenty-nine headings the central doctrines of the Chinese Yogācāra (Weishi 唯識) school. Compiled by Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), an eminent disciple of the great scholar-monk and translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), and himself the first patriarch of the Faxiang 法相 (Chinese Yogācāra) school of Chinese Buddhism. The text was supplemented after Kuiji's death by two of his disciples, Yiji 義寂 and Huizhao 慧沼. The dates of compilation and publication are unknown.

*Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Treatise on the awakening of faith in Mahayana), 1 fascicle (T 32: #1666). Usually known as the *Qixin lun* 起信論. This important text is traditionally regarded as a Chinese translation of a nonextant work attributed to the great Buddhist thinker Aśvaghoṣa (Maming Pusa 馬鳴菩薩). However, much evidence (such as the lack of a Sanskrit original or a Tibetan translation) suggests that the work is of fifth- or sixth-century Chinese origin. Two translations exist. The first, and more popular, is by Paramārtha (C., Zhendi 眞諦, 499–569), published in 550 or 553; the second is by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda (C., Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710), published in 700 (T 32: #1667). The text had a profound influence on the doctrinal development of most major schools of Mahayana, and is widely cited in Chan. Often used as an introductory text, the work presents essential Mahayana teachings, commentaries on their meaning, and explanations of the nature and benefits of Mahayana practice.

*Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* 大乘無生方便門 (Expedient means for attaining birthlessness in the Mahayana), 1 fascicle (T 85: #2834). Also known as the *Dasheng wu fangbian beizong* 大乘五方便北宗, this is one of the early Chan works found at Dunhuang; the compiler is unknown. The text records the teachings of the Northern-school master Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706) or his disciples, explaining the etiquette to be observed when receiving the precepts and describing the basics of Chan practice in terms of five gates.

*Dasheng yizhang* 大乘義章 (Essay on the meaning of the Mahayana), 26 fascicles (T 44: #1851). Compiled by Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416), perhaps the most famous Chinese Buddhist master of his time, this text constitutes

a comprehensive study of and commentary on Buddhist doctrine. Among the topics considered are the meanings of the twelve divisions of teachings and of doctrines like the buddha-nature, the dual nature of truth, śūnyatā, delusion, enlightenment, and bodhicitta. A wide variety of doctrinal and textual standpoints, including Hinayana, Mahayana, exoteric, and esoteric are explained.

*Dasheng zan* 大乘讚 (In praise of the Mahayana), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 449a–450a). Full title *Liang Baozhi heshang dasheng zan shishou* 梁寶誌和尚大乘讚十首. A series of ten short poems that explain the fundamental position of Chan in plain language. The poems, which originally were said to have numbered twenty-four, are attributed to Zhigong 誌公 (also known as Liang Baozhi 梁寶志 [保誌]; 418–514), but were probably produced several centuries later in the mid-Tang period.

*Dasong sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略 (Song-dynasty compendium of monastic history), 3 fascicles (T 54: #2126). Often abbreviated to *Sengshi lue* 僧史略. Compiled by Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), the great scholar-monk who compiled the SG; completed in 978 and revised in 999. The text describes in fifty-nine sections the history, institutional structure, ceremonies, regulations, etc. of Chinese Buddhism, with commentaries by the compiler. The *Dasong sengshi lue* may have been an ancillary work to the SG.

*Datang shaozhou shuangfengshan caohouxi baolin zhuan* 大唐韶州雙峯山曹候溪寶林傳. See *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳.

*Dazhi Chanshi yuyao* 大智禪師語要. See *Baizhang guanglu* 百丈廣錄.

*Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (Treatise on the great perfection of wisdom), 100 fascicles (T 25: #1509). Also called the *Zhidu lun* 智度論. The *Dazhidu lun* is the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā śāstra* (Treatise on the *Great perfection of wisdom sutra*) by Nāgārjuna (C., Longshu 龍樹, c. 150–250), as translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 350–409) in the years 401–405. The true provenance of the work is in question, however, as there are no extant Sanskrit or Tibetan versions. The text is a comprehensive commentary on the *Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* (*Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經; Great perfection of wisdom sutra), with explanations of many important Mahayana concepts, including prajñā, śūnyatā, the bodhisattva ideal, and the six pāramitās. The treatise had a great influence on the development of East Asian Buddhist thought, and in China was one of the central texts of the Four Treatise school 四論宗, along with Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka śāstra* (*Zhonglun* 中論; Treatise on the Middle Way) and *Dvādaśanikāya śāstra* (*Shiermen lun* 十二門論; Treatise on the twelve gates), plus the *Śata śāstra* (*Bai lun* 百論; One hundred verse treatise) of Nāgārjuna's disciple Óryadeva (Tipo 提婆, 3rd c.).

*Diamond Sutra*. See *Jingang jing* 金剛經

*Ding shifei cui xiexian zheng pohuai yiqiexin chuan* 定是非摧邪顯正破壞一切心傳. See *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記.

*Dīrgha Āgama*. See *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經.

*Dongshan Xuefeng Kong heshang yulu* 東山雪峰空和尚語録. See *Xuefeng Huikong Chanshi yulu* 雪峰慧空禪師語錄.

*Dunhuang bianwen ji* 敦煌變文集 (A collection of popularizations from Dunhuang), 2 fascicles. A definitive collection of the Dunhuang *bianwen* 變文 literature, annotated and collated against similar texts. Compiled by Wang Chongmin 王重民 and published in 1957 by the Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe 人民文学出版社 in Beijing.

*Dunhuang duosuo* 敦煌掇瑣 (Miscellany from Dunhuang), 6 vols., 3 parts. A selection of important materials from the Pelliot collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, compiled by the Chinese linguist and poet Liu Bannong 劉半農 (1891–1934; also known as Liu Fu 劉復) during his years of study in France and published in 1925 by the Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所 in Beijing. The collection contains 104 wood-block prints of materials important for literary, social, political, and linguistic studies of Tang-dynasty China. Reprinted in 1957.

*Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* 頓悟入道要門論 (Treatise on the essentials for entering the Way through sudden awakening), 2 fascicles (x 63: #1223). Also known as the *Dunwu yaomen* 頓悟要門. A treatise by Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海 (n.d.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). Huihai's name Dazhu 大珠, which means "great pearl," derives from Mazu's praise, upon reading the treatise, of Huihai as a Great Pearl illuminating everything without hindrance. The *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun*, written after Huihai's retirement, was edited and first published in 1374 by a monk named Miaoxie 妙叶 (n.d.), from a manuscript he claimed to have found in an old case. The text expounds the doctrine of sudden awakening as taught by the Southern school of Chan. The first fascicle is in question-and-answer form; the second fascicle (entitled *Zhufang menren canwen yulu* 諸方門人參問語錄) presents Huihai's sermons as well as further questions and answers.

*Dunwu wusheng bore song* 頓悟無生般若頌 (Verses on sudden awakening to the wisdom of no-birth), 1 fascicle. See *Xianzong ji* 顯宗記.

*Dunwu yaomen* 頓悟要門. See *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* 頓悟入道要門論.

*Dushi fangyu jiyao* 讀史方輿紀要 (Essentials of historical geography of China), 6 vols. Compiled by Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹 (1631–1692). A comprehensive geography of China written from a historical and political standpoint, with an emphasis on topography as it relates to military strategy.

*Eihei kōroku* 永平廣錄 (Comprehensive records of Eihei), 10 fascicles. A collection of the formal sermons, koans with verse comments, and poetry of Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253), edited by his disciple Senne 詮慧 (n.d.)

and others, and published in 1253. The material covers the period from 1236 (when Dōgen was at Kōshō-ji 興聖寺, south of Kyoto) to 1252 (when Dōgen was at Eihei-ji 永平寺 in Fukui).

*Eihei shingi* 永平清規 (Monastic regulations of Eihei), 2 fascicles, 6 chapters. Full title *Nichi'iki Sōdō shoso Dōgen Zenji shingi* 日域曹洞初祖道元禪師清規. The major writings of Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253) on the regulations and ideals of monastic life and practice, first published as a single work in 1667 by Kōshō Chidō 光紹智堂 (d. 1670), thirtieth abbot of Eihei-ji. The six chapters are: "Tenzō kyōkun" 典座教訓 (Instructions for the cook); "Bendōhō" 辦道法 (Procedures for pursuing the Way); "Fu shukuhanpō" 赴粥飯法 (Procedures for taking food); "Shuryō shingi" 衆寮清規 (Regulations for the common quarters); "Tai daiko goge jari hō" 対大己五夏闍梨法 (Regulations for treating one's seniors); "Chiji shingi" 知事清規 (Rules of purity for stewards). Over twelve years were required to complete the work, from "Tenzō kyōkun" to "Chiji shingi."

*Enmyō Kokushi gyōjitsu nenpu* 圓明國師行實年譜 (Chronology of the life of National Teacher Enmyō), 1 fascicle. Full title *Juhō kaisan Hattō Enmyō Kokushi gyōjitsu nenpu* 鷲峰開山法燈圓明國師行實年譜. A biographical work setting forth in chronological order the important events in the life of the early Japanese Zen master Shinchi Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298). Kakushin transmitted to Japan the lineage of Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260), a distinguished master of the late Southern Song dynasty. The compilation of the *Nenpu* is attributed to Shōkun 聖薫 (n.d.), a third-generation disciple of Shinchi.

*Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論 (Discourse on the two entrances and the four practices). Another miscellany of texts that, like the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (Bodhidharma's six gates), is attributed to Bodhidharma, although there is no evidence that he was the actual author. The "two entrances" are the entrance of principle ("abandoning the false and returning to the true") and the entrance of practice; the "four practices" are the practice of 1) accepting apparent injustices; 2) accepting circumstances; 3) detachment or non-seeking; 4) being in accord with the dharma (Dunhuang MSS, S 2715).

*Fahua jing* 法華經. The general name for the various Chinese translations of the Sanskrit *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sutra* (*The Lotus of the True Dharma* or simply *Lotus Sutra*). Probably composed in North India early in the first century CE, the *Lotus Sutra* is one of the first Mahayana sutras and one of the most popular, with Sanskrit manuscripts found widely throughout Nepal, Gilgit, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. The extant Sanskrit text consists of twenty-seven chapters, with prose sections interspersed with verse recapitulations. The sutra teaches that the ultimate goal of the Buddhist Way is the attainment of buddhahood via the "buddha vehicle" (buddhayāna), also known as the "one true vehicle" (ekayāna). The Three Vehicles—the śrāvaka,

pratyekabuddha, and bodhisattva—are simply expedient means for bringing sentient beings to the ekayāna. Furthermore, buddhahood is universally accessible to all sentient beings, even the icchantika, people traditionally believed to have no possibility of reaching enlightenment. The sutra also describes the Buddha as an eternal being, who manifests from time to time to continue his work toward the "one great cause" of liberating all sentient beings before passing away again into nirvana.

The earliest Chinese translation of the sutra was a partial one, now lost, made about 235 CE. There have been five other translations, of which the following three are extant: 1) *Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經, 10 fascicles (T 9: #263), translated in 286 by the Scythian monk Dharmarakṣa (C., Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313); 2) *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, 7 fascicles (T 9: #262), also known as the *Fahua jing* 法華經, translated in 406 by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409); 3) *Tianpin miaofa lianhua jing* 添品妙法蓮華經, 7 fascicles (T 9: #264), translated in 601 by Jñānagupta (C., She'najueduo 闍那崛多, 523–600) and Dharmagupta (C., Damojiduo 達磨笈多, d. 619). Of these, Kumārajīva's *Miaofa lianhua jing* has always been the most popular. Kumārajīva's original translation was supplemented a little less than a century after its publication by the monks Faxian 法獻 and Dharmamati (C., Fayi 法意), who added the important "Devadatta" and "Samantamukha" chapters. The *Lotus Sutra* is the basic text for the Tiantai 天臺 school and the Japanese Nichiren 日蓮 school, and it has been influential in most other traditions of Mahayana Buddhism as well. It is much read in the Zen school, with the *Guanyin jing* 觀音經 (*Lotus Sutra* chapter 25, the "Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin" 觀世音菩薩普門品 [Chapter on the universal gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara]) utilized as a separate sutra for daily chanting in morning services. Several modern English translations of the *Lotus Sutra* exist; see SOOTHILL 1930; MURANO 1974; WATSON 1993.

*Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊 (Praising the profundity of the *Lotus Sutra*), 10 fascicles (T 34: #1723). Full title *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊; date of publication unknown. A commentary on the meaning of the *Lotus Sutra* from the perspective of Yogācāra thought, compiled by Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), the first patriarch of the Faxiang 法相 (Chinese Yogācāra) school. Kuiji interpreted the sutra in a way quite different from other commentators, and quite different from the actual words of the sutra, asserting that the Three Vehicles (triyāna) represent the truth, with the one true vehicle (ekayāna) being an expedient.

*Fahua yishu* 法華義疏 (Commentary on the meaning of the *Lotus Sutra*), 12 fascicles (T 34: #1721). Date of publication unknown. This is one of several commentaries on the *Lotus Sutra* by the great Sanlun 三論 scholar Jizang 吉藏 (549–623), with many valuable citations from sutras and the theses and commentaries of other scholars.

*Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經 (The light-emitting perfection of wisdom sutra), 20 fascicles (T 8: #221). Also known as the *Fangguang bore boluomi jing* 放光般若波羅蜜經. This is the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sutra* (Larger wisdom sutra) as translated around 291 by Mokṣala (C., Wuluocha 無羅叉 or Zhu Luocha 竺羅叉; 3c) and Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 (dates and Indian name unknown). See *Bore jing* 般若經 and *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經.

*Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (Brahma-net sutra), 2 fascicles (T 24: #1484). Also known as the *Fanwang jing lushe'nafo shuo pusa xindi jie pin* 梵網經盧舍那佛說菩薩心地戒品, the *Fanwang pusa jie jing* 梵網菩薩戒經 and the *Pusa jie jing* 菩薩戒經. The translation is attributed to Kumārajīva, although most contemporary scholars regard it as a fourth-century Chinese composition. Its influence on the formation of East Asian Buddhism was nevertheless immense, as it comprises the fundamental text setting forth the Mahayana bodhisattva precepts. These precepts, consisting of ten grave precepts and forty-eight lesser precepts and emphasizing compassion toward all sentient beings, were highly valued in China, Korea, Vietnam, and Japan (where they became the sole precepts taken by many clerics).

*Fayan Chanshi yulu* 法演禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Fayan), 3 fascicles (T 47: #1995). Full title *Wuzu Fayan Chanshi yulu* 五祖法演禪師語錄. The sermons, verses, and inscriptions of the Chan master Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 (1024?–1104), with prefaces dated 1095. It was first published in 1098, while Fayan was still alive. Fascicle 1 consists of three series of sermons: those delivered while the master was at Mount Simian 四面 (compiled by his disciple Cailiang 才良), those delivered while he was at Mount Taiping 太平 (compiled by Qingyuan 清遠), and those delivered while he was at the temple Haihui si 海會寺 (compiled by Jingchun 景淳); fascicle 2 consists of sermons delivered at Mount Baiyun 白雲 Haihui si 海會寺; and fascicle 3 consists of sermons delivered at Mount Huangmei 黃梅, plus poems and postscripts.

*Fayuan yilin* 法苑義林. See *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章.

*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Precious grove of the dharma garden), 100 fascicles (T 53: #2122). Completed in 668, the *Fayuan zhulin* is an encyclopedic compilation of scriptural passages and Buddhist miracle stories by Daoshi 道世 (591–683), a disciple of the great Chinese scholar-monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) and one of the founders of the Chinese Vinaya school. The text, a history of Chinese Buddhism up until that time, contains detailed information on Buddhist cosmology, Buddhist biography, and innumerable other topics including folklore and legend. Lengthy quotations from Buddhist sutras and treatises, historical works, literature, and a wide range of other sources provide knowledge of texts that are now lost or very difficult to obtain.

*Fazhu jing* 法住經. See *Fo lin niepan ji fazhu jing* 佛臨涅槃記法住經.

*Fenyang Wude Chanshi yulu* 汾陽無德禪師語録 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Fenyang Wude), 3 fascicles (T 47: #1992). Also called the *Fenyang Zhao Chanshi yulu* 汾陽昭禪師語録, and often abbreviated as the *Fenyang lu* 汾陽録, this work records the sermons, talks, verses, and various writings of Chan master Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024). Compiled by the master's chief dharma heir, Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 (986–1039), with a preface by the government official Yang Yi 楊億 (968–1024). The work is notable in that, in addition to Fenyang's sermons 上堂, informal discourses 小參, and exchanges 問答, it records his verse commentaries on the Five Ranks 五位 of Dongshan Liangjie 洞山良价 (807–869)—the first such commentary by a Linji master. It is also notable for the three collections of koans in fascicle 2 that became models for the subsequent koan collections *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古 (the original version of the *Biyan lu* 碧巖録) and the *Xuedou baize niangu* 雪竇百則拈古 (the original version of the *Jijie lu* 擊節録).

*Fo lin niepan ji fazhu jing* 佛臨涅槃記法住經 (Sutra of the abiding dharma, recorded as the Buddha was about to enter nirvana), 1 fascicle (T 12: #390). Abbreviated as the *Fazhu jing* 法住經, and also known as the *Wuliangshou gongyang yigui* 無量壽供養儀軌. A translation by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) in 652 of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*, in which the Buddha, just before entering nirvana, foretells at the request of Ānanda the decline of the true Dharma during the thousand-year period following his death, and prophesyes the coming of a dharma-protecting bodhisattva.

*Fochui banniepan lueshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略説教誡經. See *Foyijiao jing* 佛遺教經.

*Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 (Treatise on the *Buddhabhūmi Sutra* [*Fodi jing* 佛地經; Buddha-stage sutra]), 7 fascicles (T 26: #1530). Also known as the *Fodi lun* 佛地論. A treatise by Bandhuprabha (C., Qinguang 親光) on the buddha-stages as understood from the standpoint of Yogācāra thought. The text explains the *Buddhabhūmi Sutra* in terms of the qualities of pure dharmadhātu 清淨法界 and the four wisdoms (great perfect mirror wisdom 大圓鏡智, universal nature wisdom 平等性智, marvelous observing wisdom 妙觀察智, and perfecting-of-action wisdom 成所作智). Bandhuprabha's text was translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) in 650.

*Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 (Sutra of the victorious Buddha-crown dhāraṇī), 1 fascicle (T 19: #967). Also known as *Zunsheng tuoluoni* 尊勝陀羅尼. Translated in 682 by the Kashmirian monk Buddhapāli (C., Fotuoboli 佛陀波利, 637–735). According to Buddhapāli's biography in the SG (T 50: 717c), he traveled from his home in North India to Mount Wutai 五臺 hoping to meet Mañjuśrī. When he arrived on the mountain in 676 the bodhisattva appeared to him as an old man, and instructed him to

return to India and bring back to China the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing*. Buddhapāli did so, and translated the sutra with the Chinese monk Shunzhen 順貞 (n.d.) and others. This has remained the most popular of several translations, which include the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經, by Du Xingyi 杜行顗 (7c) (T 19: #968); the *Foding zuisheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂最勝陀羅尼經, by Divākara (C., Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅, 613–688) (T 19: #969); and the *Foshuo foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛說佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經, by Yijing 義淨 (635–713) (T 19: #971). According to legend, the versions by Du Xingyi and Divākara were the first to be made, but, since the emperor did not wish the translations to leave the palace, the sutra was retranslated by Buddhapāli and Shunzhen.

*Foguo Keqin Chanshi xinyao* 佛果克勤禪師心要 (Essentials of Chan Master Foguo Keqin), 2 fascicles (X 69: #1357). Also known as *Foguo Yuanwu Zhenjue Chanshi xinyao* 佛果圜悟眞覺禪師心要 and *Yuanwu Chanshi xinyao* 圜悟禪師心要. A collection of 140 short writings by the Chan master Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135) on the essentials of Chan, addressed to the master's lay and ordained disciples.

*Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi yulu* 佛果圜悟禪師語録. See *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 圜悟佛果禪師語録.

*Foguo Yuanwu Keqin Chanshi biyan lu* 佛果圜悟克勤禪師碧巖錄. See *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄.

*Foshuo da anban shouyi jing* 佛說大安般守意經. See *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經.

*Foshuo guanfo sanmeihai jing* 佛說觀佛三昧海經. See *Guanfo sanmeihai jing* 觀佛三昧海經.

*Foshuo guan wuliangshou fo jing* 佛說觀無量壽佛經. See *Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經.

*Foshuo Mile dachengfo jing* 佛說彌勒大成佛經. See *Mile dachengfo jing* 彌勒大成佛經.

*Foshuo Shiyimian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 佛說十一面觀世音神呪經. See *Shiyimian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀音神呪經.

*Foshuo wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經. See *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經.

*Foshuo Yangjueji jing* 佛說鴦崛髻經 (*Aṅgulimāla Sutra* preached by Buddha), 1 fascicle (T 2: #119). Translated by Faju 法炬 (4c). The text relates the story of the bandit Aṅgulimāla, who kills travelers and villagers until converted to the spiritual path by Śākyamuni. Aṅgulimāla joined the Buddhist sangha and eventually attained arhathood.

*Foshuo Yangjuemo jing* 佛說鴦崛摩經 (*Aṅgulimāla Sutra* preached by Buddha), 1 fascicle (T 2: #118). Translated by the Scythian monk Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313). For a description of the basic contents, see entry above.

*Foxing lun* 佛性論 (Thesis on buddha-nature), 4 fascicles (T 31: #1610). Author-

ship is attributed to Vasubandhu (C., Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親); translated by Paramārtha (C., Zhendi 眞諦, 499–569). The *Foxing lun* explains in detail the concept of buddha-nature from a Mahayana perspective, citing passages from the *Lotus Sutra*, the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (The lion's roar of Queen Śrīmālā sutra), and other texts. It proclaims the universality of the buddha-nature, and argues against the positions of the Hinayana and non-Buddhist schools.

*Foyijiao jing* 佛遺教經 (Sutra of bequeathed teachings), 1 fascicle (T 12: #389). Full title *Fochui banniepan lueshuo jiaojie jing* 佛垂般涅槃略說教誡經. Translated by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409). This sutra is traditionally regarded as the Buddha's final teaching delivered just prior to his entering nirvana, in which he explains the most important points of his teachings and otherwise instructs his students on how to follow the Way following his departure. However, discovery of the Sanskrit text of the *Buddhacarita* (an epic biography of the Buddha by the great Mahayana poet Aśvaghoṣa [100–c. 160]) revealed that the sutra was a Chinese rendering of the section of the *Buddhacarita* dealing with the end of the Buddha's life.

*Fu Dashi lu* 傅大士錄 (Record of Fu Dashi). See *Shanhui Dashi lu* 善慧大士錄.

*Fu Dashi xinwang ming* 傅大士心王銘. See *Xinwang ming* 心王銘.

*Fuzhou Xuansha Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 福州玄沙宗一大師廣録. See *Xuansha Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 玄沙宗一大師廣錄.

*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks), 14 fascicles (T 50: #2059). Sometimes called the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳, as it was written during the Liang dynasty (502–557); this title also serves to distinguish it from subsequent works in the "Eminent Monk" genre, written in later dynasties. Compiled by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), the *Gaoseng zhuan* contains the biographies of five hundred monks who were active between the years 67 (the traditional date of Buddhism's transmission to China) and 519 (the year of the *Gaoseng zhuan*'s completion). The collection divides the monks into ten categories, depending upon their area of eminence: translation, doctrinal exegesis, miracle working, meditation, vinaya, asceticism or martyrdom, sutra expertise, benefaction, defending the dharma, and chanting. Subsequent "Eminent Monk" collections were: 1) the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Supplementary "Biographies of eminent monks"; also known as the *Tang gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳, Tang-dynasty "Biographies of eminent monks"), 30 fascicles (T 50: #2060); 2) the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song-dynasty "Biographies of eminent monks"), 30 fascicles (T 50: #2061); and 3) the *Da Ming gaoseng zhuan* 大明高僧傳 (Ming-dynasty "Biographies of eminent monks"), 8 fascicles (T 50: #2062).

*Genben shuo yiqie you bu nituona* 根本說一切有部尼陀那 (Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school), 10 fascicles (T 24: #1452). Translated in 703 by Chinese monk Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who brought back to China from his

long pilgrimage in India the vinaya (precepts) of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school, one of the later subdivisions of the Sarvāstivādin school.

*Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳 (*Old Tales of [Mount] Qingliang*), 2 fascicles (T 51: #2098). Compiled during the Gaozong 高宗 era (649–689) by the Tang monk Huixiang 慧祥 (n.d.), the book contains information about Mount Wutai 五臺, the famous holy mountain located in Shanxi Province that is sacred to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The book explains the origin of the mountain's name, describes its physical features and Buddhist sites, relates tales of famous pilgrims, etc. It was known as the *Qingliangshan zhuan* 清凉山傳 (Tales of Mount Qingliang) until the publication of later, similar works on the mountain such as the *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清凉傳 (Comprehensive *Tales of [Mount] Qingliang*; T 51: #2099), written in 1060 by the Song monk Yanyi 延一 (n.d.); and the *Xu qingliang zhuan* 續清凉傳 (Supplementary *Tales of [Mount] Qingliang*; T 51: #2100), by the Chinese official (and later prime minister) Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121).

*Guan jing* 觀經. See *Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經.

*Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經 (Sutra on the contemplation of eternal life), 1 fascicle (T 12: #365). Full title *Foshuo guan wuliang shou fo jing* 佛說觀無量壽佛經; usually abbreviated as *Guan jing* 觀經. The Chinese translation of the *Amitāyur-dhyāna Sutra* (reconstructed Sanskrit title), produced in 424 by Kālayaśas (C., Jiangliangyeshe 畺良耶舍, 383–442). It is probable that the text originated in Central Asia or China, as there is no extant Sanskrit text or Tibetan translation. This is one of the three principal sutras of the Pure Land school of Buddhism, along with the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Sutra on eternal life) and the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (Sutra of Amitābha). The term "eternal life" of the title is a synonym for the name Amitābha (C., Amituo 阿彌陀), the central buddha of the Pure Land tradition. In the sutra Śākyamuni preaches to Vaidehī, the queen of Magadha, whose husband, King Bimbisāra, has been imprisoned by their evil son. The Buddha, using supernatural powers, shows her various buddhas' pure lands, including Amitābha's Pure Land of Bliss, as places where the queen could realize her wish to live in a place where true happiness is possible. Vaidehī chooses Amitābha's Pure Land, whereupon Śākyamuni describes to her sixteen contemplations to enable her to attain rebirth there. The sutra attracted much attention in China, inspiring the *Guan wuliangshou fo jing shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏, the important commentary by Shandao 善導 (613–681) that greatly influenced the development of the Chinese and Japanese Pure Land traditions.

*Guanchang xianxing ji* 官場現形記 (Officialdom unmasked), by the Qing-dynasty writer Li Baojia 李寶嘉 (1867–1906). The novel, published in serialized form during 1903–1905 in Li's magazine *Xiuxiang Xiaoshuo* 繡像小說 (Illustrated fiction), was a sharp satire of the Chinese bureaucracy.

*Guanfo sanmeihai jing* 觀佛三昧海經 (Sutra on the samādhi-ocean of contem-

plating buddha), 10 fascicles (T 16: #643). Full title *Foshuo guanfo sanmeihai jing* 佛說觀佛三昧海經, often abbreviated to *Guanfo sanmei jing* 觀佛三昧經. A Chinese translation of the *Buddhadhyāna-samādhisāgara Sutra* by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra (C., Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429). In the sutra Śākyamuni preaches the Samādhi-ocean of Contemplating Buddha in answer to a question from his father. Śākyamuni explains the various ways of contemplating a buddha and his spiritual and physical qualities, and the emancipating benefits of doing so. The sutra is also notable for its description of a buddha's thirty-two primary physical characteristics and eighty secondary marks.

*Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳 (Comprehensive *Tales of [Mount] Qingliang*), 3 fascicles (T 51: #2099). A continuation of the *Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳 (see entry for this text).

*Guangdeng lu* 廣燈錄. See *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄.

*Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通誌 (Comprehensive gazetteer of Guangdong), 334 fascicles. By Chen Changqi 陳昌齊 (1743–1820); Jiang Fan 江藩 (1761–1831); Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849); et al. Compiled in 1818.

*Guangzan jing* 光讚經 (Sutra in praise of the light). See *Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經.

*Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on contemplating mind), 1 fascicle. The same text as the *Po xiang lun* 破相論 (Treatise on the cessation of thoughts), a work attributed to Bodhidharma but now known to have been written by Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), the patriarch of the Northern school. The *Guanxin lun* presents Shenxiu's teachings on the central importance of meditation: "Question: If a person wanted to seek the enlightenment of buddhahood, what would be the most quintessential *dharma* he could cultivate? Answer: Only the single *dharma* of contemplating the mind, which completely encompasses all practices, [may be called] the most quintessential…. All the various *dharma*s are simply the product of the mind. If one can comprehend the mind, then the myriad practices will all be accomplished" (McRae 1986, p. 207).

*Guanxin lun* 觀心論 (Treatise on contemplating mind), 1 fascicle (T 46: #1920). Full title *Guanxin lun yi ming jianru lun* 觀心論亦名煎乳論. Based on a discourse given by the Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) just prior to his death, and described by him as his last testament. The discourse focuses on such central Tiantai doctrines and practices as the Four Teachings (the Tripiṭaka 三藏教, shared 通教, distinct 別教, and complete 圓教 teachings), the Four Methods of Instruction (direct or sudden 頓教, gradual 漸教, esoteric 祕密教, and indeterminate 不定教), the Four Types of Samādhi (constant sitting 常坐三昧, constant walking 常行三昧, half-walking and half-sitting 半行半坐三昧, and unspecified 非行非坐三昧), and the Ten Methods of Contemplation 十乘觀法.

*Guanxin lun yi ming jianru lun* 觀心論亦名煎乳論. See previous entry, *Guanxin lun* 觀心論.

*Guanyin jing shu* 觀音經疏. See *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏.

*Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏 (Commentary on the meaning of "The universal gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara"), 2 fascicles (T 34: 1728). Also known as the *Pumen pin shu* 普門品疏, the *Biexing yishu* 別行義疏 and the *Guanyin jing shu* 觀音經疏, this work is a commentary by the Tiantai master Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) on the "Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin" 觀世音菩薩普門品 (Chapter on the universal gate of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) of the *Lotus Sutra*. The commentary, compiled by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) from discourses delivered by the master, reflects the great popularity of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in China. The *Guanyin yishu*, utilizing many passages from earlier commentaries on the "Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin," presents a detailed discussion of the meaning of Avalokiteśvara and the Universal Gate.

*Guishan Dayuan Chanshi jingce* 潙山大圓禪師警策. See *Guishan jingce* 潙山警策.

*Guishan jingce* 潙山警策 (Guishan's admonitions), 1 fascicle. Full title *Guishan Dayuan Chanshi jingce* 潙山大圓禪師警策. An early Chinese Zen text by Guishan Dayuan 潙山大圓 (771–853), an eminent master more commonly referred to as Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐. The *Guishan jingce*, together with the *Foyijiao jing* 佛遺教經 (Sutra of bequeathed teachings) and the *Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (Sutra in forty-two chapters), is one of the "Three Sutras of the Buddhas and Ancestors" 佛祖三經, a collection of three short writings dealing with the attitude and behavior appropriate for Chan monastics. The short text comprised Guishan's appeal for deepened reflection and self-discipline on the part of the individual monks and nuns. The *Admonitions* soon became an important introductory text for Zen monastics in China, and won early appreciation in Japan as well. A copy was presented by the Chinese master Fozhao Deguang 佛照德光 (1122–1203) to the Japanese meditation master Dainichi Nōnin 大日能忍 (d. 1195?), who had it reprinted and distributed in Japan. This is thought to have been the first Zen text ever published in that country. The text is composed of two parts, the first in prose and the second in verse.

*Guisi leigao* 癸巳類稿 (Classified documents of the Guisi era), 15 fascicles. A compilation by the Qing-dynasty scholar Yu Zhengxie 俞正燮 (1775–1840) of a wide variety of documents relating to the classics 經, history 史, geography 輿地, medicine 醫, local dialects 方言, etc.

*Gujiyin* 孤寂吟 (Song of solitude), 1 fascicle. A long poem by the eccentric Chan master Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (738–823).

*Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (Recorded sayings of the ancient worthies), 48 fascicles (X 68: #1315). Also known as the *Chongke guzunsu yulu* 重刻古尊宿語錄. A revision of the earlier *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 and *Xu guzunsu*

*yuyao* 續古尊宿語要 (Supplementary recorded sayings of the ancient worthies), with material from several other masters. The collection, compiled by the laywoman Juexin 覺心 (n.d.) in 1267, includes the records of thirty-six masters, starting with Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and concluding with Fozhao Deguang 佛照德光 (1122–1203); the complete text of the LL is included in fascicle 4.

*Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (Essential sayings of the ancient worthies), 4 fascicles (X 68: #1316 [table of contents only]). A collection of the records of twenty eminent Chan masters, compiled by Sengting Shouze 僧挺守賾 (n.d.; also referred to as Ze Zangzhu 賾藏主) of Mount Gu 鼓 and published in 1144. The records started with those of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835) and concluded with those of Zhimen Guangzuo 智門光祚 (d. 1031). The text is no longer extant, but most of the records that were included also appear in the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄.

*Hanshan shi* 寒山詩 (Poems of Hanshan), 2 fascicles. Full title *Hanshan shi ji* 寒山詩集; also known as the *Sanyin ji* 三隱集 (Collection of the three recluses). A collection of the poems of the three semi-legendary hermits Hanshan 寒山, Shide 拾得, and Fenggan 豐干, who are said to have lived at or around the temple Guoqing si 國清寺 on Mount Tiantai 天台. It is not known exactly when Hanshan lived; estimates of his dates range from the seventh to the ninth centuries. He is said to have written his poems on rocks and walls around Mount Tiantai; these were later written down by Lü Qiuyin 閭丘胤 (n.d.), the traditional editor of the collection. Fascicle 1 of the text contains Hanshan's poetry; fascicle 2 contains poems by Shide and Fenggan. There are several editions of the work, all having a preface by Lü Qiuyin and a postscript dated 1189 by Zhinan 志南 (n.d.) The earliest extant edition dates from the Song. The collection is one of the most widely read works in all of Chan literature.

*Heze Dashi xianzong ji* 荷澤大師顯宗記. See *Xianzong ji* 顯宗記.

*Heze Shenhui Chanshi yulu* 荷澤神會禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Heze Shenhui), 1 fascicle. Also entitled *Luojing Heze Shenhui Dashi yu* 洛京荷澤神會大師語. A short collection of the recorded sayings of Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758), the chief early proponent of the Southern school of Chan. The present text is based on three Dunhuang manuscripts: 1) *Nanyang heshang wenda zazheng yi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義; 2) Hu Shi text 胡適本; 3) Ishii text 石井本.

*Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Chronicles of the Later Han), 120 fascicles. One of the four early Chinese official histories, together with the *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the grand historian), 130 fascicles, compiled 109–91 BCE by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–90 BCE); the *Han shu* 漢書 (Chronicles of the Han), 100 volumes, compiled by Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54), Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), and Ban Zhao 班昭 (1st c.); and the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), 65

fascicles, compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297). The *Hou Han shu*, covering the history of the Later Han dynasty (25–220), was compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–446), who drew on the earlier historical compilations, particularly the *Sanguo zhi*, and also numerous other works now lost. Fan left the *Hou Han shu* unfinished at his death; Liu Zhao 劉昭 (fl. 502–520) of the Liang 梁 dynasty appended the eight records (30 fascicles) of the *Xu Han shu* 続漢書 (Supplement to the *Chronicles of the Han*), by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (240–306), to complete the compilation in the form we now have it.

*Huangbo Duanji Chanshi chuanxin fayao* 黃檗斷際禪師傳心法要. See *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要.

*Huangbo Duanji Chanshi wanling lu* 黃蘗斷際禪師宛陵録. See *Wanling lu* 宛陵録.

*Huangbo Duanji yulu* 黃檗斷際語錄. See *Huangbo Xiyun Chanshi yulu* 黃檗希運禪師語錄.

*Huangbo Xiyun Chanshi yulu* 黃檗希運禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Huangbo Xiyun), 1 fascicle (X 68: #1315, 14a–16b). Also known as the *Huangbo Duanji yulu* 黃檗斷際語錄. A short work, the only existing text for which is in GY 2, consists of the formal and informal sermons delivered by Huangbo. The contents correspond to the latter half of the *Wanling lu* 宛陵録 (see also entry for this text).

*Huayan dashu chao* 華嚴大疏鈔. See *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔.

*Huayan fajie xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡 (Profound mirror on the *Avataṃsaka* dharma-world), 2 fascicles (T 45: 1883). A commentary, dated 807, by the fourth Huayan patriarch Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838) on the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 (Gates of contemplation on the *Avataṃsaka* dharma-world). The latter work, by Du Shun 杜順 (557–640), the first patriarch of the Huayan school, expounds the three types of Huayan dharma-realm meditation: 1) meditation on the view that śūnyatā comprises the true nature of all phenomena 眞空觀; 2) meditation on the nonobstruction of principle and phenomena 理事無礙觀; and 3) meditation on universal inclusion, the view that each and every phenomenon interrelates with and interpenetrates all other phenomena 周遍含容觀 or 事事無礙觀. The *Huayan fajie xuanjing* comments on these meditations, and explains the relationship between the ten gates of meditation on universal inclusion 周遍含容觀十門 and the Huayan ten mystic gates 十玄門.

*Huayan jing* 華嚴經. Full title *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經. The general name for the various translations of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* (Garland [or Wreath] Sutra). The original Sanskrit text, no longer extant in full, is believed to have been compiled in South India during the fourth century CE. One of the class of "mahāvaipulya" sutras (大方廣經, "broad" or "comprehensive" sutras, composed of several shorter, often originally

independent texts), the sutra formed the doctrinal basis of the influential Huayan 華嚴 school of Chinese Buddhism. It is traditionally regarded as being the Buddha's sermon on the ultimate nature of truth, delivered in the weeks immediately after his enlightenment. It presents the view of the world as seen through the eyes of a fully awakened being, in which all existence is a manifestation of the universal reality of the Buddha, arising simultaneously and interdependently out of the dharmadhātu (dharma realm) and thus fully interrelated and interpenetrating. The *Huayan jing* comprises two main portions that were originally distinct sutras: the *Daśabhūmika Sutra*, which describes the stages of development of a bodhisattva on the path to enlightenment; and the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha Sutra*, which in the *Huayan jing* constitutes the "Ru fajie pin" 入法界品 (Chapter on entering the Dharma Land), describing the youth Sudhana's search for enlightenment in the form of a journey to visit fifty-three teachers. Two Chinese translations of the complete sutra were made: 1) *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of buddha), 60 fascicles. Translated by the Indian monk Buddhabhadra (C., Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429) in the years 418–420. Also known as the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經. This is the so-called "Old Translation" or "Sixty-Fascicle Edition" (T 9: #278). 2) *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (Comprehensive sutra on the adornments of buddha), 80 fascicles. Translated by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda (C., Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) in the years 695–699 CE. This is the so-called "New Translation" or "Eighty-Fascicle Edition" (T 10: #279). In addition, the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha Sutra* was translated separately by the Kashmirian monk Prajñā (C., Bore 般若, n.d.) in 796–798.

*Huayan jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記 (Investigation of the mysteries of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), 20 fascicles (T 35: #1733). Short title *Tanxuanji* 探玄記. A commentary by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), third patriarch of the Huayan school, on the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, the so-called "Old Translation" or "Sixty-Fascicle Edition" of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. The first fascicle of the commentary consists of nine introductory chapters, discussing the circumstances in which the sutra was preached, its position among the Buddhist teachings, the Huayan school's classification of the sutras, the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*'s central teachings, the meaning of its title, the history of its transmission to China, etc. Fascicles 2–20 consist of a detailed commentary on the sutra's contents, citing numerous other sutras, treatises, and commentaries in an attempt to elucidate the text's profoundest meanings.

*Huayan jing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門 (One hundred issues relating to the meaning of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1875). Often abbreviated as *Yihai baimen* 義海百門. A commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), third patriarch of the Huayan school; date of publication unknown. The text discusses in one hundred sections the central

Huayan doctrine of the "universal causality of the dharmadhātu" 法界緣起, and was a central text of the Huayan school.

*Huozhuyin* 獲珠吟 (Song on obtaining the pearl), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076). A 162-character poem by Venerable Guannan 關南長老 (n.d.).

*Jiangxi Mazu Daoyi Chanshi yulu* 江西馬祖道一禪師語錄. See *Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄.

*Jiashe jie jing* 迦葉結經 (Sutra of Kāśyapa), 1 fascicle (T 49: #2027). A translation by An Shigao 安世高 (2nd c.) of a sutra describing the First Buddhist Council, said to have been convened in Rājagṛha by the senior monk Kāśyapa several months after the Buddha's death to preserve the teachings in the form the Buddha taught them. The council, which according to tradition was attended by five hundred arhats, codified the sutras (the Buddha's sermons) and vinaya (monastic rules of discipline). The *Jiashe jie jing* reports Ānanda's recitation of the sutras, but not Upāli's recitation of the vinaya.

*Jikaku Daishi shōrai mokuroku* 慈覺大師將來目錄 (Catalogue of materials brought by Jikaku Daishi). This is the full catalogue of all of the various texts, mandala, images, and other materials that Jikaku Daishi Ennin 慈覺大師圓仁 (794–864), third patriarch of the Japanese Tendai 天台 school, sent or brought back with him from his ten-year stay (838–847) in Tang-dynasty China. The *Jikaku Daishi shōrai mokuroku* is actually a composite work, compiled by Ennin's disciples, of three earlier catalogues: 1) the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 (see entry); 2) the *Jikaku Daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄 (see entry); 3) the *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (see entry).

*Jikaku Daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄; full title *Tendai Hokkeshū Shin'eki Ennin hōshi shogu shosō hōmon mandara narabi ni gesho tō mokuroku* 天台法華宗請益圓仁法師且求所送法門曼荼羅并外書等目錄 (A catalogue of the mandalas, texts, etc. sought and sent back by Dharma Master Shin'eki Ennin of the Tendai Lotus School), 1 fascicle (T 55: #2166). This catalogue lists the various sutras, śāstras, vinaya texts, biographies, commentaries, mandalas, portraits, Shingon ritual texts, and non-Buddhist works that Ennin sent back to Japan from Yangzhou 揚州, where he resided between 838 and 839, prior to his departure for the monastery on Mount Wutai 五臺. The materials, transported by the Japanese envoy, were delivered to Enryaku-ji 延曆寺 on Mount Hiei 比叡. Upon arrival they were examined and catalogued by a certain Wada 和田, secretary to the envoy, with the aid of the monks Ninzen 仁全 (n.d.), Chitetsu 治哲 (n.d.), and Eidō 叡道 (n.d.). The compilation, dated 840, is slightly different in content from the catalogue prepared earlier in China by Ennin himself, entitled the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 (see entry).

*Jin shu* 晉書 (Chronicles of the Jin), 130 fascicles. An official Chinese history

that covers the Jin dynasty (265–420) and the Sixteen Kingdoms (304–439); published in 648. The history was commissioned by the Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (599–649) and compiled by a group of scholars headed by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648). The book is numbered among the Twenty-four Histories of China.

*Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經. The *Vajracchedika-prajñāpāramitā Sutra* (Diamond-cutter perfection of wisdom sutra) as translated by Kumārajīva. See *Jingang jing* 金剛經.

*Jingang bore boluomi jing lun* 金剛般若波羅蜜經論 (Treatise on the *Diamond-cutter perfection of wisdom sutra*), 3 fascicles (T 25: #1511). Also called the *Jingang bore jing lun* 金剛般若經論 and the *Jingang bore lun* 金剛般若論. A translation by Bodhiruci of a treatise ascribed to Vasubandhu (C., Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親). Published in 509. Properly speaking it is not a treatise, but verses ascribed to the Yogācāra patriarch Maitreya (C., Mile 彌勒; 4th c.?) on the *Diamond Sutra*, with a commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu on these verses. A separate translation of the original treatise was made by Yijing 義淨 (635-713) under the title *Nengduan jingang bore boluomiduo jing lun shi* 能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經論釋, published in 711 (T 25: #1513).

*Jingang jing* 金剛經. The general name for the various translations of the Sanskrit *Vajracchedika-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* (Diamond-cutter perfection of wisdom sutra). This short sutra, part of the Mahayana perfection of wisdom (prajñā pāramitā) literature, takes the form of a discussion by the Buddha and his disciple Subhūti, on the nature of prajñā and śūnyatā. The *Diamond Sutra*, which has been highly esteemed in the Zen school since the time of the Sixth Patriarch, stresses the non-abiding mind of the bodhisattva, in which both act and actor are empty of all attachment. The Chinese translations are as follows: 1) *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, translated by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409) in 401 (T 8: #235); 2) *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, translated by Bodhiruci (C., Putiliuzhi 菩提流支, 6th c.) in 509 (T 8: #236); 3) *Jingang bore boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經, translated by Paramārtha (C., Zhendi 眞諦, 500–569) in 558 (T 8: #237); 4) *Jingang nengduan bore boluomi jing* 金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經, translated by Dharmagupta (C., Jiduo 笈多 ) in 615 (T 8: #238); 5) *Nengduan jingang bore boluomiduo jing* 能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經, translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) in 648; this version appears as the *Di jiu nengduan jingang fen* 第九能斷金剛分, in section 9 of fascicle 577 of the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (T 7: #220, 980a–985c); 6) *Foshuo nengduan jingang bore boluomiduo jing* 佛說能斷金剛般若波羅蜜多經 or *Nengduan jingang jing* 能斷金剛經, translated by Yijing 義淨 (635–713) in 703 (T 8: #239).

*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era *Record of the transmission of the lamp*), 30 fascicles (T 51: #2076). Usually abbreviated to *Chuandeng lu* 傳

燈錄. Compiled by Daoyuan 道原 (n. d.) of the temple Yong'an yuan 永安院 and edited by the government official Yang Yi 楊億 (974–1024). The first edition, completed in 1004 and published in 1011, is now lost. The second edition is dated 1132. The *Chuandeng lu* gives chronologically arranged biographies of important Chan figures, from the legendary Seven Buddhas of the Past to masters of the tenth century. The names of 1,701 Chan personages are listed, with biographies given for 951 of these; also included are many representative sermons, writings, sayings, and verses. The *Chuandeng lu* is a major source for the Chan koans.

*Jinghui Fayan Chanshi zongmen shigui lun* 淨慧法眼禅師宗門十規論. See *Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論.

*Jingtu lun zhu* 淨土論註. See *Wangsheng lun zhu* 往生論註.

*Jinguangming jing* 金光明經 (Golden light sutra), 4 fascicles (T 16: #663). A translation by the Indian monk Dharmakṣema (C., Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433?) of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa Sutra*, a Mahayana sutra of the "comprehensive" 方廣 genre, composed of several shorter, often originally independent texts. The sutra deals with a wide variety of topics, including the eternal nature of the dharmakāya, the ten stages of bodhisattva practice, and the protection accorded to nations by faith in this sutra. The *Jinguangming jing* attained wide popularity throughout Asia, and five Chinese translations were made, of which three are extant: 1) Dharmakṣema's translation; 2) the *Hebu jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經, translated by Baogui 寶貴 (n.d.) (T 16: #664), published in 597; and 3) the *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經, translated by Yijing 義淨 (635-713; T 16: #665), published in 703. In addition, there were translations into Tibetan and several other languages.

*Jingzhuan shici* 經傳釋詞 (Explanation of words in the classics), 10 fascicles. By Wang Yinzhi 王引之 (1766–1834). A compilation of notes on the meaning and usage of auxiliary characters in the Chinese canonical texts and records, such as the Confucian *Analects*.

*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Older chronicles of the Tang), 200 fascicles. The first of two official Chinese histories of the Tang dynasty, and one of the Twenty-four Histories of China. It was commissioned in 941 by the emperor Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭 (892–942), founder of the Later Jin Dynasty 後晉 (936–947), and completed in 945. The official and scholar Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946) headed the committee that compiled the text. The original name, which was simply *Tang shu* 唐書, was later altered to *Jiu Tang shu* in order to distinguish it from the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer chronicles of the Tang), compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061) and published in 1060.

*Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Older chronicles of the Five Dynasties), 150 fascicles. Also known as the *Liang Tang Jin Han Zhou shu* 梁唐晉漢周書 (Chronicles of the Liang, Tang, Jin, Han, and Zhou dynasties). The *Jiu Wudai shi* chronicled

the histories of the Later Liang 後梁 (907–923), Later Tang 後唐 (923–936), Later Jin 後晉 (936–947), Later Han 後漢 (947–951), and Later Zhou 後周 (951–960), the five states that controlled most of northern China between the Tang and the Song dynasties. Commissioned by the Song government to support that government's claim to the Mandate of Heaven, the work was compiled by the scholar-official Xue Juzheng 薛居正 (912–981) and published in 974. It was known simply as the *Wudai shi* 五代史 (Chronicles of the Five Dynasties) until the publication in 1053 of the *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (Newer chronicles of the Five Dynasties) by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072), after which it came to be called *Jiu Wudai shi* in order to distinguish it from the later work. The *Xin Wudai shi* became the better-known work and largely eclipsed the *Jiu Wudai shi*, but in 1775 the latter work was recompiled and subsequently canonized among the Twenty-four Histories.

*Jōwa ruishu soon renpōshū* 貞和類聚祖苑聯芳集 (Jōwa-era collection of verse from the ancestral garden), 10 fascicles. A Japanese *gozan bungaku* literary collection consisting of several thousand poems by Song- and Yuan-dynasty Chan monks; the poems were selected and edited by the renowned Japanese Zen master and *gozan* poet Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388). First published in 1388.

*Jueguan lun* 絕觀論 (On the cessation of notions), 1 fascicle. A text attributed to Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657), founder of the Niutou 牛頭 (Oxhead) school of Chan. The text is not included in the *Taishō* canon, although a short passage identified as being from this work is found in the ZL (T 48; #2016, 941a–b). However, the Dunhuang manuscripts have yielded several texts with passages matching those attributed to Niutou Farong in the ZL and ZJ. Although these manuscripts do not contain the ZL passage, scholars are of the opinion that they represent the original *Jueguan lun*.

*Juhō kaisan Hattō Enmyō Kokushi gyōjitsu nenpu* 鷲峰開山法燈圓明國師行實年譜. See *Enmyō Kokushi gyōjitsu nenpu* 圓明國師行實年譜.

*Jushe lun* 俱舍論 (Treasury of the Abhidharma), 30 fascicles (T 29: #1558). Full title *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論. Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakōśa śāstra*, as translated into Chinese by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) in 651. An earlier translation, entitled the *Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論, was made in 564 by Paramārtha (C., Zhendi 眞諦; 499–569) (T 29: #1559). The *Abhidharmakōśa śāstra* is generally regarded as the definitive treatise on the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school, the most influential of the early Buddhist schools. The first part of the text sets forth the school's teachings in six hundred verses, while the second part constitutes a prose commentary on these verses. The work covers all the main themes of Abhidharma philosophy: the fundamental nature of existence, of delusion and its causes, of the path to liberation, and of self. The basic themes covered by the text are discussed in nine chapterss: 1) sources or elements of existence (dhātu);

2) sense organs and other human faculties (indriya); 3) worlds or realms (loka); 4) actions (karma); 5) outflows, aversions, desires, etc. (anuśaya); 6) stages of sanctity on the Way (āryapudgala); 7) wisdom or knowledge (jñāna); 8) meditative states (samādhi); and 9) non-self (anātman). The *Jushe lun* is valued not only as a presentation and reexamination of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, but also for its descriptions and critiques of the Abhidharma of other schools.

*Jushi zhuan* 居士傳 (Biographies of lay practicers), 56 fascicles (X 88: #1646). A biographical collection of notable Chan lay practicers, compiled during the years 1770–1775 by the layman Peng Jiqing 彭際清 (1740–1796). Short biographies and records are given for a total of 227 lay practicers, from the Later Han dynasty (25–220) to the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Peng searched not only previous lay-practicer biographical collections but also general historical records, works of literature, prefaces to sutras, and other materials in drawing up the list of figures mentioned in the *Jushi zhuan*. The final biography in the collection, that of Zhiguizi 知歸子, is that of the compiler.

*Kaihe ji* 開河記 (The opening of the canal), 1 fascicle. A novel by an unknown author based on the construction of the Grand Canal of China by Emperor Yang 煬 (569–618) of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618).

*Kassan shō* 夾山鈔 (Kassan's commentary on the *Rinzai roku*), 10 fascicles. Full title *Rinzai roku Kassan shō* 臨濟錄夾山鈔. Published in 1654; the identity of the compiler is not known. The text presents a detailed commentary on the canonical passages cited in the *Rinzai roku*.

*Kattō gosen* 葛藤語箋 (Notes on Zen terminology), 10 fascicles. A dictionary of Zen technical terms by the great Japanese scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744). Compiled in 1739, when Mujaku was eighty-seven years old, the *Kattō gosen* examines various terms from the JC and numerous other records. Mujaku classifies terms ranging in length from one to seven characters into more than twenty categories ("Names," "Human relations," etc.), defines them in detail, and provides classical sources and references. The text exists only in manuscript form.

*Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記 (Drinking tea to promote life), 2 fascicles. A treatise in which Myōan Eisai (also pronounced Yōsai) 明庵榮西 (1141–1218) promoted the use of tea. When Eisai returned from his study of Zen in China in 1191 he brought with him seeds of the tea plant, which he planted in the Uji area south of Kyoto. In the *Kissa yōjōki* he described tea cultivation and tea's benefits for the health.

*Konggu ji* 空谷集 (Empty valley anthology), 6 fascicles (X 67: #1303). Full title *Linquan Laoren pingchang Touzi Qing heshang songgu kong gu ji* 林泉老人評唱投子青和尚頌古空谷集. The capping phrases and commentaries of the Caodong master Linquan Conglun 林泉從倫 (n.d.) on a collection of one hundred koans with verse comments by the Caodong master Touzi Yiqing

投子義青 (1032–1083). The work, inspired by collections like the *Biyan lu* and the *Congrong lu* 從容錄 (Record of equanimity), is included in the *Sijia pingchang lu* 四家評唱錄 (Commentaries on the Four Houses), a collection of four koan texts. See also *Xutang ji* 虛堂集.

*Kōtei Rinzai roku* 校訂臨濟錄 (Revised edition of the *Record of Linji*). Edited by the great Japanese scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744) and published in 1727. Dōchū's Japanese reading of the original Chinese text has become the standard traditional version.

*Kūge nichiyō kufū ryakushū* 空華日用工夫略集 (Short collection of Kūge's daily thoughts), 4 fascicles. Abbreviated title, *Kūge nikku shū* 空華日工集. A selection by the disciples of the noted Zen master and poet Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388; Kūge was Gidō's style) from Gidō's diaries, supplemented with biographical material, Gidō's other writings, and records of his sermons. The compilation also contains the tomb inscription of Gidō's master, Musō Soseki 夢窓疎石 (1275–1351). The name of the compiler and date of compilation are unknown. The text existed in manuscript form until it was included in the *Zoku shiseki shūran* 續史籍集覽 in 1929. The present edition is based principally on an abridged edition of what was originally a forty-eight fascicle text.

*Kuyai heshang manlu* 枯崖和尚漫錄 (Casual records of Ven. Kuyai), 3 fascicles (X 87: #1613). A collection of Zen anecdotes and sermons by Kuyai Yuanwu 枯崖圓悟 (13th c.), a fifth-generation descendent of Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163). The text has a preface dated 1272.

*Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*. See *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經.

*Ledao ge* 樂道歌 (Song of enjoying the Way), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 461b–c). A short poem by Nanyue Mingzan 南嶽明瓚 (n.d.), a third generation descendent of the Northern school master Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706). The poem extols Nanyue's simple life in the mountains, residing and meditating in a grass hut.

*Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* as translated by Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅, 394–468). See *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經.

*Lengqie jing* 楞伽經. The general name for the various Chinese translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, a Sanskrit text thought to have been written in South India about the year 400. The rather loosely organized text presents a variety of teachings, from a strong condemnation of meat-eating to a synthesis of the tathāgatagarbha and the ālaya-vijñāna (storehouse-consciousness) doctrines that form the basis of Yogācāra thought. The tathāgatagarbha and the ālaya-vijñāna (which harbors the karmic seeds of all past actions and gives rise to the desires that keep a being in the cycle of samsara) form the root of human consciousness, and of all existence. With enlightenment this root consciousness is decisively transformed, and the mind is freed from the

world of delusion. The sutra also speaks of an ineffable "supreme knowledge" (parinişpanna) that is identified with "self-realization" (svasiddhānta), a way of expression that closely resembles that of Chan. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra* was very influential in Chan from the time of Bodhidharma to that of the Sixth Patriarch, from which time the *Diamond Sutra* became central; in the Northern school it never lost its importance. There were four translations of this sutra into Chinese. The first, now lost, was a four-fascicle version by the Scythian monk Dharmarakṣa (C., Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313). The second and still most popular version, the *Lengqie abaduoluobao jing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, 4 fascicles, was translated in 443 by the Indian monk Guṇabhadra (C., Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅, 394–468) (T 16: #670). The other two translations are the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, 10 fascicles, translated in 513 by the northern Indian monk Bodhiruci (C., Putiliuzhi 菩提流支, 6th c.) (T 16: #671); and the *Dasheng ru lengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽經, 7 fascicles, translated in 700–704 by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda (C., Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) (T 16: #672).

*Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (Record of the masters and disciples of the Laṅkā school), 1 fascicle (T 85: #2837). One of the earliest extant works on Chan history, compiled in 720–730 by Jingjue 淨覺 (683–760?) and found at Dunhuang. The text presents a Chan lineage centering on the Northern school, starting from the central Indian monk Guṇabhadra (C., Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅, 394–468), the translator of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, and proceeding through Bodhidharma, Huike 慧可 (487–593), Sengcan 僧璨 (d. 606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), Hongren 弘忍 (601–674), and Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), with Shenxiu as the Seventh Patriarch. The text is the earliest to connect Bodhidharma to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, a move that may have been an attempt by the Northern school to secure scriptural authority.

*Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要. See *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要.

*Liang Baozhi heshang dasheng zan shishou* 梁寶誌和尚大乘讚十首. See *Dasheng zan* 大乘讚.

*Liangchao Fu Dashi song jingang jing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經 (Verses on the *Diamond Sutra*, by Fu Dashi of the Liang dynasty), 1 fascicle (T 85: #2732). A work composed of Kumārajīva's translation of the *Diamond Sutra* divided into thirty-two sections, with each section followed by a five-character-to-a-line verse commentary. The verse comments, which in the text are attributed to the bodhisattva Maitreya, are traditionally believed to be those of the famous Buddhist layman Fu Dashi 傅大士 (497–569), offered to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty.

*Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳. See *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳.

*Liang Tang Jin Han Zhou shi* 梁唐晉漢周書. See *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史.

*Liaoyuan ge* 了元歌 (Song of understanding the source), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076,

461b). Full title *Tengteng heshang Liaoyuan ge* 騰騰和尚了元歌. One of the many short poems in the collections *Mingji zhenge* 銘記箴歌 (Admonitory verse inscriptions) (T 51: #2076) and *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌 (Poems of the Chan patriarchs) (X 66: #1298). The poem is attributed to Renjian 仁儉 (n.d.), an eccentric who lived outdoors and was thus referred to as Ven. Tengteng 騰騰, "Wandering Priest."

*Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Chronicles of the dharma treasure), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2075). Also known as the *Shizi xuemai zhuan* 師資血脈傳 and the *Ding shifei cui xiexian zheng pohuai yiqiexin zhuan* 定是非摧邪顯正破壞一切心傳. One of the early histories of Chan, compiled about 774, during the Dali 大歷 era (766–778) of the Tang. The text is closer to the later history *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (801) than to the earlier *Lengqie shizi ji* 楞伽師資記 (720–730), presenting a transmission that includes the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs and traces the Chinese lineage from Bodhidharma to Huike 慧可 (487–593), Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606?), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), and Hongren 弘忍 (601–674), with Huineng 慧能 (638–713) as the Sixth Patriarch. The distinctive characteristic of the *Lidai fabao ji* is that it contains the biographies of Zhishen 智詵 (another successor of Hongren; 609–702) and three masters in his lineage: Chuji 處寂 (665–732), Wuxiang 無相 (689–762), and Wuzhu 無住 (714–774). The second half of the book contains a detailed presentation of Wuzhu's teachings.

*Liu Zhiyuan zhugongdiao* 劉知遠諸宮調 (Ballad of Liu Zhiyuan). A ballad about Liu Zhiyuan 劉知遠 (895–948), the future emperor of the short-lived Later Han dynasty (947–951). The ballad, composed in alternating sections of prose and verse, appears to have first appeared in the eleventh century and been transcribed in the twelfth.

*Liuzu tanjing* 六僧壇經 (The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch), 1 fascicle. Full title *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng mohe bore boluomi jing liuzu Huineng Dashi yu shaozhou dafan si shifa tanjing* 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇經. One of the central texts of the Chan school, and the only text originating in China that is honored with the title "sutra," the *Liuzu tanjing* is traditionally said to consist of the discourses of the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng (638–713), at the temple Dafan si 大梵寺 in the city of Shaozhou 韶州, as recorded by a disciple named Fahai 法海 (n.d.). The actual origins of the text are unclear, however; arguments have been advanced identifying the text's teachings either with Huineng or Huineng's successor Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758). The earliest extant text is a Dunhuang manuscript dating probably to 830–850; this appears to be a copy of an earlier text dating to perhaps 780. The Dunhuang text is shorter and is arranged differently from the text that has been in common use since the fourteenth century, the edition compiled by the monk Zongbao 宗寶 (T 48: #2007). The latter text (which more or less parallels the Dunhuang

text) relates the biography of Huineng, then takes up such topics as sudden enlightenment, no-mind, and the true meaning of zazen and the precepts.

*Lotus Sutra*. See *Fahua jing* 法華經.

*Luechen mingshu lun* 略陳名數論. See *Baifa lun* 百法論.

*Luojing Heze Shenhui Dashi yu* 洛京荷澤神會大師語. See *Heze Shenhui Chanshi yulu* 荷澤神會禪師語錄.

*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra*. See *Niepan jing* 涅槃經.

*Mahā-prajñā-pāramitā śāstra*. See *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論.

*Mahāvyutpatti*. A ninth-century glossary of Sanskrit and Tibetan terms compiled on the command of the Tibetan king Tri Ralpachen in order to standardize the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts. The dictionary was compiled by the king's chief translators, who drew up a list of Sanskrit terms and their Tibetan equivalents. Earlier Tibetan translations were revised according to the new terminology.

*Mazu sijia lu* 馬祖四家錄. See *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄.

*Mazu yulu* 馬祖語錄 (Recorded sayings of Mazu), 1 fascicle (X 69: #1321). Full title, *Jiangxi Mazu Daoyi Chanshi yulu* 江西馬祖道一禪師語錄. The *Mazu yulu*, which is found in fascicle 1 of the *Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the Four Houses), contains the sermons, *mondō*, and a short biography of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), a master in the third generation from the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng (638–713). Mazu was the teacher of many eminent Zen monks, among whom the most important for later Zen history was Baizhang Huaihai (720–814), the traditional founder of the Chan monastic system and a master in lineage that produced Linji. According to the ZJ, the *Mazu yulu* had its origins in a volume called the *Yuben* 語本 (Book of words), a collection of Mazu's sermons and sayings compiled by the master's disciples following his death.

*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, Kumārajīva's Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra*. See *Fahua jing* 法華經.

*Miaofa lianhua jing xuanzan* 妙法蓮華經玄贊. See *Fahua xuanzan* 法華玄贊.

*Miaoli yuancheng guan* 妙理圓成觀 (Contemplation of the mysterious principle and the perfectly accomplished), 3 fascicles. A work attributed to Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), but no longer extant.

*Mile dachengfo jing* 彌勒大成佛經 (Sutra on Maitreya's great attainment of buddhahood), 1 fascicle (T 14: #456). Full title *Foshuo Mile dachengfo jing* 佛說彌勒大成佛經. A Chinese translation made in 402 by Kumārajīva. The *Mile dachengfo jing*, perhaps the best developed of the many sutras concerning the bodhisattva Maitreya, takes the form of Śākyamuni's sermon to Śāriputra regarding Maitreya and his future appeance on earth to preach the true dharma. Similar sutras include: *Foshuo guan Mile pusa shangsheng doushuaitian jing* 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經, 1 fascicle, translated by Juqujingsheng 沮渠京聲 (T 14: #452); *Foshuo Mile xiasheng jing* 佛說彌勒下

生經, 1 fascicle, translated by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313) (T 14: #453); *Foshuo Mile xiasheng chengfo jing* 佛說彌勒下生成佛經, 1 fascicle, translated by Kumārajīva (T 14: #454); and *Foshuo Mile xiasheng chengfo jing* 佛說彌勒下生成佛經, 1 fascicle, translated by Yijing 義淨 (635–713) (T 14: #455).

*Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Mingjue), 6 fascicles (T 47: #1996). Full title *Xuedou Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 雪竇明覺禪師語錄. A collection of sermons, comments on koans, critical examinations, verses, and other material relating to Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052), compiled by his disciple Wei Gaizhu 惟蓋竺 (n.d.) and others. Properly speaking, only the first three fascicles are entitled the *Mingjue Chanshi yulu*; the title of fascicle 4 is *Mingjue Chanshi puquan ji* 明覺禪師瀑泉集, and that of fascicles 5 and 6 is *Mingjue Chanshi zuying ji* 明覺禪師祖英集. Appended is the stele inscription written in 1065 by Lü Xiaqing 呂夏卿 (n.d.), the prime minister and a student of Xuedou. Part of the text was compiled during the years 1030–1032, while the master was still alive, but following his death the entire work was revised. The *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古 (Xuedou's verse comments on one hundred old koans), which subsequently became the basis for the famous koan collection *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (The blue cliff record), was once a part of the *Mingjue Chanshi yulu*, but is not included in the work as we now have it.

*Misha saibu hexi Wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律. See *Wufen lü* 五分律.

*Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辭典 (Mochizuki's encyclopedia of Buddhism). A ten-volume encyclopedia with over 20,000 entries on all aspects of Buddhism. Published by the Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1955–1963.

*Mohe bore boluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 (Great perfection of wisdom sutra), 27 fascicles (T 8: #223). Also known as the *Dapin jing* 大品經, *Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經, and *Dapin bore boluomi jing* 大品般若波羅蜜經. Kumārajīva's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*, one of the prajñā-pāramitā sutras. The same text was translated in 286 as the *Guangzan jing* 光讚經 (Sutra in praise of the light) by Dharmarakṣa (C., Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313) (T 8: #222); and around 291 as the *Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經 (The light-emitting perfection of wisdom sutra) by Mokṣala (C., Wuluocha 無羅叉 or Zhu Luocha 竺羅叉; 3rd c.) and Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 (n.d.) (T 8: #221). See also entries for *Bore jing* 般若蜜, *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論, and *Fangguang bore jing* 放光般若經.

*Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Great calming and contemplation), 20 fascicles (T 46: #1911). The text is based on lectures given by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school, on the theory and practice of the "Complete and Immediate Meditation of the Mahayana" 大乘圓頓止觀. The lectures, delivered at the temple Yuquan si 玉泉寺 on Mount Dangyang 當陽 in Jingzhou 荊州, were compiled and edited by Zhiyi's disciple Guanding 灌頂

(561–632) and published in 594. The term *zhiguan* comprises *zhi* 止 (calming, Skr., "śamatha"), which refers to the attainment of stillness and focus of mind, and *guan* 觀 (contemplation, Skr., "vipaśyanā"), which refers to the perception of the true nature of mind. The text explains the central Tiantai doctrine of "one thought-moment, three thousand realms" 一念三千 (the teaching that the three thousand realms constituting the entire universe are immanent in each instant of thought), and details the meditation practices through which the truth of this teaching can be experienced. The *Mohe zhiguan* is one of the central texts of the Tiantai school.

*Muhu ge* 牧護歌 (Song of the herdsman), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 462c–463a). Full title, *Suxi heshang muhu ge* 蘇溪和尚牧護歌. A work praising the freedom of the Zen life, by Suxi 蘇溪 (n.d.), a disciple of Wuxie Lingmo 五洩靈默 (747–818) in the third generation from Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). The *Muhu ge* is written in the style of a poem of the same name that was originally a work of Mazdaism (Zoroastrianism), a teaching that achieved much popularity in early Tang China; the word *muhu* 牧護 signifies a Zoroastrian monk. The original poem's religious quality was later lost, however, and it became simply a popular folk song 樂府.

*Muzhou yulu* 睦州語錄 (Recorded sayings of Muzhou), 1 fascicle (X 68: #1315, 35). Full title *Muzhou heshang yulu* 睦州和尚語録. This work, found in fascicle 1 of the *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 and fascicle 6 of the GY, records the sayings of Muzhou Daozong 睦州道蹤, also known as Muzhou Daoming 睦州道明 (n.d.), a dharma heir of Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850?). It is divided into three sections: 1) "Shangtang duiji" 上堂對機 (Discussions in the lecture hall); 2) "Kankan jingseng" 勘看經僧 (Criticism of sutra-chanting monks); 3) "Kanjiang jinglun zuozhu Dashi" 勘講經論座主大師 (Criticism of lecture masters). There is a short epilogue at the end of the book, as well as a brief biography of Muzhou.

*Nan shi* 南史 (History of the southern dynasties), 80 fascicles. One of the twenty-four official historical records of China, the *Nan shi* covers the history of the short southern dynasties known as the Song 宋 (420–479), Qi 齊 (479–502), Liang 梁 (502–557), and Chen 陳 (557–589). This work and its companion, the *Bei shi* 北史 (History of the northern dynasties), were conceived by the official and historian Li Dashi 李大師 (570–628), but largely compiled by his son Li Yanshou 李延壽 (612?–678?).

*Nanben niepan jing shu* 南本涅槃經疏. See *Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏.

*Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕録. See *Chuogeng lu* 輟耕錄.

*Nanquan Puyuan Chanshi yuyao* 南泉普願禪師語要 (Essential sayings of Chan Master Nanquan Puyuan), 1 fascicle (X 68: #1317). Also known as *Nanquan yuyao* 南泉語要. This work is a compilation of the formal and informal sermons of Nanquan Puyuan 南泉普願 (748–835), a successor of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788).

*Nanquan yuyao* 南泉語要. See *Nanquan Puyuan Chanshi yuyao* 南泉普願禪師語要.

*Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliaoxing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 (The priest of Nanyang's platform sermon on direct realization of innate nature according to the Chan doctrine of emancipation through the teaching of sudden awakening), 1 fascicle. Often abbreviated to *Shenhui tanyu* 神會壇語. This work, one of the Shenhui materials discovered at the Dunhuang caves, contains a collection of sermons by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758), one of the Sixth Patriarch's most important students and the principal advocate of the Southern school of Chan. The sermons were delivered at the temple Longxing si 龍興寺 in Nanyang 南陽 (hence the "Nanyang" of the title). The term *tanyu* 壇語 ("words from the platform") in the title derives from the fact that the sermons were delivered at formal gatherings for receiving the precepts 授戒會, a ritual performed on the precept platform. The text is important in that it represents one of the earliest examples of Chan "recorded sayings" (*yulu* 語録) literature.

*Nanyang heshang wenda zazheng yi* 南陽和尚問答雜徵義 (The priest of Nanyang's question-and-answer examination of various points of doctrine), 1 fascicle. Also known as the *Nanzong Heze Chanshi wenda zacheng* 南宗荷沢禪師問答雜徵 (the title used in lists of books brought back to Japan by contemporary Japanese Tendai monks), and generally abbreviated to *Shenhui yulu* 神會語録. For the significance of "Nanyang" 南陽 see the entry above. This text is one of the Shenhui records discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts, recording sermons by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758) given in answer to questions from disciples.

*Nanyang Zhong heshang yanjiao* 南陽忠和尚言教 (Oral teachings of Ven. Nanyang Zhong). One of the works on the lists of books reported to have been brought back to Japan from Tang China by the Japanese monks Ennin and Enchin.

*Nanyuan Chanshi yuyao* 南院禪師語要 (Essential sayings of Chan master Nanyuan), 1 fascicle (x 68: #1315, 41c–43c). A collection of the sermons and critical examinations 勘辨 of the Chan master Nanyuan Huiyong 南院慧顒 (860–930).

*Nanyue Shitou heshang cantong qi* 南嶽石頭和尚參同契. See *Cantong qi* 參同契.

*Nichi'iki Sōdō shoso Dōgen Zenji shingi* 日域曹洞初祖道元禪師清規. See *Eihei shingi* 永平清規.

*Niepan jing* 涅槃經. The general name for the various translations of the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* (Nirvana Sutra). The original Sanskrit text no longer exists in full, though fragments have been discovered in Central Asia and Japan. The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* is a Mahayana sutra, different in character from the Pali *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* in that the former claims to present the final and complete teachings of the Buddha delivered

in a sermon just prior to his parinirvāṇa, while the latter describes more factually the final years of the Buddha's life, his entry into nirvana, and the distribution of his remains. The main doctrines of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* are that the dharmakāya is characterized by permanence 常, joy 樂, self 我, and purity 淨, and that all sentient beings, even the icchantika (beings regarded in traditional Buddhism as incapable of enlightenment), possess the buddha-nature and are thus destined for eventual liberation. There are three extant Chinese translations, and one Tibetan translation. The three Chinese versions are: 1) The *Foshuo daban niyuan jing* 佛說大般泥洹經, 6 fascicles; the "Six-Fascicle *Nirvana Sutra*", translated by Faxian 法顯 (n.d.) and the Kashmirian monk Buddhabhadra (C., Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429) between 416 and 418 (T 12: #376). 2) The *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, 40 fascicles; the "Northern Text," translated in Guzang 姑藏, the capital of Northern Liang, by the Indian monk Dharmakṣema (C., Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433?) between 414 and 421; the first complete translation of the *Nirvana Sutra* (T 12: #374). 3) The *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, 36 fascicles; the "Southern Text," a revision of Dharmakṣema's translation, carried out by Huiyan 慧嚴 (363–443), Huiguan 慧觀 (n.d.), and others in approximately 453 (T 12: #375). The *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutra* strongly influenced the development of later Chinese Buddhist thought, giving rise to several scholastic traditions, among them the Niepan zong 涅槃宗, the Nirvana school.

*Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 (Catalogue of a pilgrimage to Tang in search of the dharma in year 5 of the Japanese Jōwa era), 1 fascicle (T 55: #2165). This catalogue, dated 839, lists the various materials—sutras, commentaries, biographies, mandalas, portraits, ritual texts, etc.—that the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin assembled during his stay in Yangzhou 揚州 between 838 and 839, prior to his departure for Mount Wutai 五臺. Ennin prepared the catalogue prior to sending the materials back to Japan with the returning Japanese envoy. See also the entry for the *Jikaku Daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄.

*Nirvana Sutra*. See *Niepan jing* 涅槃經.

*Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (Record of a pilgrimage to the Tang in search of the dharma), 4 fascicles. A record by the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), third patriarch of the Japanese Tendai 天台 school, of his experiences in Yangzhou 揚州, Mount Wutai 五臺, Chang'an 長安, and other places during his ten-year stay in China between 838 and 847. The book—the first written account of China by a foreigner—records many details of secular and religious life under the Tang dynasty. The work is valuable as a historical source, and is regarded as a classic of travel literature.

*Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 (Catalogue of sacred teachings

newly sought in the Tang), 1 fascicle (T 55: #2167). A catalogue compiled in 847 by the Japanese Tendai monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864) upon his return from his ten-year journey to Tang-dynasty China between 838 and 847. Ennin reexamined the many hundreds of objects he had sent or brought back from the continent and drew up a new catalogue that completed the earlier lists (see the entries for the *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 and the *Jikaku Daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄). The word *shingu* 新求 (newly sought) in the title relates to the fact that Ennin regarded the objects as additions to the material that Saichō 最澄 (767–822), founder of the Japanese Tendai school, had earlier brought to Japan.

*Niutoushan chuzu Farong Chanshi xin ming* 牛頭山初祖法融禪師心銘. See *Xin ming* 心銘 (Mind verse), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 457b–458a).

*Nongzhuyin* 弄珠吟 (Playing with the pearl). See *Wanzhuyin* 翫珠吟.

*Pang Jushi yulu* 龐居士語錄 (Record of Layman Pang), 3 fascicles (X 69: #1336). A collection of material relating to Pang Yun 龐蘊 (d. 808), a famous Chan layman who, although remaining a householder with a wife and daughter, lived a simple life of Chan practice and became a dharma successor of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). The first fascicle of the *Pang Jushi yulu* contains anecdotes and dialogues, while the second and third fascicles contain verses. The original edition is said to have been compiled by Pang's friend the prefect Yu Di 于頔 (d. 818), but the earliest extant edition is a Ming-dynasty wood-block printing dated 1637.

*Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*. See *Liuzu tanjing* 六僧壇經.

*Po xiang lun* 破相論. See *Guanxin lun* 觀心論.

*Pumen pin shu* 普門品疏. See *Guanyin yishu* 觀音義疏.

*Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達磨南宗定是非論 (Treatise establishing the true and false according to the Southern school of Bodhidharma), 1 fascicle. This text, now lost in its complete form, is one of the Shenhui records discovered among the Dunhuang manuscripts. It records several sermons by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758), the chief proponent of the Southern school of Chan. The sermons were delivered sometime around 732 at Dayun si 大雲寺 in Huatai 滑台, and edited by Shenhui's lay disciple Dugu Pei 獨孤沛 (n.d.). The sermons, given in answer to questions by the Northern-school master Chongyuan 崇遠 (n.d.), defend the Southern school and severely criticize the teachings of the Northern school.

*Qingliangshan zhuan* 清凉山傳. See *Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清凉傳.

*Qin shi* 琴史 (History of zither music), 6 fascicles. An account of the history, theory, and practice of the *qin* (zither), by Zhu Changwen 朱長文 (1041–1100). The first five fascicles present over 140 biographical sketches with legendary and historical material on notable *qin* players; the sixth fascicle contains

theoretical and practical essays. Much of the material consists of quotes from earlier sources, which Zhu seldom identifies.

*Qixin lun* 起信論. See *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論.

*Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 (On giving rise to bodhicitta), 1 fascicle (X 58: #1010). A treatise by Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), with a preface by Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841).

*Quantangwen* 全唐文 (Complete prose literature of the Tang), 1000 fascicles. A full collection of Tang-dynasty prose works, compiled under imperial order by Dong Gao 董誥 (1740–1818) and published in 1814. The authors represented are divided into three categories: emperors, government officials, and Buddhist and Taoist monks. The authors are placed in chronological order, and a brief biography is given of each one.

*Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目 (The eye of humans and gods), 6 fascicles (T 48: #2006). Compiled in 1188 by Huiyan Zhizhao 晦巖智昭 (n.d.), three generations after Dahui in the same line. The *Rentian yanmu* summarizes the teachings of the five Chan "Houses" (the Linji 臨濟, Yunmen 雲門, Caodong 曹洞, Guiyang 潙仰, and Fayan 法眼), presenting biographies of the founders and citing representative sermons, koans, doctrines, and verses. The final section, *Zongmen za lu* 宗門雜錄 (Chan school miscellany), records information on important events and various other matters relating to the study of Chan.

*Rinzai Eshō Zenji goroku shō* 臨濟慧照禪師語錄鈔. See *Bannan shō* 萬安鈔.

*Rinzai Eshō Zenji goroku soyaku* 臨濟慧照禪師語錄疏瀹 (Commentary on the *Record of Zen master Rinzai Eshō*). An unpublished manuscript dated 1726 by Mujaku Dōchū.

*Rinzai roku Bannan shō* 臨濟錄萬安鈔. See *Bannan shō* 萬安鈔.

*Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽經, Bodhiruci's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sutra*, 10 fascicles (T 16: #671). See *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經.

*Rulai zhuangyan zhihui guangming ru yiqie fojingjie jing* 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經 (Sutra on the tathāgata-adorning prajñā-light that enters all buddha-realms), 2 fascicles (T 12: #357). Alternative title *Zhihui zhuangyan jing* 智慧莊嚴經. A Chinese translation of the *Sarvabuddha-viṣayāvatāra-jñānā-lokālaṃkāra Sutra* by Dharmaruci (C., Tanmoliuzhi 曇摩流支). This is the first of three translations made of this sutra, the other two of which are: *Duyiqie zhufo jingjie zhiyan jing* 度一切諸佛境界智嚴經, 1 fascicle, translated by Sanghavarman (C., Sengqiepoluo 僧伽婆羅, d. 520) (T 12: #358); and *Foshuo dasheng ruzhufo jingjiezhi guangming zhuangyan jing* 佛說大乘入諸佛境界智光明莊嚴經, 5 fascicles, translated by Dharmarakṣa (C., Fahu 法護 963–1058) (T 12: #359). The sutra describes the eternal nature of the dharmakāya, explains the use of upaya to liberate beings according to their capacities, and elucidates the true meaning of bodhi and bodhisattva practice.

*Saṃyutta Nikāya*. Pali equivalent of the *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (Miscellaneous discourses of the Buddha) (T 2: #99). See *Za ahan jing*.

*San sheng yuanrong guanmen* 三聖圓融觀門 (Contemplation of the perfect identity of the three holy ones), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1882). A contemplation text by Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838), the fourth Huayan patriarch, who advocates two contemplation practices: Yogācāra contemplation (contemplation of cognition-only), and "contemplation of the perfect identity of the three holy ones," a form of contemplation distinctive to the Huayan school involving the buddha Vairocana and the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. The essence-body of Samantabhadra, merged with the wisdom-function of Mañjuśrī, forms the buddha-virtue of Vairocana. Simultaneously, the buddhahood of Vairocana forms the cause 因 of the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. Thus cause and effect are not separate, and the three holy ones form a perfect unity.

*Sanyin ji* 三隱集. See *Hanshan shi* 寒山詩.

*Sanzang fashu* 三藏法數 (Dharma lists from the canon of the Ming dynasty), 50 fascicles. Full title *Daming sanzang fashu* 大明三藏法數. A numerically ordered list of terms from the Tripiṭaka, compiled by Yiru 一如 (n.d.), a scholar-monk active during the early fifteenth century, and published 1419. The list, beginning with terms related to the number one (such as "one mind" 一心 and "one vehicle" 一乘) and continuing to the number 84,000, contains a total of about 1,600 entries, all with short definitions. The index constitutes the first three fascicles.

*Sengbao zhuan* 僧寶傳. See *Chanlin sengbao zhuan* 禪林僧寶傳.

*Sengshi lue* 僧史略. See *Dasong sengshi lue* 大宋僧史略.

*Shangcai yulu* 上蔡語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shangcai), 3 fascicles. The recorded sayings of the Neo-Confucianist thinker Xie Liangzuo 謝良佐 (1050–1103), a disciple of two of the principal early architects of the Neo-Confucian movement, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1108).

*Shanhui Dashi lu* 善慧大士錄 (Record of Bodhisattva Shanhui), 4 fascicles (X 69: #1335). Also known as the *Fu Dashi lu* 傅大士錄. A record of the teachings, hymns, and religious poems ascribed to the famous early Chinese layman Fu Dashi 傅大士 (Fu Xi 傅翕; 497–569), plus biographical materials relating to four monk contemporaries of Fu. Compiled by the scholar-official Lou Ying 樓穎 (n.d.) in what was originally an eight-fascicle edition, but which was later revised by Lou Zhao 樓炤 (1072–1144), governor of Shaoxingjun 紹興軍, into the present four-fascicle version. Zhao's version, with a colophon dated 1143, devotes fascicle 1 to Fu's chronological biography; fascicle 2 to his sermons and conversations with students; fascicle 3 to his poems and to memorial inscriptions dedicated to him; and fascicle 4 to biographies of four figures connected with Fu: Zhizhe 智者 (442–535), Song Toutuo 嵩頭陀 (n.d.), Huiji 慧集 (492–538), and Huihe 慧和 (477–536).

*She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋 (Commentary on the *Summary of the Mahayana*), 15 fascicles (T 31: #1595). Paramārtha's (C., Zhendi 眞諦; 499–569) translation of the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-byāṣya* by Vasubandhu (C., Shiqin 世親 or Tianqin 天親; 4th or 5th c.). The *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-byāṣya* is Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (Summary of the Mahayana), a treatise by his brother Asaṅga (C., Wuzhuo 無著; 4th or 5th c.) on the Yogācāra consciousness-only doctrine. Other translations of the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha-byāṣya* are: the *She dasheng lun shi lun* 攝大乘論釋論, 10 fascicles, by Dharmagupta (C., Damojiduo 達磨笈多; d. 619) and Xingju 行矩 (T 31: #1596); and the *She dasheng lun shi* 攝大乘論釋, 10 fascicles, by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) (T 31: #1597).

*Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 (The lion's roar of Queen Śrīmālā sutra), 1 fascicle (T 12: #353). Full title *Shengman shizihou yisheng dafangbian fang guang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經. A translation by Guṇabhadra (C., Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅; 394–468) of the *Śrīmālādevī-simhanāda Sutra*. The sutra, centered on the person of Queen Śrīmālā, expounds the teachings of the One Vehicle and the tathāgatagarbha, and proclaims the universality of buddha-nature. The sutra was a favorite among the Chinese lay followers of Buddhism, along with the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*.

*Shenhui tanyu* 神會壇語. See *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliaoxing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語.

*Shenhui yulu* 神會語録. See *Nanyang heshang wenda zazheng yi* 南陽和尙問答雜徵義.

*Shenli Chanshi yulu* 神力禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Shenli), 48 fascicles (X 68: #1316). The records of the Chan master Shenli 神力, another name for Zihu Lizong 子湖利蹤 (800–880). He was a disciple of Nanquan Puyuan.

*Shiji* 史記 (Records of the grand historian), 130 fascicles. The first comprehensive history of China, compiled in 109–91 BCE by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145–90 BCE). It is one of the four early Chinese official histories, together with the *Han shu* 漢書 (Chronicles of the Han), 100 volumes, compiled by Ban Biao 班彪 (3–54), Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), and Ban Zhao 班昭 (1st c.); the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), 65 fascicles, compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 (233–297); and the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Chronicles of the Later Han), 120 fascicles, compiled by Fan Ye 范曄 (398–446). The *Shiji*, covering the period from the Yellow Emperor (traditionally dated c. 2,600 BCE) to Emperor Han Wudi 漢武帝 (156–87 BCE), presents China's history in the form of biographies of eminent rulers, bureaucrats, and cultural figures, augmented with chronologies and descriptions of government, economics, etc. The *Shiji* became a model for subsequent Chinese historical works, and is honored for its exceptional literary merit.

*Shijian qigu lue* 釋鑑稽古略. See *Shishi qigu lue* 釋氏稽古略.

*Shimen bianhuo lun* 十門辯惑論 (Clarifying ten questions regarding Buddhist doctrine), 3 fascicles (T 52: #2111). The text, dated 681, consists of the answers of Fuli 復禮 (fl. 681–703), to the emperor Gaozong 高宗 (628–683) regarding ten questions on Buddhist concepts such as buddhahood, the supernatural powers of the bodhisattva, the three bodies, and the pure land.

*Shimen wenzi chan* 石門文字禪 (Stone Gate literary Chan), 30 fascicles. A collection of the poetry of the important Chan scholar-monk Juefan Huihong 覺範慧洪 (1071–1128; "Stone Gate" was an appellation for Huihong). Edited by his disciple Jueci 覺慈 and published in a Ming-dynasty collection of supplementary canonical materials (續藏經) in 1597.

*Shishi qigu lue* 釋氏稽古略 (An outline of research on the lineage of Śākya), 4 fascicles (T 49: #2037). Also known as the *Shijian qigu lue* 釋鑑稽古略. Compiled by the Linji-school Chan master Jue'an Baozhou 覺岸寶洲 (14th c.), this work, completed in 1354, outlines the political history of China from the earliest times to the end of the Song dynasty, setting forth in chronological order the development of China's "three teachings" of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, with a particular emphasis on the Chan tradition. Jue'an was a fellow student of Meiwu Nianchang 梅屋念常 (1282–1341?), compiler of the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 (T 49: #2036), a work published in 1344 that is conceptually similar to the *Shishi qigu lue*. The *Shishi qigu lue* was reprinted in 1554, and in 1638 a monk named Huanlun 幻輪 compiled a supplement, the *Shijian qigu lue xuji* 釋鑑稽古略續集, covering the years between the end of the Yuan dynasty and 1638 (T 49: #2038).

*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A new account of tales of the world), 3 fascicles. A collection of anecdotes, conversations, and comments by emperors, officials, sages, and monks, compiled by the scholar Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444). The book is noted for the elegance of its literary style, and has provided material for numerous subsequent works.

*Shisike song* 十四科頌 (Verses on fourteen themes), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 450c–451c). Full title *Baozhi heshang shisike song* 寶誌和尚十四科頌. Fourteen short verses attributed to Baozhi 寶誌 (418–514) on the nonduality of enlightenment and delusion, buddhas and ordinary beings, principle and phenomenon, good and evil, form and emptiness, etc.

*Shisong lü* 十誦律 (The ten-section vinaya), 61 fascicles (T 23: #1435). A translation by the Kashmirian monk Puṇyatara (C., Furuoduoluo 弗若多羅) and Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409) of the Indian Sarvāstivāda school's system of vinaya, the rules governing monastic discipline, ordinations, punishments, etc. The translation was produced in Chang'an 長安 between 404 and 409.

*Shitou heshang caoan ge* 石頭和尚草庵歌. See *Caoan ge* 草庵歌.

*Shiyimian Guanyin shenzhou jing* 十一面觀音神呪經 (Sutra on the Eleven-faced Guanyin dhāraṇī), 1 fascicle (T 20: #1070). Full title *Foshuo Shiyimian*

*Guanyin shenzhou jing* 佛說十一面觀音神呪經; also known as the *Shiyimian shenzhou jing* 十一面神呪經. Translated into Chinese by the sixth-century monk Yasogupta (C., Yeshe Jueduo 耶舍崛多) during the Northern Zhou dynasty. The *Shiyimian Guanyin shenzhou jing*, according to its colophon, comprises one chapter from the much longer *Jingang dadaochang shenzhou jing* 金剛大道場神呪經. It extols the powers that accrue from reciting, writing, and transmitting the Eleven-faced Guanyin dhāraṇī, and explains how to use this and other dhāraṇīs that are mentioned in the text.

*Shizi xuemai chuan* 師資血脈傳. See *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記.

*Shōbōgenzō* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye), 95 fascicles (shorter versions of 12, 28, 60, and 75 fascicles also exist). The *Shōbōgenzō* is a series of discourses by the Japanese Sōtō monk Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253) on a wide variety of subjects related to Zen practice and thought. Dōgen apparently intended to write a total of one hundred fascicles, but was able to fully complete only twelve by the time of his death. The work is notable as the first Japanese Zen text written not in Chinese, but in the Japanese language. It is considered one of the most philosophically profound texts in all of Zen literature, and is much studied by both meditators and scholars. The text remained in manuscript form and was little known until 1811, when the first edition was published. See also *Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏.

*Shouleng'yan jing* 首楞嚴經 (*Śūraṅgama Sutra*), 10 fascicles (T 19: #945). Full title *Da foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhupusa wanxing shouleng'yan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經; also known as the *Da foding shouleng'yan jing* 大佛頂首楞嚴經. This sutra—said to have been translated in 705 by the Indian bhikku Pāramiti (C., Bancimidi 般剌蜜帝; n.d.), though it is regarded by most scholars as a Chinese apocryph—discusses the true nature of the mind and sense perception, and of the essential unity of the two. Regarding the life of practice, the sutra stresses that not only doctrinal knowledge but also meditation and an ethical lifestyle in accordance with the precepts are essential for full liberation. It explains the methods of meditation of the various bodhisattvas, discusses the stages of bodhisattva practice, and emphasizes the power of the Śūraṅgama dhāraṇī and Śūraṅgama samādhi. The sutra shows both tantric influences, with its teachings on the dhāraṇī, and Yogācāric influences, with its teachings on the tathāgatagarbha and the ālaya-vijñāna (storehouse-consciousness). The sutra is highly regarded in the Chan school, especially in China.

There is in addition another sutra commonly called the *Shouleng'yan jing* 首楞嚴經 (T 15: #642), but properly entitled the *Foshuo shouleng'yan sanmei jing* 佛說首楞嚴三昧經 or *Shouleng'yan sanmei jing* 首楞嚴三昧經. This is a two-fascicle translation by Kumārajīva of the *Śūraṅgama-samādhi Sutra*, which teaches the unsurpassed effectiveness of Śūraṅgama-samādhi meditation for the attainment of liberation.

*Shoushan Nian heshang yulu* 首山念和尚語錄. See next entry.

*Shoushan Shengnian yulu* 首山省念語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shoushan Shengnian), 1 fascicle (X 68: #1315, 45a–52a). Also known as *Shoushan Nian heshang yulu* 首山念和尚語錄 or *Shoushan yulu* 首山語錄 (Recorded sayings of Shoushan). The record of Shoushan Shengnian 首山省念 (926–995), the fifth patriarch of the Linji school. The text comprises the sermons given by the master at Mount Shou 首 and the temples Guangjiao chanyuan 廣教禪院 and Baoying chanyuan 寶應禪院; questions and answers 代語三転; critical examinations 勘辨; and verses. The date of compilation is unknown, but it was included in the *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (1144) and the *Guzunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 (1267).

*Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳 (Outlaws of the marsh), a Ming-dynasty novel said to have been written by Shi Nai'an 施耐庵 (1296?–1370?) or Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (c. 1330–1400), based on the life of the historical bandit Song Jiang 宋江 (12c). It is considered one of the four great classical novels of China. Song Jiang is portrayed as a minor official who is wrongly accused of a crime and eventually ends up leading a band of 108 outlaws living on Mount Liang 梁, surrounded by the vast Mount Liang marshes. The outlaws fight against the injustices of the corrupt Song government, and defeat the armies sent to subdue them. Finally they are granted amnesty, only to be sent to battle the army of Fang La 方臘 in the south, in the hope that the fighting will weaken them. The novel was immensely popular in China and other Asian countries, and was particularly popular as a theme for Yuan-dynasty drama. Translated by Pearl Buck as *All Men Are Brothers*.

*Si jiao yi* 四教義 (The meaning of the Four Teachings), 12 fascicles (T 49: #1929). Compiled by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school. The *Si jiao yi* offers a detailed exposition of the central Tiantai doctrine of the Four Teachings 四教, a classificatory system derived from Zhiyi's study of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sutra*. The Four Teachings consist of the Tripiṭaka teachings 三藏教 (the teachings of the *Āgama* sutras, vinaya, and Abhidharma, emphasizing the suffering of samsara, the path to liberation, and the doctrine of impermanence); the shared teachings 通教 (the teachings common to the Three Vehicles of śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha, and bodhisattva, emphasizing emptiness); the distinct teachings 別教 (the teachings of the bodhisattvas, recognizing the three truths of emptiness, consensual existence, and the Middle Way); and the complete teachings 圓教 (the interpenetration of absolute and relative truth and the unification of the three truths, and the attainment of buddhahood). Zhiyi elucidates various aspects of the Four Teachings through a comparison with various scriptures, doctrines (e.g., the Three Truths 三諦), and practices (e.g., the Ten Methods of Contemplation 十乘觀法).

*Si nianchu* 四念處 (Four foundations of mindfulness), 4 fascicles (T 46: #1918).

A Tiantai treatise on the four foundations of mindfulness: 1) contemplation on the body as impure, 2) contemplation on sensation as suffering, 3) contemplation on the mind as impermanent, and 4) contemplation of dharmas (phenomena) as nonsubstantial. The text is traditionally regarded as an edited compilation by Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) of the lectures of his teacher Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), although many scholars now consider it to be the work of Guanding himself, modeled on the *Si jiao yi* 四教義 and drawing material from the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. The *Si nianchu* comments on the four foundations of mindfulness and the five meditations 五停 (impurity, compassion, causality, discrimination, and breathing) from the perspective of each of the Tiantai Four Teachings 四教 (see entry for the *Si jiao yi* 四教義), and relates them to various other Buddhist doctrines and practices.

*Sijia yulu* 四家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the Four Houses), 6 fascicles (a portion of the work is found in X 69: #1320). Also known as the *Mazu sijia lu* 馬祖四家錄. The text presents the recorded sayings of the four masters in the lineage of Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) who formed the ancestry of the Linji-school lineage, namely Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814), Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. ca. 850), and Linji Yixuan. The compiler and date of publication of the original version of this text are unknown; the title is mentioned in a twelfth-century catalogue named the *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目, and thus predates this. The work as we presently have it is based on a reedited reprint produced in 1607 by Xie Ning 解寧 (n.d.); this appears to include much material from sources other than the original *Sijia yulu*.

*Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (Sutra in forty-two chapters), 1 fascicle (T 17: #784). A short sutra traditionally said to have been delivered by the Buddha in the period soon after his enlightenment and thus representative of his earliest teachings, and regarded as the first Buddhist sutra to have been translated into Chinese (67 CE). The translation is attributed to the Indian monks Kāśyapa Mātanga (C., Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰, n.d.) and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (dates and Indian name unknown), although scholars now believe it to be an apocryphal text produced in China as an introduction to the basic Buddhist teachings.

*Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (Song-dynasty *Biographies of eminent monks*), 30 fascicles (T 50: #2061). Compiled by the great scholar-monk Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001) during the years 982–988, the text is a continuation of the "eminent monk biographies" 高僧傳 produced in the Liang and Tang dynasties. The *Song gaoseng zhuan* presents full biographies of 531 monks and supplemental biographies of 125 others who lived in the period between the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (627–649) of the Tang and the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997). The text follows the precedent of the earlier eminent monk literature by separating the monks into ten categories, depending upon their area of eminence (translation, doctrine, meditation, etc.).

*Song of Enlightenment*. See *Zhengdao ge* 證道歌.

*Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Investigations of the supernatural), by Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 323). A Taoist collection of short anecdotes about "the strange" 怪—various supernatural beings and events—written, according to the author's preface, to "make it clear that the occult is not false."

*Śūraṅgama Sutra*. See *Shouleng'yan jing* 首楞嚴經.

*Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. See *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經.

*Suxi heshang muhu ge* 蘇溪和尚牧護歌. See *Muhu ge* 牧護歌.

*Taigong jiajiao* 太公家教. A book of popular proverbs written by an unknown author during the middle Tang period and found among the manuscripts unearthed at Dunhuang.

*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive record of the Taiping era), 500 fascicles. Compiled under the direction of Li Fang 李昉 (925–996), a scholar and prime minister during the Song dynasty, and published in 978. Considered one of the four great books of the Song dynasty, the *Taiping guangji* is a collection of about 7,000 stories primarily concerned with "the strange" 怪 (fairies, magicians, charms, and unusual natural events like earthquakes). The stories were selected from over 300 novels and other literary sources dating from the Han to the early Song dynasties; many of these sources are now known only from the passages found in the *Taiping guangji*.

*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (Taishō-era revised Buddhist canon), 100 volumes, including charts, illustrations, indices, etc. Commonly referred to as the *Taishō daizōkyō* 大正大藏經. This collection of 2,920 Tripiṭaka works was edited by the Editorial Committee for the Taishō Canon (Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行会), headed by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945) and Watanabe Kaigokyu 渡辺海旭 (1872–1933), in the years 1924–1932. Based on a collation of several earlier Asian canons and Indic-language texts, the *Taishō daizōkyō* has won widespread scholarly acceptance and is at present the most widely used compilation of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. The Taishō daizōkyō differs from earlier canons in that it does not follow a Hinayana-Mahayana method of classification, but organizes the texts chronologically, according to their likely order of historical appearance.

*Tang gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳. See *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳.

*Tang shu* 唐書. See *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書.

*Tanxuanji* 探玄記. See *Huayan jing tanxuanji* 華嚴經探玄記.

*Tanzhou Longyashan Dun Chanshi song* 潭州龍牙山遁禪師頌 (Poems of Chan Master Longya Judun), 1 fascicle (X 66: #1298, 726c–729a). A collection of ninety-five Chan poems by Longya Judun 龍牙居遁 (835–923), with a preface by Nanyue Qiji 南嶽齊己 (861–933?). The work is found in the *Chanmen zhuzushi jiesong* 禪門諸祖師偈頌, an anthology of eighty-four short works by Tang and Song Chan masters (see also entry for this work).

*Tengteng heshang Liaoyuan ge* 騰騰和尚了元歌. See *Liaoyuan ge* 了元歌.

*Tenzō kyōkun* 典座教訓 (Instructions to the cook), 1 fascicle. Written in 1237 by the Japanese Zen master Dōgen Kigen 道元希玄 (1200–1253), while Dōgen was at Kōshō-ji 興聖寺; later included as the first chapter of the *Eihei shingi* 永平清規 (Monastic regulations of Eihei). The text explains the duties and attitude of the monastic cook, and how best to fulfill the responsibilities of the position as a way of practice.

*Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era Extensive record of the transmission), 30 fascicles (X 78: #1553). Also known as the *Guangdeng lu* 廣燈錄. Compiled by the government official *Li Zunxu* 李遵勗 (d. 1038), completed in 1036, and published in 1148. The text, the successor to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 in the Lamp histories, presents the traditional biographies, sermons, and sayings of 370 figures of the traditional Chan lineage, from Śākyamuni to the masters in the ninth generation from Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and the twelfth generation from Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?–740). The compiler, Li, was a disciple of the Linji master Guyin Yuncong 谷隱蘊聰 (965–1032) and an enthusiastic supporter of the Linji school, and hence stressed the Linji tradition. The work includes the text of the *Linji lu* in a form almost identical to the version in present use.

*Tiantai si jiao yi* 天台四教儀 (The meaning of the Tiantai four teachings), 1 fascicle (T 46: #1931). A Tiantai text by the Korean Tiantai master Je-gwan 諦觀 (fl. late 10th c.). Based on the *Tiantai bajiao dayi* 天台八教大意, by Guanding 灌頂 (561–632) (T 46: #1930), the *Tiantai si jiao yi* constitutes an introduction to such basic aspects of Tiantai thought and practice as the Five Periods and Eight Teachings 五時八教, the Twenty-five Expedient Means of Contemplation 二十五方便, and the Ten Methods of Contemplation 十乘觀法. Je-gwan was invited to China by Qian Hongshu 錢弘俶 (r. 948–978), the king of Wuyue 吳越 and a great patron of Buddhism, who desired to reintroduce the teachings of Tiantai to China at a time when they had died out there owing to the warfare and destruction that followed the fall of the Tang dynasty. Je-gwan was one of the Korean and Japanese priests asked by the king to bring to China the Tiantai texts that still existed in those outlying lands.

*Tongjian jishi benmo* 通鑑紀事本末 (Events of the *Comprehensive mirror to aid government* in their historical context), 42 fascicles. A history of China written by the Southern Song historian Yuan Shu 袁樞 (1132–1205), based on the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror to aid government) of Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086). Whereas the *Zizhi tongjian* employed a chronological, year-by-year approach, Yuan adopted a new type of historiography within which historical events were placed in context, with explanations given of the various factors that led to the event and the event's eventual outcomes and effects. This type of historiography, known as *jishi benmo* 紀

事本末, subsequently gained great popularity and was employed in numerous works.

*Tongmeng zhiguan* 童蒙止觀. See *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要.

*Tongsu bian* 通俗編 (A lexicon of vernacular expressions), 38 fascicles. A Qing-dynasty glossary compiled by Di Hao 翟灝 (1736–1788) that defines, categorizes, and provides sources for terms in common usage in China at that time. The thirty-eight categories that the terms are classified under include, for example, astronomy, geography, government, literature, military, ritual, anatomy, theater, food, animals, fish, and plants.

*Toujia zhefumi jing* 偷迦遮復彌經. See *Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經.

*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sutra*. See *Weimo jing* 維摩經.

*Wang Fanzhi shiji* 王梵志詩集 (Poems of Wang Fanzhi), 1 fascicle (T 85: #2863). Little is known of the poet-monk Wang Fanzhi 王梵志 (590?–660?). He is remembered for his poems (preserved in a number of Dunhuang manuscripts) that present the Buddhist teachings in vernacular verse, easily understandable for laypeople. A number of his poems are similar in tone to those of Hanshan 寒山.

*Wangsheng lun zhu* 往生論註 (Commentary on the *Treatise on the Pure Land*), 2 fascicles (T 40: #1819). Full title *Wuliangshou jing youbotishe yuansheng ji zhu* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註; also abbreviated as *Jingtu lun zhu* 淨土論註. A commentary on the Jingtu lun 淨土論 (Treatise on the Pure Land; full title *Wuliangshou jing youbotishe* 無量壽經優波提舍) of Vasubandhu. The commentary, by the Pure Land patriarch Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542), describes how liberation can be achieved through the "easy path" of faith in the Other Power of Amitābha, and how such liberation is possible even for evildoers who have committed the ten evil acts. The text describes the practices by which one demonstrates such faith, primarily the "five gates of intention" 五念門, which include physical worship (prostrations, etc.), invocation of Amitābha's name, intention to be reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land, visualization of Amitābha and the Pure Land, and transference of merit 回向. Tanluan discusses the bodhisattva vows taken by Amitābha prior to his attainment of buddhahood, and identifies three in particular as the most important for Other Power: vow 18 (all beings desiring rebirth into Amitābha's Pure Land who call upon my name even just ten times will be guaranteed rebirth there), vow 11 (all humans and devas who dwell in my land will be in the Definitely Assured State and unfailingly reach Nirvana), and vow 22 (bodhisattvas in the buddha-lands of other quarters who visit my land will unfailingly achieve buddhahood after one more birth).

*Wanling lu* 宛陵錄 (The Wanling record), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2012B). Full title *Huangbo Duanji Chanshi wanling lu* 黃蘗斷際禪師宛陵録. The *Wanling lu* consists of sermons delivered by Huangbo and his answers to questions

from disciples while the master lived in the region of Wanling. Compilation is attributed to Huangbo's eminent lay disciple Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), although it appears to have actually been done by anonymous other disciples.

*Wanzhuyin* 翫珠吟 (Playing with the pearl), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 463b). Full title, *Danxia heshang wanzhuyin* 丹霞和尚翫珠吟. Two short poems by the eccentric Chan master Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然 (738–823).

*Weimo jing* 維摩經 (*Vimalakīrti Sutra*), 3 fascicles. The general name for the Chinese translations of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sutra*, one of the most popular of the Mahayana sutras in East Asia. The Sanskrit original was long thought to be lost, but in 1999 Japanese researchers from Taishō University found a complete copy, dating from the eighth century, at the Potala in Lhasa. The *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, which builds on the foundation of the prajñā-pāramitā (perfection of wisdom) sutra tradition, centers on the teaching of nonduality and śūnyatā. Its chief protagonist is the wealthy layman Vimalakīrti, a legendary contemporary of the Buddha who, although living in the ordinary world, is said to be more deeply enlightened than any of the Buddha's great disciples. In the sutra Śākyamuni urges his disciples to visit the layman, who has fallen ill because all sentient beings are ill and suffering. Śākyamuni's disciples excuse themselves, describing times when the great layman has embarrassed them by showing a deeper understanding of Buddhist doctrine and practice. Finally Mañjuśrī agrees to go, and is accompanied to Vimalakīrti's small room by the entire assembly, numbering in the tens of thousands (all of whom, owing to Vimalakīrti's miraculous powers, fit comfortably in the small space). The sutra presents, through the words of Vimalakīrti, a Mahayana perspective on right mendicancy, teaching, meditation, and many other aspects of Buddhist practice. In the most famous episode from the sutra Vimalakīrti is asked how to enter the gate of nonduality, and responds by sitting in utter silence. The *Vimalakīrti Sutra* has been translated into Chinese more often than any other sutra, with records remaining of at least seven versions. The earliest extant version is the *Foshuo Weimojie jing* 佛說維摩詰經, 2 fascicles, produced by the monk Zhiqian 支謙 (n.d.) between 222 and 228 (T 14: #474). The next, and still the most popular, version is the *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經, 3 fascicles, by Kumārajīva (C., Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–ca. 409), published in about 406 (T 14: #475). Third is the *Shuo wugoucheng jing* 說無垢稱經, 6 fascicles, by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), published in 650 (T 14: #476).

*Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經. See entry above.

*Weishi lun* 唯識論. See *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論.

*Wudai shi* 五代史. See *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史.

*Wudeng huiyuan* 五燈會元 (Compendium of the five lamps), 22 fascicles (X 80: #1565). Compiled by Dachuan Puji 大川普濟 (1179–1253) and published

in 1253. The first edition contained 20 fascicles; to this the second edition, published in 1364, added an additional two-fascicle table of contents. As the word "compendium" in the title suggests, this work is essentially a synthesis, with additional materials, of the information in the five earlier Lamp histories—the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era "*Record of the transmission of the lamp*") (1004), *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era "Record of the extensive transmission") (1036), *Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈録 (Jianzhong Jingguo-era "*Supplementary record of the lamp*") (1101), *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要 (Essential materials from the Zen school's successive lamp records) (1183), and *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈録 (Jiatai-era "*Extensive record of the lamp*") (1204). The result is perhaps the most comprehensive of all the Lamp materials, with entries on the Seven Buddhas of the Past, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese patriarchs, and important masters to the beginning of the thirteenth century. The *Wudeng huiyuan* was popular in both China and in Japan, and many koans are taken from it.

*Wufen lü* 五分律 (The five-part vinaya), 30 fascicles (T 22: #1421). Full title *Misha saibu hexi Wufen lü* 彌沙塞部和醯五分律. The rules of monastic discipline of the Mahīśāsaka school of Indian Buddhism, translated by Buddhajīva (C., Fotuoshi 佛陀什, a Kashmirian monk of the Mahīśāsaka-school who arrived in China in 423), working with Daosheng 道生 (ca. 360–434) and several other Chinese disciples of the great translator Kumārajīva. The manuscript that they translated is said to have been one brought to China from Sri Lanka by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Faxian 法顯 (n.d.) in the early fifth century. The text is called "five-part" because it is divided into five sections, in contrast to the *Sifen lü* 四分律 (The four-part vinaya; *Dharmaguptavinaya*). The *Wufen lü* is regarded as the Chinese vinaya closest to that of Theravada Buddhism.

*Wujia yulu* 五家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the Five Houses), 5 fascicles; sections are included in T 47: #1986 and #1987, and the three prefaces appear as X 69: #1326. Also known as the *Wuzhong lu* 五宗録, this work is a collection of the recorded sayings of the founders of the Five Houses 五家 of Chan, compiled by the monk Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 (n. d.) and the layman Guo Ningzhi 郭凝之 (n. d.). It was published about 1632.

*Wujia zhengzong zan* 五家正宗贊 (In praise of the Five Houses of the true school), 4 fascicles (X 78: #1554). A biographical collection compiled in 1254 by the Linji-school monk Xisou Shaotan 希叟紹曇 (n.d.). The *Wujia zhengzong zan* presents biographical sketches and verses for seventy-four masters, from Bodhidharma to representative monks of the five Chan "houses" (the Linji, Caodong, Yunmen, Guiyang, and Fayan), and describes the characteristic qualities of the houses and the masters. The term "true school" is in this case an appellation applied by the Chan school to itself, although, needless to say, all other schools of Buddhism regard themselves as the "true school."

The *Wujia zhengzong zan* arrived in Japan during the early period of Zen's transmission from China. It was admired from the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries for its literary beauty and was used as a model for poetic composition.

*Wuliangshou gongyang yigui* 無量壽供養儀軌. See *Fo lin niepan ji fazhu jing* 佛臨涅槃記法住經.

*Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (Sutra on eternal life), 2 fascicles (T 12: #360). Full title *Foshuo wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經. A Chinese translation of the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha Sutra*, produced in 252 by the third-century Central Asian monk Saṃghavarman (C., Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧), although some scholars argue that the true translators were the Indian monk Buddhabhadra (C., Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅, 359–429) and the Chinese monk Baoyun 寶雲 (467–529), and that the text was published in 421. The *Wuliangshou jing* is the so-called *Larger sutra on Immeasurable Life*, with the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (Amida sutra) being the *Smaller sutra on Immeasurable Life*. These two, plus the *Guan wuliang shou jing* 觀無量壽經, are the three main sutras of the Pure Land tradition. The *Wuliangshou jing* explains the career of Amitābha Buddha from the time when he was a king named Dharmākara who decided to quit his throne and devote himself to the attainment of buddhahood. As part of his practice Dharmākara took forty-eight vows, including, most importantly, the vow to create a Pure Land of Bliss, ideal for attaining enlightenment, where all who have faith in him may be reborn. The sutra also explains the practices of meditation and recitation by which beings may be reborn in this Pure Land, located "a hundred thousand million buddha lands to the west." Twelve translations of the sutra were made, of which five are extant. The most popular version is still the *Wuliangshou jing*; the others are: 1) the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經, translated between 147 and 186 by Lokaksema (C., Zhiloujiachen 支婁迦讖) (T: #361); 2) the *Amituo sanye sanfo saloufotan guodu rendao jing* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經, translated between 223 and 228 by Zhiqian 支謙 (T 12: #362); 3) the *Dasheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing* 大乘無量壽莊嚴經, translated in 980 by Faxian 法賢 (T 12: #363); and 4) the *Da amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經, translated in 1162 by Wang Rixiu 王日休 (d. 1173) (T 12: #364). In addition, there is the Indian monk Bodhiruci's (C., Putiliuzhi 菩提流志; 6th c.) translation *Wuliangshou rulai hui* 無量壽如來會, which constitutes fascicles 17 and 18 of the *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經.

*Wuliangshou jing youpotishe yuansheng ji zhu* 無量壽經優婆提舍願生偈註. See *Wangsheng lun zhu* 往生論註.

*Wumen guan* 無門關 (J., *Mumonkan*, The gateless barrier), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2005). Full title *Chanzong wumen guan* 禪宗無門關. A collection of koans compiled by Wumen Huikai 無門慧開 (1183–1260), with Wumen's commentaries and verses; edited by Zongshao 宗紹. The first edition, published in

1229, contained forty-eight cases; the second edition, published by Wumen's lay disciple Meng Gong 孟珙 in 1245, added a forty-ninth case selected by another disciple of the master, the layman Anwan 安晚 (the official Zheng Qingzhi 鄭清之 [d. 1251]). The text was taken to Japan by Shinchi Kakushin 心地覺心 (1207–1298), a Japanese disciple of Wumen. The first Japanese edition of the text is said to have been made at Shinchi's temple Kōkoku-ji 興國寺. The *Wumen guan* has remained a central text in Japanese Rinzai koan study. It is relatively simple and direct in its presentation of the koans, in contrast to the more poetic approach of the *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄.

*Wuxing lun* 悟性論 (Treatise on awakening to the nature of mind), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2009, 370c–373b). One of the six short treatises in the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門, traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma. The text discusses Buddhist practice and the fundamental emptiness of the mind.

*Wuzu Fayan Chanshi yulu* 五祖法演禪師語錄. See *Fayan Chanshi yulu* 法演禪師語錄.

*Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (Sutra on the wise and foolish), 13 fascicles (T 4: #202). Alternate title, *Xianyu yinyuan jing* 賢愚因緣經. The *Damamūka-nidāna Sutra* translated into Chinese by Huijue 慧覺 in 445. The "nidāna" ("causality") texts are a genre consisting of stories or allegories showing the causal relationship between actions in one existence and those in a subsequent existence. The *Xianyu jing*, containing sixty-two (or, in the Korean version, sixty-nine) such stories, was of great importance for the transmission of Buddhism in the Khotan and Duhhuang regions.

*Xianzong ji* 顯宗記 (Record of the essential teachings), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 458c–459b). Full title *Heze Dashi xianzong ji* 荷澤大師顯宗記. This work corresponds to the Dunhuang text *Dunwu wusheng bore song* 頓悟無生般若頌. The *Xianzong ji*, formerly the only known work by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (684–758), the chief proponent of the Southern school of Chan, emphasizes prajñā, sudden enlightenment, and no-thought as central to the Chan teachings.

*Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀. See *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要.

*Xiaopin bore jing* 小品般若經 (Smaller wisdom sutra), 10 fascicles (T 8: #227). Full title *Xiaopin bore boluomi jing* 小品般若波羅密經, abbreviated title *Xiaopin jing* 小品經. The Chinese translation by Kumārajīva of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā Sutra* (Perfection of wisdom in eight thousand lines), the earliest known of the prajñā-pāramitā (perfection of wisdom) sutras. See *Bore jing* 般若經.

*Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (Bodhidharma's six gates), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2009). A compilation of six short treatises attributed to Bodhidharma, although there is no evidence that he was the actual author. The title is more correctly written *Shaoshi liumen* 少室六門, "Shaoshi" 少室 being an alternate name for Bodhidharma, from the fact that Shaolin si 少林寺, his temple, was located

on the peak Shaoshi 少室 of Mount Song 嵩. The six treatises that comprise the *Xiaoshi liumen* are: 1) *Xin jing song* 心經頌 (Verse on the mind sutra); 2) *Po xiang lun* 破相論 (Treatise on the cessation of thoughts); 3) *Er zhong ru* 二種入 (The two entrances); 4) *Anxin famen* 安心法門 (Dharma gate for pacifying the mind); 5) *Wuxing lun* 悟性論 (Treatise on awakening to the nature of mind); 6) *Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission). The individual texts date to the Tang; texts for the *Anxin famen* and the *Er zhong ru* have been found at Dunhuang. The *Xiaoshi liumen* itself appears to date to the Song; the oldest extant text is the Japanese Five Mountain edition 五山版, published in the late Kamakura period (1192–1333).

*Xin Huayan jing lun* 新華嚴經論 (Treatise on the new translation of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*), 40 fascicles (T 36: #1739). By Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (639–734), a famous lay Buddhist scholar; date of publication unknown. This treatise, a systematic categorization of the various teachings and other features of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, is the earliest complete commentary on the so-called "New Translation" or "Eighty-Fascicle Edition" of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. Li saw the "Ru fajie pin" 入法界品 (Chapter on entering the Dharma Land) as the central teaching of the sutra, and the remaining thirty-nine chapters as auxiliary.

*Xin ming* 心銘 (Mind verse), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 457b–458a). Full title *Niutoushan chuzu Farong Chanshi xin ming* 牛頭山初祖法融禪師心銘. A 198-line poem attributed to Niutou Farong 牛頭法融 (594–657), first patriarch of the Niutou 牛頭 school. Farong argues for what is a very traditional Buddhist meditation practice of balanced śamatha and vipaśyanā, in which one observes the rising and vanishing of thoughts in a mind that is fundamentally void. "Fix the mind nowhere / Fixing the mind nowhere / Limitless brightness shows itself" (Sheng-yen 1987, p. 42).

*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Newer chronicles of the Tang), 225 fascicles. One of the so-called Twenty-four Histories of China, this text, compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061), received its title in order to distinguish it from the earlier *Tang shu* 唐書 (Chronicles of the Tang), compiled by Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946). It was largely a revision of the material in the *Tang shu* (subsequently referred to as the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書) with additional material added from sources discovered after the publication of the *Tang shu*. Many Chinese historians have criticized the work as inferior to the *Jiu Tang shu* in historical detail and scholarly objectivity.

*Xinjing lu* 心鏡錄. See *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄.

*Xinwang ming* 心王銘 (Verses on the Mind King), 1 fascicle (T 51: #2076, 456c–457a). Full title *Fu Dashi xinwang ming* 傅大士心王銘. A sixty-eight line poem attributed to Fu Dashi 傅大士, a famous sixth-century lay Buddhist. The position of the *Xinwang ming* can be summarized in the verse,

"When you realize original mind / The mind sees Buddha. This mind is Buddha / This Buddha is mind" (SHENG-YEN 1987, p. 18).

*Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (On faith in mind), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2010). A 146-line poem attributed to Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606?), the Third Chinese Patriarch of Chan. The poem, one of the earliest in Chan literature, stresses the nonduality of truth. This standpoint is expressed in the closing lines of the poem (which also provide the rationale for the title): "Existence is precisely emptiness / Emptiness is precisely existence.... One is everything / Everything is one.... Faith and mind are not two / Nonduality is faith in mind." (SHENG-YEN 1987, p. 29–30).

*Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要 (Essentials of seated meditation for practicing calming and contemplation), 1 fascicle (T 46: #1915). Also known as the *Zuochan fayao* 坐禪法要, *Tongmeng zhiguan* 童蒙止觀, and *Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀. A ten-chapter treatise by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), founder of the Tiantai school, on the practice of *zhiguan* 止觀 (śamatha/vipaśyanā), the fundamental Tiantai meditation practice. The work, written as a summary of the *Cidi chanmen* 次第禪門 (another meditation text by Zhiyi), discusses in concrete detail the physical and spiritual preparations necessary for meditation and various methods for practicing it.

*Xiuxing daodi jing* 修行道地經 (Sutra on the stages of the path of cultivation), 7 fascicles (T 15: #606). Alternative title, *Toujia zhefumi jing* 偷迦遮復彌經. Translated by the Scythian monk Dharmarakṣa (C., Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265–313). A sutra emphasizing basic Buddhist meditation methods on impurity, compassion, causality, and breathing. The practice of śamatha and vipaśyanā are explained, as well as contemplation on the Four Noble Truths. Later chapters are devoted to Mahayana bodhisattva practices.

*Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Records of a pilgrimage to the West). A Ming novel ascribed to Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (1500?–1582) and originally published in 1590, the *Xiyou ji* is a fictionalized account of the great translator-monk Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600?–664) pilgrimage to India to obtain Buddhist sutras. Xuanzang is aided in his quest by three companions: Monkey (Sun Wukong 孫悟空), Pig (Zhu Bajie 豬八戒), and the River Ogre (Sha Wujing 沙悟淨). The novel has remained one of the most popular works of Chinese literature for centuries owing to its humor, adventure, and entertainingly presented teachings on the spiritual path.

*Xu chuandeng lu* 續傳燈錄 (Further transmission of the lamp), 36 fascicles (T 51: #2077). A Chan biographical collection, compiled by Yuanji Juding 圓極居頂 (d. 1404) and published in the late fourteenth century as part of the Ming Tripiṭaka. Intended as a supplement to the JC, the collection begins in the tenth generation after the Sixth Patriarch with the early Northern Song master Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 (947–1024), and concludes in the twentieth

generation after the Sixth Patriarch with several late Southern Song disciples of Lingyin Songyue 靈隱嵩嶽 (1139–1209).

*Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Supplementary *Biographies of eminent monks*), 30 fascicles (T 50: #2060). Also known as the *Tang gaoseng zhuan* 唐高僧傳. Compiled by the monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and completed in 645, though revisions adding new material continued until Daoxuan's death. The *Xu gaoseng zhuan* is a sequel to the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks), published in 519. It gives the biographies of 485 priests who lived in the 144-year period between the beginning of the Liang dynasty (502-557) and the nineteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (645). The biographical entries are categorized into ten sections: 1) translators; 2) exegetes; 3) meditation masters; 4) vinaya specialists; 5) defenders of the dharma; 6) thaumaturges; 7) ascetics or martyrs; 8) sutra specialists; 9) benefactors; 10) miscellaneous, chanters.

*Xu guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要 (Supplementary recorded sayings of the ancient worthies), 6 fascicles (X 68: #1318). Also known as the *Xukai guzunsu yuyao* 續開古尊宿語要 and the *Xukan guzunsu yuyao* 續刊古尊宿語. This anthology of important Chan records, compiled by Huishi Shiming 晦室師明 (n.d.), was published in 1238 as a supplement to the earlier *Guzunsu yuyao* 古尊宿語要 (1144). The collection presents the records of eighty-three Chan masters, starting with Linji and concluding with Huo'an Shiti 或庵師體 (1108–1179). All of the records are presented in abbreviated form, except for that of Linji.

*Xu qingliang zhuan* 續清涼傳 (Supplementary *Tales of [Mount] Qingliang*), 2 fascicles (T 51: #2100). A continuation of the *Gu qingliang zhuan* 古清涼傳 and the *Guang qingliang zhuan* 廣清涼傳. See *Gu qingliang zhuan*.

*Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* 玄沙師備禪師廣録. See following entry.

*Xuansha Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 玄沙宗一大師廣錄 (Extensive record of Great Teacher Xuansha Zongyi), 3 fascicles (X 73: 1445). Also known as *Fuzhou Xuansha Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 福州玄沙宗一大師廣録 or *Xuansha Shibei Chanshi guanglu* 玄沙師備禪師廣録; abbreviated as *Zongyi Dashi guanglu* 宗一大師廣録 or *Xuansha lu* 玄沙録. The complete record of the Chan master Xuansha Shibei 玄沙師備 (835–908), containing his sermons, verses, and inscriptions. The text was originally compiled in 900 by Xuansha's disciple Zhiyan 智嚴 (n.d.), but this version was lost. In 1080 Sun Jue 孫覺 (n.d.), the governor of Fuzhou 福州, compiled and published the fragments of the earlier text; this is the version upon which all present texts are based.

*Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古 (Xuedou's verse comments on one hundred old koans), 1 fascicle. Full title *Xuedou heshang baize songgu* 雪竇和尚百則頌古. A collection of one hundred old koans selected and commented upon by the Chan master Xuedou Chongxian 雪竇重顯 (980–1052) of the Yunmen school. The *Xuedou baize songgu* later became the basis for the famous koan collection *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄 (The blue cliff record).

*Xuedou heshang baize songgu* 雪竇和尚百則頌古. See *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古.

*Xuedou Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 雪竇明覺禪師語錄. See *Mingjue Chanshi yulu* 明覺禪師語錄.

*Xuefeng Huikong Chanshi yulu* 雪峰慧空禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Xuefeng Huikong), 1 fascicle (X 69: #1346). Alternative titles *Xuefeng Dongshan heshang yulu* 雪峰東山和尚語録; *Dongshan Xuefeng Kong heshang yulu* 東山雪峰空和尚語録. A collection of the formal and informal sermons, verses, comments on koans, and other materials relating to the Chan master Xuefeng Huikong 雪峰慧空 (1096–1158), compiled by the master's disciple Huibi 慧弼 (n.d.). The first edition was published in 1183 with a preface by Juexing 覺性 (n.d.).

*Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* 雪峰義存禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Xuefeng Yicun), 2 fascicles (X 69: #1333). Also known as the *Xuefeng Zhenjue Chanshi yulu* 雪峰眞覺禪師語錄; *Zhenjue Dashi yulu* 眞覺大師語錄; or simply *Xuefeng yulu* 雪峰語錄. A compilation containing a short biography, formal and informal sermons, exchanges, verses, admonitions, and other material relating to the Chan master Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908). The first edition of the work, now lost, was published in 1032 with a preface by Wang Sui 王隨 (n.d.), the prime minister at that time. In 1080 Sun Jue 孫覺 (n.d.), the governor of Fuzhou 福州, published a revised edition, also lost. The present text is based on a version edited by Lin Hong'yan 林弘衍 (n.d.) and published in 1639.

*Xuefeng yulu* 雪峰語錄. See *Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* 雪峰義存禪師語錄.

*Xuemai lun* 血脈論 (Treatise on the transmission), one of the six short treatises in the *Xiaoshi liumen* 小室六門 (T 48: #2009), traditionally attributed to Bodhidharma. A text in question-and-answer format discussing the true nature of practice and enlightenment. Central concepts are the identity of buddha and mind and the necessity of "seeing self-nature" 見性. Mention of the twenty-seven Indian patriarchs suggest that the text is a mid-Tang work published after the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳, which first delineated this tradition.

*Xukai guzunsu yuyao* 續開古尊宿語要. See *Xu guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要.

*Xukan guzunsu yuyao* 續刊古尊宿語. See *Xu guzunsu yuyao* 續古尊宿語要.

*Xutang ji* 虛堂集 (Empty hall anthology), 6 fascicles (X 67: #1304). Full title *Linquan Laoren pingchang Danxia Chun Chanshi songgu xutang ji* 林泉老人評唱丹霞淳禪師頌古虛堂集. The capping phrases and commentaries of the Caodong master Linquan Conglun 林泉從倫 (n.d.) on a collection of one hundred koans with verse comments by the Caodong master Danxia Zichun 丹霞子淳 (1064–1117). The work, inspired by collections like the *Biyan lu* and the *Congrong lu* 從容錄 (Record of equanimity) is included in the *Sijia*

*pingchang lu* 四家評唱錄 (Commentaries on the Four Houses), a collection of four koan commentaries. See also *Konggu ji* 空谷集.

*Yangjuemoluo jing* 央掘魔羅經 (Aṅgulimāla Sutra), 4 fascicles (T 2: #120). Translated by Guṇabhadra (C., Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅, 394–468). For content see *Foshuo Yangjueji jing* 佛說鴦崛髻經.

*Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 仰山慧寂禪師語錄 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Yangshan Huiji), 1 fascicle (T 47: #1990). Full title *Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 袁州仰山慧寂禪師語錄. The recorded sayings of the Chan master Yangshan Huiji 仰山慧寂 (807–883), a direct heir of Guishan Lingyou 潙山靈祐 (771–853) and the cofounder with him of the Guiyang school of Chan. The text was compiled in 1630 by Yufeng Yuanxin 語風圓信 (n.d.) and the layman Guo Ningzhi 郭凝之 (n.d.) and published in 1665. It is one of the texts included in the *Wujia yulu* 五家語錄 (Recorded sayings of the Five Houses).

*Yanyi chao* 演義鈔. See *Dafangguang fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔.

*Yichuan xiansheng yu* 伊川先生語 (Sayings of Master Yichuan). A compilation of the sayings of Yichuan 伊川, another name for Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107), who, along with his older brother, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), was one of the principal early architects of the Neo-Confucian movement.

*Yihai baimen* 義海百門. See *Huayan jing yihai baimen* 華嚴經義海百門.

*Yilin zhang* 義林章. See *Dasheng fayuan yilin zhang* 大乘法苑義林章.

*Yinhua lu* 因話錄 (Notes from conversations), 6 fascicles. A book of essays on Tang-dynasty matters by Zhao Lin 趙璘 (fl. 836–846). The first fascicle deals with the affairs of the emperor; the second and third fascicles with the affairs of the aristocracy and officialdom; the fourth fascicle with the affairs of those who did not receive official positions and the affairs of commoners; the fifth fascicle with various humorously arranged quotations; and the sixth with miscellaneous topics.

*Youxian ku* 遊仙窟 (Realm of the amorous goddesses), a novel by Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (657–730), also known as Zhang Wencheng 張文成, about the adventures of an official who, on a journey near the headwaters of the Huang He (Yellow River), unexpectedly found himself in the realm of the immortals. The novel was lost in China, but remained popular in Japan and exerted great influence on Heian literature.

*Yuanchao mishi* 元朝密史 (Secret history of the Mongols). The first literary work in the Mongolian language, by an unknown author. Published about twenty years after the death of Chinggis Khan (1160?–1227), the *Yuanchao mishi* describes the legendary origins of the Mongol nation, the life of Chinggis Khan, the creation of the Mongolian empire, and the reign of Chinggis's son Ögedei (d. 1241). The work also provides a detailed depiction of the nomadic Mongolian lifestyle.

*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 (Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment), 1 fascicle (T 17: #842). Full title *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經. A Mahayana sutra that, according to tradition, was translated into Chinese by the Kashmirian monk Bhutatāra (C., Fotuoduoluo 佛陀多羅, n.d.) in 693. It is now regarded to be a Chinese apocryph produced in the early eighth century CE. The single fascicle is divided into twelve chapters that deal with the practice of meditation, taking up such issues as the nature of ignorance, the relation of sudden and gradual enlightenment, and the various false views that may hinder a seeker on the way to perfect enlightenment. The sutra begins with a strict position in support of sudden enlightenment, but as the text progresses it balances this by introducing teachings on gradual enlightenment as well.

*Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 [Large commentary on the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*]), 26 fascicles (X 9: #245). By Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of both the Huayan 華嚴 school and Chan's Heze 荷澤 school. This and other commentaries on the *Yuanjue jing* were in large part responsible for the great popularity of the sutra in China.

*Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao* 圓覺經略疏鈔 (Subcommentary to the *Yuanjue jing lüeshu* 圓覺經略疏 [Abridged commentary on the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*]), 12 fascicles (X 9: #248). By Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841).

*Yuanren baizhong qu* 元人百種曲 (A hundred Yuan plays), 48 fascicles. Also known as the *Yuanqu xuan* 元曲選. By Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 (1550–1620), also known as Zang Jinshu 臧晉叔. A collection of one hundred scripts from the Jin 金 and Yuan 元 dynasties, including six from the early Ming 明 dynasty.

*Yuanwu Chanshi xinyao* 圜悟禪師心要. See *Foguo Keqin Chanshi xinyao* 佛果克勤禪師心要.

*Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* 圜悟佛果禪師語録 (Recorded sayings of Chan Master Yuanwu Foguo), 20 fascicles (T 47: #1997). Often referred to as the *Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi yulu* 佛果圜悟禪師語録, *Yuanwu Chanshi yulu* 圜悟禪師語録, or *Yuanwu lu* 圜悟録, the work is a compendium of the sermons, informal talks, verse, and prose of Yuanwu Keqin 圜悟克勤 (1063–1135), compiled by the master's foremost disciple, Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 (1077–1136). It was first published in 1134, with prefaces by the government officials Geng Yanxi 耿延禧 (n.d.) and Zhang Jun 張浚 (1086–1154), both lay disciples of the master. The record contains formal sermons from the high seat 上堂 (fascicles 1–8); informal discourses 小參 (fascicles 8–13); public lectures for lay believers 普説 (fascicle 13); informal talks on practice 法語 (fascicles 14–16); prose comments on koans 拈古 (fascicles 16–18); verse comments on koans 頌古 (fascicles 18–19); and miscellaneous verses and prose writings (fascicle 20).

*Yuanzhou Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 袁州仰山慧寂禪師語錄. See *Yangshan Huiji Chanshi yulu* 仰山慧寂禪師語錄.

*Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Anthology of songs), 100 fascicles. By Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 of the Song dynasty. A collection of songs, dating from prehistoric to Tang-dynasty times, arranged into twelve categories such as state banquet songs, dance songs, matching songs, songs accompanied by the flute, songs accompanied by the lute, etc. The work includes detailed notes on the history and contents of the songs.

*Yunmen guanglu* 雲門廣錄 (Extensive record of Yunmen), 3 fascicles (T 47: #1988). Full title *Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡眞禪師廣錄; also known as the *Yunmen heshang guanglu* 雲門和尚廣錄, or simply *Yunmen lu* 雲門錄. A collection of the sermons, verses, koans, questions and answers, and other materials relating to the Chan master Yunmen Wenyan 雲門文偃 (864–949), compiled by the master's disciple Shoujian 守堅 (n.d.) and published in 1076 with a preface by the government official Su Xie 蘇澥.

*Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu* 雲門匡眞禪師廣錄. See entry above.

*Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論 (Treatise on the stages of Yogācāra practice), 100 fascicles (T 30: #1579). Full title *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論. A translation by Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) of the *Yogācārabhūmi śāstra*, the fundamental text of the Yogācāra school, variously attributed to the Yogācāra patriarchs Maitreya (C., Mile 彌勒; 4th c.?) and Asaṅga (C., Wuzhuo 無著; 4th or 5th c.), who in turn are traditionally said to have heard it directly from the bodhisattva Maitreya in Tsuṣita Heaven. The principal part of the treatise explains the seventeen stages (bhūmi) that, according to Yogācāra thought, a seeker must advance through on the way to enlightenment. Subsequent sections provide interpretations of the bhūmi, provide textual support from the sutras for the Yogācāra bhūmi doctrine, and clarify various terms and topics from the Tripiṭaka. The treatise devotes particular attention to the role of the ālaya-vijñāna (storehouse consciousness) in the path to enlightenment. In addition to the Xuanzang translation, the following earlier translations exist: *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經, 10 fascicles, translated by Dharmakṣema (C., Tanwuchen 曇無讖; 385–433?) (T 30: #1581); *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, 9 fascicles, translated by Gunavarman (C., Qiunabamo 求那跋摩; 367–431) (T 30: #1582); *Pusa shanjie jing* 菩薩善戒經, 1 fascicle, translated by Gunavarman (C., Qiunabamo 求那跋摩; 367–431) (T 30: #1583); and *Jueding zang lun* 決定藏論, 3 fascicles, translatedby Paramārtha (C., Zhendi 眞諦; 499–569) (T 30: #1583).

*Yuqie shidi lun lüezuan* 瑜伽師地論略纂 (Outline of the *Treatise on the stages of yoga practice*), 16 fascicles (T 43: #1829). Also known as the *Yuqie lun lüezuan* 瑜伽論略纂. A commentary by Ci'en Dashi Kuiji 慈恩大師窺基 (632–682) on the *Yuqie lun* 瑜伽論 (see entry above). Kuiji explains his purpose as the

summarization of the treatise's more complex sections and the supplementation of its overly abbreviated sections.

*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (Miscellaneous discourses of the Buddha), 50 fascicles (T 2: #99). A Chinese translation by Guṇabhadra (C., Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅; 394–468) of the *Saṃyukta Āgama*. This is the equivalent of the Pali *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, the "Connected (or Grouped) Discourses," consisting of sutras arranged in five sections (vaggas), each having chapters (samyuttas) with a group of sutras on a related topic. See also *Ahan jing* 阿含經.

*Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 (Further discourses of the Buddha), 51 fascicles (T 2: #125). A Chinese translation of the *Ekottara Āgama* by Gautama Saṃghadeva (C., Qutan Sengqie Tipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆; fl. 365–397). This is the equivalent of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, consisting of sutras arranged in eleven sections according to the number of subjects they deal with. See also *Ahan jing* 阿含經.

*Zenrin shōkisen* 禪林象器箋 (Notes on Zen implements), 20 fascicles. A Zen reference work by the great Japanese scholar-monk Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744), with a preface dated 1741. The work describes the origin, development, and meaning of the Zen monastic rules, rituals, institutions, implements, etc.

*Zhao lun* 肇論 (The treatises of Zhao), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1858). A collection of short treatises on prajñā by Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), an eminent Chinese disciple of Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344–ca. 409); most likely written between 404 and 414, when Sengzhao was in Chang'an working under Kumārajīva. Neither the compiler nor the date of compilation are known. Contents include: "Zongbenyi" 宗本義 (Fundamental principles), "Wubuqian lun" 物不遷論 (Treatise on the immutability of things), "Buzhenkong lun" 不眞空論 (Treatise on śūnyatā), "Bore wuzhi lun" 般若無知論 (Prajñā is not of the known), and "Niepan wuming lun" 涅槃無名論 (Nirvana is without form). The *Zhao lun* was highly regarded in the Sanlun 三論 (Three Treatises), Huayan 華嚴, and Chan schools.

*Zhaozhou lu* 趙州錄 (Record of Zhaozhou), 2 or 3 fascicles (GY 13; X 68: #1315). Full title *Zhaozhou Zhenji Chanshi yulu* 趙州眞際禪師語録. A collection of the sermons and exchanges of the eminent Chan master Zhaozhou Congshen 趙州從諗 (778–897). Original compiler and publication date are unknown; the oldest extant edition was re-edited by a certain Chengshi 澄諟 (n.d.), a second-generation disciple of Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958). The text proper is preceded by a short biography of the master entitled "Zhaozhou Zhenji Chanshi xingzhuang" 趙州眞際禪師行狀, attributed to Huitong 惠通 of Dongyuan 東院 and dated 953.

*Zhaozhou Zhenji Chanshi yulu* 趙州眞際禪師語録. See entry above.

*Zheng suwen* 證俗文 (Explaining vernacular writings), 19 fascicles. A lexicon

of colloquialisms by the eminent Qing-dynasty scholar Hao Yixing 郝懿行 (1757–1825).

*Zhengdao ge* 證道歌 (Song of enlightenment), 1 fascicle (T 48: #2014, 395c–397a). Attributed to Yongjia Xuanjue 永嘉玄覺 (663–713), a disciple of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng 慧能 (638–713), this poem, along with the *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 of Sengcan 僧粲 (d. 606?), is one of the earliest examples of Chan literature. In 1,814 characters it extols the absolute freedom of the awakened mind. The attribution to Yongjia has been questioned, but the text unquestionably dates back to the earliest period of Chan, with eighth-century manuscripts having been found at Dunhuang.

*Zhengfa nianchu jing* 正法念處經 (Sutra on contemplating the true dharma), 70 fascicles (T 17: #721). A Chinese translation of the *Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna Sutra* by the Central Indian monk Gautama Prajñāruci (C., Qutan Boreliuzhi 瞿曇般若流支), who was active from 538 to 543. The sutra discusses the workings of karmic causality in the triloka (three realms) and five gati (five paths of rebirth), and explains the religious practices appropriate for Buddhist monks and nuns. The sutra's graphic descriptions of the realms of the hell dwellers, the preta, and the animals are especially well known.

*Zhengfayan zang* 正法眼藏 (Treasury of the true dharma eye), 6 fascicles (X 67: #1309). A collection of koans and dialogues compiled between 1147 and 1150 by the Chan master Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), with comments or capping phrases added by Dahui.

*Zhenjue Dashi yulu* 眞覺大師語錄. See *Xuefeng Yicun Chanshi yulu* 雪峰義存禪師語錄.

*Zhidu lun* 智度論. See *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論.

*Zhihui zhuangyan jing* 智慧莊嚴經. See *Rulai zhuangyan zhihui guangming ru yiqie fojingjie jing* 如來莊嚴智慧光明入一切佛境界經.

*Zhiyue lu* 指月錄 (Pointing at the moon record), 32 fascicles (X 83: #1578). A collection of biographical accounts compiled by Qu Ruji 瞿汝稷 (1548-1610), published with a preface dated 1602. The text presents material relating to the Seven Buddhas of the Past, Śākyamuni, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese ancestors, through to masters up to the year 1164. The final two fascicles contain the essential sayings of Dahui Zonggao.

*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (Middle-length discourses), 60 fascicles (T 1: #26). A Chinese translation by Gautama Saṃghadeva (C., Qutan Sengqie Tipo 瞿曇僧伽提婆; fl. 365–397) of the *Madhyama Āgama*, the *Āgama* sutra corresponding to the Pali *Majjhima Nikāya*. Contains 222 medium-length discourses on a wide variety of topics, including central doctrines like the Four Noble Truths and the Twelve-linked Chain of Causation. See also *Ahan jing* 阿含經.

*Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 (Middle-length record of the Buddha's former deeds),

2 fascicles (T 4: #196). A work of biographical literature on the Buddha, one of the oldest examples of this genre, translated in 207 by Tanguo 曇果 (n.d.) and Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (n.d.). The sutra relates in fifteen chapters the Buddha's life from the time of his enlightenment to the time just prior to his *parinirvāṇa*. It is believed to be a companion work to the *Xiuxing benqi jing* 修行本起經 (T 3: #184), which describes the Buddha's previous existences and his life up until the time of his enlightenment.

*Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (Chart of the master-disciple succession of the Chan school that transmits the mind ground in China), 1 fascicle (X 63: #1225). By Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of the Huayan 華嚴 school and Chan's Heze 荷澤 school. The work begins with a letter to Zongmi from the government official Pei Xiu 裴休 (797–870), in which Pei inquires about the four schools of Chan (the Beizong 北宗, Niutou 牛頭, Heze 荷澤, and Hongzhou 洪州). Zongmi provides a detailed reply, giving the lineages and teachings of the respective schools and offering critical analyses.

*Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen* 註華嚴法界觀門 (Commentary on the *Huayan dharma-realm meditation*), 1 fascicle (T 45: #1884). By Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841), the fifth patriarch of the Huayan 華嚴 school and Chan's Heze 荷澤 school. A commentary on the *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門, a treatise by Du Shun 杜順 (557–640), the first patriarch of the Huayan school. Zongmi's commentary relies considerably on the *Huayan fajie xuanjing* 華嚴法界玄鏡, by the fourth Huayan patriarch Qingliang Chengguan 清凉澄觀 (737–838), but particularly emphasizes the meditation on śūnyatā 眞空觀.

*Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經 (Commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*), 10 fascicles (T 38: #1775). A commentary on the *Vimalakīrti Sutra* attributed to Sengzhao 僧肇 (374/78–414), an eminent Chinese disciple of Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344–ca. 409), from notes on Kumārajīva's lectures given during the translation of the sutra, plus the comments of Sengzhao, *Daosheng* 道生 (ca. 360–434), and several other disciples. Sengzhao's contributions account for over half of the text, including the preface. Kumārajīva's careful definitions of the terminology used in the sutra reveal the translator's concern with meaning, while his disciple's comments show the developing Chinese understanding of Buddhism.

*Zhu Zi yulei* 朱子語類 (Conversations of Zhu Zi), 140 fascicles. Also known as the *Zhu Xi yulu* 朱熹語錄 or *Zhu Xi yulu* 朱子語錄. The recorded sayings of the great Neo-Confucian thinker Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), compiled and classified into thirty-five categories (principle 理, energy 氣, spirits, the various Confucian classics and philosophers, etc.) by Li Jingde 黎靖德 (13th c.).

*Zhu Zi yulu* 朱子語錄 (Recorded sayings of Zhu Zi). See entry above.

*Zhuangzi* 莊子. A Taoist work attributed to the Taoist sage Zhuangzi 莊子 (4th c. BCE). With the *Daode jing*, this is one of the greatest of the Taoist classics. It consists of thirty-three chapters, the first seven of which, known as the "Inner Chapters," are attributed to Zhuangzi himself. The fifteen "Outer Chapters" and eleven "Mixed Chapters" are said to have been the work of his disciples. The book deals with such themes as the nature of the Tao; the freedom of the sage; the relativity of good and evil, life and death; and the importance of meditation.

*Zhufa wuxing jing* 諸法無行經 (All dharmas are without activity sutra), 2 fascicles (T 15: #650). A Chinese translation by Kumārajīva of the *Sarvadharmapravṛtti-nirdeśa*. This sutra, taking the prajñā-pāramitā standpoint of śūnyatā in which all things lack self-nature, argues that the Buddha law and secular law are equivalent, as are bodhisattvas and ordinary beings, enlightenment and delusion, etc. The use of expedient means for the salvation of sentient beings is stressed, and overattachment to the precepts is condemned. The tathāgatagarbha thought of this sutra had a deep influence on the development of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. Other translations of the *Sarvadharmapravṛtti-nirdeśa* are the *Foshuo zhufa benwu jing* 佛說諸法本無經 (T 15: #651), translated by Jñānagupta (C., She'najueduo 闍那崛多; 523–600), and the *Foshuo dasheng suizhuan xuanshuo zhufa jing* 佛說大乘隨轉宣說諸法經 (T 15: #652), translated by the Song-dynasty monk Shaode 紹德.

*Zhufang menren canwen yulu* 諸方門人參問語錄 (Record of questions asked by disciples from everywhere), 1 fascicle (X 63: #1224). Compiled by Dazhu Huihai 大珠慧海 (n.d.), a disciple of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). The work, which presents Huihai's lectures and his answers to questions from students, together with biographical information from JC 28, was compiled and edited by the Ming-dynasty Tiantai monk Miaoxie 妙叶 (n.d.) and first published in 1374. It forms the second fascicle of the *Dunwu rudao yaomen lun* 頓悟入道要門論 (see also entry for this work).

*Zhuzi bianlüe* 助字辨略 (Compendium of auxiliary characters), 5 fascicles. Completed in 1711. A text compiled by the Qing-dynasty scholar Liu Qi 劉淇 (fl. 1711) that explains the use of Chinese auxiliary characters 助字 using a system that classifies them into thirty categories and presents six examples of each.

*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror to aid government), 294 fascicles. Regarded as the greatest work of Chinese historiography, the *Zizhi tongjian* was compiled by the eminent historian Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) on the order of Emperor Yingzong of the Song dynasty. Work began in 1065 and was completed in 1084. Intended as a universal history of China, the *Zizhi tongjian* employed a chronological, year-by-year approach that covered the period from 403 BCE to 959 CE. The purpose of the history (as

indicated by the word *jian* 鑑, "mirror," in the title) was to provide a guide to help the emperor govern wisely on the basis of a thorough knowledge of the past. The work was extremely influential and inspired many sequels. The commentary by Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1287) is now regarded as part of the text itself.

*Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Records of the source-mirror), 100 fascicles (T 48: #2016). Also known as the *Zongjian lu* 宗鑑錄 and the *Xinjing lu* 心鏡錄. The work, apparently commissioned by King Qian Hongshu 錢弘俶 (r. 948–978) of Wuyue 吳越, was compiled by Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–976), a Tiantai monk who stressed an integrated approach to scholarly study and meditative practice. Completed in 961, the work was presented to the king, who wrote a preface and preserved the work in the palace. It was first published in the Yuanyou 元祐 era (1086–1093), with a preface by the prime minister, Yang Jie 楊傑 (n.d.). The *Zongjing* lu places primary importance on the contemplation of mind, supporting this teaching with an encyclopedic presentation of passages from Chan, Tiantai, Yogācāra, and other traditions. It was included in the Song edition of the Tripiṭaka, and exerted a wide influence on the various schools of Chinese Buddhism.

*Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要 (Essential materials from the Chan school's successive Lamp Records), 31 fascicles (X 79: #1557). Usually referred to as the *Liandeng huiyao* 聯燈會要. Compiled in 1183 by Huiweng Wuming 晦翁悟明 (n.d.), a monk in the lineage of Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163), this text covers the traditional Chan lineage from the Seven Buddhas of the Past, Śākyamuni, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese ancestors, through to masters of the compiler's own time. Entries for over six hundred figures present enlightenment experiences, exchanges, and teachings. The content relates primarily to koan material; historical information is sparse, although the text itself is counted among the biographical Lamp Records, together with the the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Jingde-era *Record of the transmission of the lamp*) (1004), *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 (Tiansheng-era *Record of the extensive transmission*) (1036), *Jianzhong Jingguo xudeng lu* 建中靖國續燈錄 (Jianzhong Jingguo-era *Supplementary record of the lamp*) (1101), and *Jiatai pudeng lu* 嘉泰普燈錄 (Jiatai-era *Extensive record of the lamp*) (1204).

*Zongmen shigui lun* 宗門十規論 (Treatise on the ten principles of the Chan school), 1 fascicle (X 63: #1226). Also known as the *Jinghui Fayan Chanshi zongmen shigui lun* 淨慧法眼禪師宗門十規論. By Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益 (885–958), the founder of the Fayan school of Chan; the date of first publication is unknown. The text emphasizes the importance of doctrinal study and an ascetic lifestyle, and argues against the tendency in Chan at that time to place an unbalanced stress on sudden enlightenment. In ten sections Fayan sets forth the primary objectives of Patriarch Chan, then clarifies the shortcomings of contemporary teachers.

*Zongmen tongyao ji* 宗門統要集 (Essential collection of the lineage of the Chan school), 10 fascicles. A collection of 1107 koans compiled by the Chan monk Zongyong 宗永 (n.d.) of Fujian, and first published in 1133. The *Zongmen tongyao ji* presents koan material relating to the traditional Chan lineage, from Śākyamuni, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese ancestors, through to the masters of the eleventh generation of the lineage of Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and the tenth generation of the lineage of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?–740). The work greatly influenced the compilation of the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao*.

*Zongtong biannian* 宗統編年 (Chronological history of the Chan lineage), 32 fascicles (x 86: #1600). By the Linji master Xiangyu Jiyin 湘雨紀蔭 (n.d.), published in 1690 with a preface dated 1679. A biographical compilation of Chan history, with entries for Śākyamuni, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese ancestors, Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) and Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?–740), and their respective descendents until the year 1689. The emphasis in the later entries is on the central figures of the Linji and Caodong lines, with the compiler advocating the "true lineage of the Linji school."

*Zunsheng tuoluoni* 尊勝陀羅尼. See *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經.

*Zuochan fayao* 坐禪法要. See *Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要.

*Zutang ji* 祖堂集 (Annals of the ancestral hall), 20 fascicles. Compiled by Jing 静 and Yun 筠, two Chan monks at Zhaoqing yuan 招慶院 in Quanzhou泉州. This early Chan biographical compilation, published in 952, contains material from the Chan records on 256 figures, from the Seven Buddhas of the Past, Śākyamuni, the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs, the six Chinese ancestors, through to the masters of the representative Chan lineages stemming from Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (660?–740) and Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744). The biographies are given in chronological order and classified according to lineage. The *Zutang ji* built on earlier biographical works like the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 (801) in setting forth teachings, verses, and the encounter dialogue anecdotes that were later used in the Lamp Records, and which formed the basis of the Chan koan literature. Owing to the oral nature of the encounter dialogues, the *Zutang ji* pioneered the transcription of the Chinese vernacular in standardized written form, an important development in Chan textual history. The *Zutang ji* appears to have been studied in China until about the end of the eleventh century, but was subsequently lost. The text as we now have it was published in Korea in 1245, and rediscovered in that country early in the twentieth century.

*Zuting shiyuan* 祖庭事苑 (Chrestomathy from the ancestral garden), 8 fascicles (x 64: #1261). Compiled over the course of twenty years by *Muan Shanqing* 睦庵善卿 (n.d.) and published in 1108. The *Zuting shiyuan* is a Chan lexicon

with approximately 2,400 entries defining a wide variety of proper nouns, special terms, and historical allusions selected from representative Chan records like the *Yunmen guanglu* 雲門廣錄 and the *Xuedou baize songgu* 雪竇百則頌古.

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# *List of Personal Names*

*The following list contains all Chinese names mentioned in the Historical Introduction and the Text and Commentary sections, arranged alphabetically according to their Chinese reading in Pinyin, followed by the Chinese characters, the Wade-Giles pronunciation, and the Japanese pronunciation.*

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| A'nan | 阿難 | A-nan | Anan |
| An Lushan | 安祿山 | An Lu-shan | An Rokusan |
| An Shigao | 安世高 | An Shih-kao | An Seikō |
| Ashifujusha | 阿濕縛窶沙 | A-shih-feng-chü-sha | Ashibakusha |
| Bai Juyi | 白居易 | Pai Chü-i | Haku Kyoi |
| Baiyun Shouduan | 白雲守端 | Pai-yün Shou-tuan | Hakuun Shutan |
| Baizhang Huaihai | 百丈懷海 | Pai-chang Huai-hai | Hyakujō Ekai |
| Baofeng Kewen | 寶峰克文 | Pao-feng K'o-wen | Hōhō Kokumon |
| Baofu Congzhan | 保福從展 | Pao-fu Ts'ung-chan | Hofuku Jūten |
| Baoshou Yanzhao | 寶壽延沼 | Pao-shou Yen-chao | Hōjū Enshō |
| Baoshou Zhao | 寶壽沼 | Pao-shou Chao | Hōjū Shō |
| Baotan | 寶曇 | Pao-t'an | Hōdon |
| Baozhi | 寶誌 / 保誌 | Pao-chih | Hōshi |
| Beijian Jujian | 北椎居簡 | Pei-chien Ch -chien | Hokkan Kokan |
| Bianhe | 辨和 | Pien-ho | Benwa |
| Bieweng Zhen | 別翁甄 | Pieh-weng Chen | Betsuō Ken |
| Boluoti | 波羅提 | Po-lo-t'i | Haradai |
| Bore | 般若 | Po-je | Hannya |
| Cao | 操 | Ts'ao | Sō |
| Caoxi | 曹溪 | Ts'ao-hsi | Sōkei |
| Cen | 岑 | Ts'en | Gin |
| Changqing Huileng | 長慶慧稜 | Ch'ang-ch'ing Hui-leng | Chōkei Eryō |
| Changsha Jingcen | 長沙景岑 | Ch'ang-sha Ching-ts'en | Chōsa Keishin |
| Changsha Zhenlang | 長沙振朗 | Ch'ang-sha | Chōsa Shinrō |
| Changsheng | 長生 | Ch'ang-sheng | Chōshō |
| Changweng Rujing | 長翁如淨 | Ch'ang-weng Ju-ching | Chōō Nyojō |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Changzi Kuang | 長髭曠 | Ch'ang-tzu K'uang | Chōshi Kō |
| Chen Cao | 陳操 | Ch'en Ts'ao | Chin Sō |
| Chen Puxie | 陳蒲鞋 | Ch'en P'u-hsieh | Chin Hoai |
| Chen Xu | 陳詡 | Ch'en Hsü | Chin Ku |
| Chen Zunsu | 陳尊宿 | Ch'en Tsun-su | Chin Sonshuku |
| Cheng Yi | 程頤 | Ch'eng I | Tei I |
| Chengzong | 成宗 | Ch'eng-tsung | Seisō |
| Chijue Daochong | 痴絶道冲 | Ch'ih-chüeh | Chizetsu Dōchū |
| Chiyan Guizong | 赤眼歸宗 | Ch'ih-yen Kuei-tsung | Sekigen Kisu |
| Chongshun | 重順 | Ch'ung-shun | Chōjun |
| Chongyuan | 崇遠 | Ch'ung-yüan | Sūon |
| Chuanzi Decheng | 船子德誠 | Ch'uan-tzu Te-ch'eng | Sensu Tokujō |
| Chuji | 處寂 | Ch'u-chi | Shojaku |
| Chuzhen | 處眞 | Ch'u-chen | Shoshin |
| Ci'en Dashi Kuiji | 慈恩大師窺基 | T'zu-en Ta-shih K'uei-chi | Jion Daishi Kiki |
| Ciming | 慈明 | T'zu-ming | Jimyō |
| Cui Langzhong | 崔郎中 | Ts'ui Lang-chung | Sai Rōchū |
| Cuifeng | 翠峯 | Ts'ui-feng | Suihō |
| Cuiwei Wuxue | 翠微無學 | Ts'ui-wei Wu-hsüeh | Suibi Mugaku |
| Dachuan Puji | 大川普濟 | Ta-chuan Fu-chi | Daisen Fusai |
| Daci Huanzhong | 大慈寰中 | Ta-tz'u Huan-chung | Daiji Kanchū |
| Dada Wuye | 大達無業 | Ta-ta Wu-yeh | Daidatsu Mugō |
| Dagui | 大潙 | Ta-kuei | Dai'i |
| Dahui (of Dawei) | 大慧 | Ta-hui | Daie |
| Dahui Zonggao | 大慧宗杲 | Ta-hui Tsung-kao | Daie Sōkō |
| Daizong | 代宗 | Tai-tsung | Daisō |
| Dajian Huineng | 大鑑慧能 | Ta-chien Hui-neng | Daikan Enō |
| Dajue | 大覺 | Ta-chüeh | Daikaku |
| Damei Fachang | 大梅法常 | Ta-mei Fa-ch'ang | Daibai Hōjō |
| Danxia Tianran | 丹霞天然 | Tan-hsia T'ien-jan | Tanka Tennen |
| Danyuan Yingzhen | 耽源應眞 | Tan-yüan Ying-chen | Tangen Ōshin |
| Daocan | 道璨 | Tao-tsan | Dōsan |
| Daoqin | 道欽 | Tao-ch'in | Dōkin |
| Daosheng | 道生 | Tao-sheng | Dōshō |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Daoshi | 道世 | Tao-shih | Dōsei |
| Daowu Yuanzhi | 道吾圓智 | Tao-wu Yüan-chih | Dōgo Enchi |
| Daowu Zongzhi | 道吾宗智 | Tao-wu Tsung-chih | Dōgo Sōchi |
| Daoxin | 道信 | Tao-hsin | Dōshin |
| Daoxing | 道興 | Tao-hsing | Dōkō |
| Daoxiu | 道秀 | Tao-hsiu | Dōshū |
| Dasheng | 大聖 | Ta-sheng | Daishō |
| Dasui Fazhen | 大隨法眞 | Ta-sui Fa-chen | Daizui Hōshin |
| Dayu | 大愚 | Ta-yü | Daigu |
| Dazhu Huihai | 大珠慧海 | Ta-chu Hui-hai | Daiju Ekai |
| Deshan Xuanjian | 德山宣鑑 | Te-shan Hsüan-chien | Tokusan Senkan |
| Deshan Yuanming | 德山圓明 | Te-shan Yüan-ming | Tokusan Enmyō |
| Deshan Zongyin | 德山總印 | Te-shan Tsung-yin | Tokusan Sōin |
| Deyun Biqiu | 德雲比丘 | Te-yün Pi-ch'iu | Toku'un Biku |
| Dezong | 德宗 | Te-tsung | Tokusō |
| Di Hao | 翟灝 | Ti Hao | Teki Kō |
| Ding | 定 | Ting | Jō |
| Dong si | 東寺 | Tsung-ssu | Tōji |
| Donglin Daogan | 東林道顏 | Tung-lin Tao-yen | Tōrin Dōgan |
| Dongpo | 東坡 | Tung-p'o | Tōba |
| Dongshan Huikong | 東山慧空 | Tung-shan Hui-kong | Tōzan Ekū |
| Dongshan Liangjie | 洞山良价 | Tung-shan Liang-chieh | Tōzan Ryōkai |
| Dongshan Shouchu | 洞山守初 | Tung-shan Shou-ch'u | Tōzan Shusho |
| Dongyue Xiangmo | 東嶽降魔 | Tung-yüeh Hsiang-mo | Tōgaku Ryūma |
| Doushuai Congyue | 兜率從悅 | Tou-shuai Ts'ung-yüeh | Tosotsu Jūetsu |
| Du Fu | 杜甫 | Tu Fu | To Ho |
| Du Mu | 杜牧 | Tu Mu | To Boku |
| Du Shun | 杜順 | Tu Shun | To Jun |
| Dugu Pei | 獨孤沛 | Tu-ko P'ei | Dokko Hai |
| Ezhou Zhuyushan | 鄂州茱萸山 | E-chou Chu-yü-shan | Gakushū Shuyusan |
| Fachang | 法常 | Fa-ch'ang | Hōjō |
| Fahai | 法海 | Fa-hai | Hōkai |
| Fanyun | 梵雲 | Fan-yün | Bon'un |
| Farong | 法融 | Fa-jung | Hōyū |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fayan Wenyi | 法眼文益 | Fa-yen Wen-i | Hōgen Mon'eki |
| Fazang | 法藏 | Fa-tsang | Hōzō |
| Feiyin Tongrong | 費隱通容 | Fei-yin T'ung-jung | Hi'in Tsūyō |
| Feng | 奉 | Feng | Hō |
| Fengxue Yanzhao | 風穴延沼 | Feng-hsüeh Yen-chao | Fuketsu Enshō |
| Fenyang Shanzhao | 汾陽善昭 | Fen-yang Shan-chao | Fun'yō Zenshō |
| Fenzhou Wuye | 汾州無業 | Fen-chou Wu-yeh | Funshū Mugō |
| Foguo | 佛果 | Fo-kuo | Bukka |
| Fojian Huiqin | 佛鑑慧懃 | Fo-chien Hui-ch'in | Bukkan Egon |
| Fori Qisong | 佛日契嵩 | Fo-jih Ch'i-sung | Butsunichi Kaisū |
| Foyan Qingyuan | 佛眼清遠 | Fo-yen Ch'ing-yüan | Butsugen Seion |
| Fu Dashi | 傅大士 | Fu Ta-shih | Fu Daishi |
| Fubei | 浮盃 | Fu-pei | Fuhai |
| Fuli | 復禮 | Fu-li | Bukurei |
| Gan Bao | 干寶 | Kan Pao | Kan Bō |
| Ganquan Zhixian | 甘泉志賢 | Kan-ch'üan Chih-hsien | Kansen Shiken |
| Gao'an Dayu | 高安大愚 | Kao-an Ta-yü | Kōan Daigu |
| Gaozong | 高宗 | Kao-tsung | Kōsō |
| Gongcheng Yi | 公乘億 | Kung-ch'eng I | Kōjō Oku |
| Guanding | 灌頂 | Kuan-ting | Kanjō |
| Guangtong Fashi | 光統法師 | Kuang-t'ung Fa-shih | Kōzu Hōshi |
| Guangxiao Huijue | 光孝慧覺 | Kuang-hsiao Hui-chüeh | Kōkō Ekaku |
| Guannan | 關南 | Kuan-nan Chang-lao | Kannan |
| Guanshiyin | 觀世音 | Kuan-shih-yin | Kanzeon |
| Guanxi Zhixian | 灌溪志閑 | Kuan-hsi Chih-hsien | Kankei Shikan |
| Guanyin | 觀音 | Kuan-yin | Kannon |
| Guifeng Zongmi | 圭峰宗密 | Kuei-feng Tsung-mi | Keihō Shūmitsu |
| Guishan Da'an | 溈山大安 | Kuei-shan Ta-an | Isan Dai'an |
| Guishan Dayuan | 溈山大圓 | Kuei-shan Ta-yüan | Isan Dai'en |
| Guishan Lan'an | 溈山懶安 | Kuei-shan Lan-an | Isan Ran'an |
| Guishan Lingyou | 溈山靈祐 | Kuei-shan Ling-yu | Isan Reiyū |
| Guizong Zhichang | 歸宗智常 | Kuei-tsung Chih-ch'ang | Kisu Chijō |
| Gulin Qingmao | 古林清茂 | Ku-lin Ch'ing-mao | Kurin Seimo |
| Guo Maoqing | 郭茂清 | Kuo Mao-ch'ien | Kaku Mosei |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Guo Tianxi | 郭天錫 | Kuo T'ien-hsi | Kaku Tenshaku |
| Guquan Dadao | 谷泉大道 | Ku-ch'üan Ta-tao | Yokusen Daidō |
| Gushan Shigui | 鼓山士珪 | Ku-shan Shih-kuei | Kuzan Shikei |
| Gutazhu | 古塔主 | Ku-t'a-chu | Kotōshu |
| Guyin Yuncong | 谷隱蘊聰 | Ku-yin Yün-ts'ung | Yokuin Onsō |
| Haiyun Yinjian | 海雲印簡 | Hai-yün Yin-chien | Kaiun Inkan |
| Han Jian | 韓簡 | Han Chien | Kan Kan |
| Han Yu | 韓愈 | Han Yü | Kan Yu |
| Han Yunzhong | 韓允忠 | Han Yün-chung | Kan Inchū |
| Hanshan | 寒山 | Han-shan | Kanzan |
| Hao Yixing | 郝懿行 | Hao I-hsing | Kaku Ikō |
| Haoyue | 皓月 | Hao-yüeh | Kōgetsu |
| He Hongjing | 何弘敬 | Ho Hung-ching | Ka Kōkei |
| Hengyue Huisi | 衡嶽慧思 | Heng-yüeh Hui-ssu | Kōgaku Eshi |
| Heyang | 河陽 | Ho-yang | Kayō |
| Heze Shenhui | 荷澤神會 | Ho-tse Shen-hui | Kataku Jinne |
| Hongren | 弘忍 | Hung-jen | Gunin |
| Hongzhi Zhengjue | 宏智正覺 | Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh | Wanshi Shōgaku |
| Hu Sanxing | 胡三省 | Hu San-hsing | Ko Sansei |
| Huaicheng | 懷澄 | Huai-ch'eng | Echō |
| Huang Tingjian | 黃庭堅 | Huang T'ing-chien | Kō Teiken |
| Huangbo Xiyun | 黃檗希運 | Huang-po Hsi-yün | Ōbaku Kiun |
| Huanglong Huinan | 黃龍慧南 | Huang-lung Hui-nan | Ōryō Enan |
| Huayan Zhizang | 華嚴智藏 | Hua-yen Chih-tsang | Kegon Chizō |
| Huijiao | 慧皎 | Hui-chiao | Eko |
| Huiju | 慧炬 | Hui-chü | E'en |
| Huijue | 慧覺 | Hui-chüeh | Ekaku |
| Huike | 慧可 | Hui-k'o | Eka |
| Huiming | 慧明 | Hui-ming | Emyō |
| Huineng | 慧能 | Hui-neng | Enō |
| Huishi Shiming | 晦室師明 | Hui-shih Shih-ming | Kaishitsu Shimei |
| Huiwen | 慧文 | Hui-wen | Emon |
| Huiweng Wuming | 晦翁悟明 | Hui-weng Wu-ming | Kaiō Gomyō |
| Huixiang | 慧祥 | Hui-hsiang | Eshō |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Huiyuan | 慧遠 | Hui-yüan | Eon |
| Huizang | 慧藏 | Hui-tsang | Ezō |
| Huizhong | 慧忠 | Hui-chung | Echū |
| Huizong | 徽宗 | Hui-tsung | Kisō |
| Huo | 彟 | Huo | Katsu |
| Huo'an Shiti | 或庵師體 | Huo-an Shih-t'i | Wakuan Shitai |
| Huqiu Shaolong | 虎丘紹隆 | Hu-ch'iu Shao-lung | Kukyū Jōryū |
| Hutou | 虎頭 | Hu-t'ou | Kotō |
| Ji | 齊 | Chi | Shi |
| Jianatipo | 迦那提婆 | Chia-na ti-p'o | Kanadaiba |
| Jianfu Chenggu | 薦福承古 | Chien-fu Ch'eng-ku | Senpuku Shōko |
| Jiang Shen | 蔣伸 | Chiang Shen | Shō Shin |
| Jiang Yi | 蔣乂 | Chiang Yi | Shō Gai |
| Jiang Zhiqi | 蔣之奇 | Chiang Chih-ch'i | Shō Shiki |
| Jianzong | 鑒宗 | Chien-tsung | Kanjū |
| Jiashan Shanhui | 夾山善會 | Chia-shan Shan-hui | Kassan Zenne |
| Jiashe Fo | 迦葉佛 | Chia-she Fo | Kashō Butsu |
| Jingjue | 淨覺 | Ching-chüeh | Jōkaku |
| Jingqing Daofu | 鏡清道怤 | Ching-ch'ing Tao-fu | Kyōsei Dōfu |
| Jingshan Hongyan | 徑山鴻諲 | Ching-shan Hung-yen | Kinzan Kōshin |
| Jingzhao Mihu | 京兆米胡 | Ching-chao Mi-hu | Keichō Beiko |
| Jinniu | 金牛 | Chin-nui | Kingyū |
| Jixin | 紀信 | Chi-hsin | Kishin |
| Jiyin Zunzhe | 寂音尊者 | Chi-yin Tsun-che | Jakuon Sonja |
| Jizang | 吉藏 | Chi-tsang | Kichizō |
| Jue Tiezui | 覺鐵觜 | Chüeh T'ieh-tsui | Kaku Tetsushi |
| Jueduo Sanzang | 崛多三藏 | Chüeh-to San-tsang | Kutta Sanzō |
| Juefan Huihong | 覺範慧洪 | Chüeh-fan Hui-hung | Kakuhan Ekō |
| Junxiong | 君雄 | Chün-hsiung | Kunyū |
| Juzhou Baotan | 橘洲寶曇 | Chü-chou Pao-t'an | Kisshū Hōdon |
| Kang Mengxiang | 康孟詳 | K'ang-meng-hsiang | Kōmōshō |
| Ke (see Huike) | 可 | K'o | Ka |
| Kongzi | 孔子 | K'ung-tzu | Kōshi |
| Kuyai | 枯崖 | K'u-ai | Kogai |

| PINYIN | CHINESE | WADE-GILES | JAPANESE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Langye Huijue | 瑯溪慧覺 | Lang-yeh Hui-chüeh | Rōya Ekaku |
| Lanxi Daolong | 蘭溪道隆 | Lan-hsi Tao-lung | Rankei Dōryū |
| Lanzan | 懶贊 | Lan-tsan | Ransan |
| Le Yanzhen | 樂彥禎 | Lo Yen-chen | Raku Gentei |
| Lepu Yuan'an | 樂普元安 | Le-p'u Yüan-an | Rakuho Gen'an |
| Letan Kewen | 棳潭克文 | Le-t'an K'o-wen | Rokutan Kokubun |
| Li Baojia | 李寶嘉 | Li Pao-chia | Ri Hōka |
| Li Bo | 李渤 | Li Po | Ri Botsu |
| Li Jing | 李璟 | Li Ching | Ri Ei |
| Li Kuangwei | 李匡威 | Li K'uang-wei | Ri Kyōi |
| Li Su | 李愬 | Li Su | Ri So |
| Li Tongxuan | 李通玄 | Li T'ung-hsuan | Ri Tsūgen |
| Li Xu | 李勗 | Li Hsü | Ri Kyoku |
| Li Ying | 李膺 | Li Ying | Ri Yō |
| Li Zunxu | 李遵勗 | Li Tsun-hsü | Ri Junkyoku |
| Liang Baozhi | 梁寶志 | Liang Pao-chih | Ryō Hōshi |
| Liang Wudi | 梁武帝 | Liang Wu-ti | Ryō Butei |
| Lingshu Rumin | 靈樹如敏 | Ling-shu Ju-min | Reiju Nyobin |
| Lingyun Zhiqin | 靈雲志勤 | Ling-yün Chih-ch'in | Reiun Shigon |
| Linji Yixuan | 臨濟義玄 | Lin-chi I-hsüan | Rinzai Gigen |
| Linquan Conglun | 林泉從倫 | Lin-ch'üan Ts'ung-lun | Rinsen Jūrin |
| Liu Jishu | 劉季述 | Liu Chi-shu | Ryū Kijutsu |
| Longguang | 龍光 | Lung-kuang | Ryōkō |
| Longshu | 龍樹 | Lung-shu | Ryūju |
| Longtan Chongxin | 龍潭崇信 | Lung-t'an Ch'ung-hsin | Ryūtan Sōshin |
| Longya Judun | 龍牙居遁 | Lung-ya Chü-tun | Ryūge Kodon |
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| Lü Shun | 呂舜 | Lü Shun | Ro Shun |
| Lu Xingzhe | 廬行者 | Lu Hsing-che | Ro Gyōja |
| Lu Xisheng | 陸希聲 | Lu Hsi-sheng | Riku Kisei |
| Lu Yi | 廬奕 | Lu I | Ro Eki |
| Luohan Guichen | 羅漢桂琛 | Lo-han Kuei-ch'en | Rakan Keishin |
| Luopu Yuan'an | 洛浦元安 | Lo-p'u Yüan-an | Rakuho Gen'an |
| Luoshan Daoxian | 羅山道閑 | Lo-shan T'ao-hsien | Razan Dōkan |

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| Ma Fang | 馬防 | Ma Fang | Ba Bō |
| Mayu Baoche | 麻谷寶徹 | Ma-ku Pao-ch'e | Mayoku Hōtetsu |
| Mazu Daoyi | 馬祖道一 | Ma-tsu Tao-i | Baso Dō'itsu |
| Meng Haoran | 孟活然 | Meng Hao-jan | Mō Kōzen |
| Mi | 米 | Mi | Bei |
| Mi'an Xianjie | 密庵咸傑 | Mi-an Hsien-chieh | Mittan Kanketsu |
| Miaode | 妙德 | Miao-te | Myōtoku |
| Mile | 彌勒 | Mi-le | Miroku |
| Minghua | 明化 | Ming-hua | Myōke |
| Mingjue | 明覺 | Ming-chüeh | Myōkaku |
| Mingzhao Deqian | 明招德謙 | Ming-chao Te-ch'ien | Myōshō Tokken |
| Miyun Yuanwu | 密雲圓悟 | Mi-Yün Yüan-wu | Mitsu'un Engo |
| Mo Junhe | 默(墨)君和 | Mo Chün-ho | Moku Kunka |
| Mohe Jiashe | 摩訶迦葉 | Mo-ho Chia-she | Maka Kashō |
| Monaluo | 摩拏羅 | Mo-na-la | Manura |
| Mozi | 墨子 | Mo-tzu | Bokushi |
| Muan Shanqing | 睦庵善卿 | Mu-an Shan-ch'ing | Bokuan Zenkyō |
| Muan Xingdao | 木菴性瑫 | Mu-an Hsing-tao | Mokuan Shōtō |
| Mukou | 木口 | Mu-k'ou | Mokkō |
| Mulian | 目連 | Mu-lien | Mokuren |
| Muta | 木塔 | Mu-t'a | Mokutō |
| Muzhou Daoming | 睦州道明 | Mu-chou Tao-ming | Bokujū Dōmyō |
| Muzhou Daozong | 睦州道蹤 | Mu-chou Tao-tsung | Bokujū Dōshō |
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| Nanyuan Huiyong | 南院慧顒 | Nan-yüan Hui-yung | Nan'in Egyō |
| Nanyue Huairang | 南嶽懷讓 | Nan-yüeh Huai-jang | Nangaku Ejō |
| Nanyue Mingzan | 南嶽明瓚 | Nan-yüeh Ming-tsan | Nangaku Myōsan |
| Nanyue Qiji | 南嶽齊己 | Nan-yüeh Ch'i-chi | Nangaku Saiki |
| Niutou Farong | 牛頭法融 | Niu-t'o Fa-jung | Gozu Hōyū |
| Pang Jushi | 龐居士 | P'ang Chü-shih | Hō Koji |
| Pang Yun | 龐蘊 | P'ang Yün | Hō On |

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| Pei Xiu | 裴休 | P'ei Hsiu | Hai Kyū |
| Ping | 平 | P'ing | Byō |
| Piyun | 披雲 | P'i-yün | Hiun |
| Puhua | 普化 | P'u-hua | Fuke |
| Puji | 普寂 | P'u-chi | Fujaku |
| Putidamo | 菩提達磨 | P'u-t'i-ta-mo | Bodaidaruma |
| Putiliuzhi Sanzang | 菩提流支三藏 | P'u-t'i-liu-chih San-tsang | Bodairushi Sanzō |
| Puxian | 普賢 | P'u-hsien | Fugen |
| Puxiang Jiang Gong | 蒲相蔣公 | P'u-hsiang Chiang-kung | Hoshō Shōkō |
| Qianming Huiche | 乾明慧徹 | Ch'ien-ming Hui-ch'e | Kenmei Etetsu |
| Qianqing Chu'nan | 千頃楚南 | Ch'ien-ch'ing Ch'u-nan | Senkei So'nan |
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| Qingliang Taiqin | 清涼泰欽 | Ch'ing-liang Tai-ch'in | Shōryō Taikin |
| Qingyuan Xingsi | 青原行思 | Ch'ing-yüan Hsing-ssu | Seigen Gyōshi |
| Qingzhuo Zhengcheng | 清拙正澄 | Ch'ing-cho Cheng-ch'eng | Seisetsu Shōchō |
| Sanping Yizhong | 三平義忠 | San-p'ing I-chung | Sanpyō Gichū |
| Sansheng Huiran | 三聖慧然 | San-sheng Hui-jan | Sanshō E'nen |
| Sengcan | 僧粲 | Seng-ts'an | Sōsan |
| Sengting Shouze | 僧挺守賾 | Seng-t'ing Shou-tse | Sōtei Shusaku |
| Sengzhao | 僧肇 | Seng-chao | Sōjō |
| Shancai Tongzi | 善財童子 | Shan-ts'ai T'ung-tzu | Zenzai Dōshi |
| Shandao | 善道 | Shan-tao | Zendō |
| Shanhui Dashi | 善慧大士 | Shan-hui Ta-shih | Zen'e Daishi |
| Shanshan | 杉山 | Shan-shan | Sanzan |
| Shao Yaofu | 邵堯夫 | Shao Yao-fu | Shō |
| Shao Yong | 邵雍 | Shao Yung | Shō Yō |
| Shenxing | 神行 | Shen-hsing | Jingyō |
| Shenxiu | 神秀 | Shen-hsiu | Jinshū |
| (Shi) Huize | (釋) 慧賾 | (Shih) Hui-tse | (Shaku) Esaku |
| Shigong Huizang | 石鞏慧藏 | Shih-kung Hui-tsang | Shakkyō Ezō |
| Shigong Xin | 石鞏新 | Shih-kung Hsin | Shakkyō Shin |
| Shijiamouni | 釋迦牟尼 | Shih-chia-mou-ni | Shakamuni |
| Shishi Shandao | 石室善道 | Shih-shih Shan-tao | Sekishitsu Zendō |

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| Shitou Xiqian | 石頭希遷 | Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien | Sekitō Kisen |
| Shoushan | 壽山 | Shou-shan | Juzan |
| Shoushan Shengnian | 首山省念 | Shou-shan Hsing-nien | Shuzan Shōnen |
| Shuangshan Yuan | 雙杉元 | Shuang-shan Yüan | Sōsan Gen |
| Shushan Guangren | 疎山光仁 | Shu-shan Kuang-jen | Sozan Kōnin |
| Sikongshan Benjing | 司空山本淨 | Ssu-k'ung-shan Pen-ching | Shikūzan Honjō |
| Sixin Wuxin | 死心悟新 | Ssu-hsin Wu-hsin | Shishin Goshin |
| Song Ding | 宋鼎 | Sung-Ting | Sō Tei |
| Songshan Huian | 嵩山慧安 | Sung-shan Hui-an | Sūzan Ean |
| Songyuan Chongyue | 松源崇嶽 | Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yüeh | Shōgen Sūgaku |
| Songyue Puji | 嵩嶽普寂 | Sung-yüeh P'u-chi | Sūgaku Fujaku |
| Suxi | 蘇溪 | Su-chi | Sokei |
| Suzong | 肅宗 | Su-tsung | Shukusō |
| Taiyuan | 太原 | T'ai-yüan | Taigen |
| Taiyuan Fu | 太原孚 | T'ai-yüan Fu | Taigen Fu |
| Taizong | 太宗 | T'ai-tsung | Taisō |
| Tanguo | 曇果 | T'an-kuo | Donka |
| Tanlin | 曇林 | T'an-lin | Donrin |
| Tanluan | 曇鸞 | T'an-luan | Donran |
| Tanqian | 曇遷 | T'an-ch'ien | Donsen |
| Tao Hongjing | 陶弘景 | T'ao Hung-ching | Tō Kōkei |
| Tengteng | 騰騰 | T'eng-t'eng | Tōtō |
| Tianhuang Daowu | 天皇道悟 | T'ien-huang Tao-wu | Tennō Dōgo |
| Tiantai Deshao | 天台德韶 | T'ien-t'ai Te-shao | Tendai Tokushō |
| Tiantong Hongzhi | 天童宏智 | T'ien-t'ung Hung-chih | Tendō Wanshi |
| Tianyi Yihuai | 天衣義懷 | T'ien-i I-huai | Ten'e Gikai |
| Tipo | 提婆 | Ti-p'o | Daiba |
| Tipodaduo | 提婆達多 | Ti-p'o-ta-to | Daibadatta |
| Touzi Fazong | 投子法宗 | T'ou-tzu Fa-tsung | Tōsu Hōshū |
| Touzi Yiqing | 投子義青 | T'ou-tzu I-ch'ing | Tōsu Gisei |
| Tuling Renyou | 荼陵仁郁 | T'u-ling Jen-yu | Toryō Nin'iku |
| Wang Changshi | 王常侍 | Wang Ch'ang-shih | Ō Jōji |

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| Wang Fanzhi | 王梵志 | Wang Fan-chih | Ō Bonji |
| Wang Jingchu | 王敬初 | Wang Ching-ch'u | Ō Keishō |
| Wang Ju | 王琚 | Wang-chü | Ō Kyō |
| Wang Rong | 王鎔 | Wang Jung | Ō Yō |
| Wang Shaoding | 王紹鼎 | Wang Shao-ting | Ō Shōtei |
| Wang Shaoyi | 王紹懿 | Wang Shao-i | Ō Shōi |
| Wang Sui | 王隨 | Wang Sui | Ō Zui |
| Wang Tingcou | 王庭湊 | Wang Ting-ts'ou | Ō Teisō |
| Wang Wei | 王維 | Wang Wei | Ō I |
| Wang Xizhi | 王羲之 | Wang Hsi-chih | Ō Gishi |
| Wang Yinzhi | 王引之 | Wang Yin-chih | Ō Inshi |
| Wang Yuankui | 王元逵 | Wang Yüan-k'uei | Ō Genki |
| Wanji Xingmi | 頑極行彌 | Wan-ji Hsing-mi | Gankyoku Gyōmi |
| Wansong Xingxiu | 萬松行秀 | Wan-sung Hsing-hsiu | Banshō Gyōshū |
| Wei Ju | 韋璩 | Wei Chü | I Kyo |
| Weimojie | 維摩詰 | Wei-mo-chieh | Yuimakitsu |
| Weituotian | 韋馱天 | Wei-t'o-t'ien | Idaten |
| Wenxi | 文喜 | Wen-hsi | Monki |
| Wenzong | 文宗 | Wen-tsung | Bunsō |
| Wolun | 臥輪 | Wo-lun | Garin |
| Wu | 武 | Wu | Bu |
| Wu Yuanji | 吳元濟 | Wu Yüan-chi | Go Gensai |
| Wufeng Puxiu | 五峯普秀 | Wu-feng P'u-hsiu | Gohō Fushū |
| Wugou | 無垢 | Wu-kou | Mugō |
| Wumen Huikai | 無門慧開 | Wu-men Hui-k'ai | Mumon Ekai |
| Wuming Huixing | 無明慧性 | Wu-ming Hui-hsing | Mumyō Eshō |
| Wuxie Lingmo | 五洩靈默 | Wu-hsieh Ling-mo | Gosetsu Reimoku |
| Wuzhu | 無住 | Wu-chu | Mujū |
| Wuzhun Shifan | 無準師範 | Wu-chun Shih-han | Mujun Shihan |
| Wuzhuo | 無著 | Wu-cho | Mujaku |
| Wuzong | 武宗 | Wu-tsung | Busō |
| Wuzu Fayan | 五祖法演 | Wu-tsu Fa-yen | Goso Hōen |
| Wuzu Shijie | 五祖師戒 | Wu-tsu Shih-chieh | Goso Shikai |

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| Xiang Yu | 項羽 | Hsiang Yü | Kō U |
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| Xiangtian | 象田 | Hsiang-t'ien | Zōden |
| Xiangyan Zhixian | 香嚴智閑 | Hsiang-yen Chih-hsien | Kyōgen Chikan |
| Xianzong | 憲宗 | Hsien-tsung | Kensō |
| Xiaozong | 孝宗 | Hsiao-tsung | Kōsō |
| Xie Liangzuo | 謝良佐 | Hsieh Liang-tso | Sha Ryōsa |
| Xinghua Cunjiang | 興化存獎 | Hsing-hua Ts'un-chiang | Kōke Zonshō |
| Xingjiao Hongshou | 興教洪壽 | Hsing-chiao Hung-shou | Kōkyō Kōju |
| Xingshan Jianhong | 杏山鑑[鑒]洪 | Hsing-shan Chien-hung | Anzan Kankō |
| Xingshan Weikuan | 興善惟寬 | Hsing-shan Wei-k'uan | Kōzen Ikan |
| Xingyang Rang | 興陽讓 | Hsing-yang Jang | Kōyō Jō |
| Xitang Zhizang | 西堂智藏 | Hsi-t'ang Chih-tsang | Seidō Chizō |
| Xiu | 秀 | Hsiu | Shū |
| Xizong | 僖宗 | Hsi-tsung | Kisō |
| Xuangao | 玄高 | Hsüan-kao | Genkō |
| Xuansha Shibei | 玄沙師備 | Hsüan-sha Shih-pei | Gensha Shibi |
| Xuanzang | 玄奘 | Hsüan-tsang | Genjō |
| Xuanzong | 宣宗 | Hsüan-tsung | Sensō |
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| Xuefeng Huikong | 雪峯慧空 | Hsüeh-feng Hui-kung | Seppō |
| Xuefeng Yicun | 雪峰義存 | Hsüeh-feng I-ts'un | Seppō Gison |
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| Xutang Zhiyu | 虛堂智愚 | Hsü-t'ang Chih-yü | Kidō Chigu |
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| Yang Danian | 楊大年 | Yang Ta-nien | Yō Dainen |
| Yang Yi | 楊億 | Yang I | Yō Oku |
| Yangjuemoluo | 殃掘摩羅 | Yang-chüeh-mo-lo ching | Ōkutsu Mara |
| Yangqi Fanghui | 楊岐方會 | Yang-ch'i Fang-hui | Yōgi Hōe |
| Yangshan Huiji | 仰山慧寂 | Yang-shan Hui-chi | Kyōzan Ejaku |
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| Yanmo | 閻魔 | Yen-mo | Emma |

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| Yantou | 巖頭 | Yen-t'ou | Gantō |
| Yanxi Guangwen | 偃溪廣聞 | Yen-ch'i Kuang-wen | Enkei Kōmon |
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| Yexian Guixing | 葉縣歸省 | Yeh-hsian Kuei-hsing | Yōken Kisei |
| Yijing | 義淨 | I-ching | Gijō |
| Yinfeng | 隱峯 | Yin-feng | Inpō |
| Ying'an Tanhua | 應庵曇華 | Ying-an T'an-hua | Ōan Donge |
| Yinyuan Longqi | 隱元隆琦 | Yin-yüan Lung-ch'i | Ingen Ryūki |
| Yinzong | 印宗 | Yin-tsung | Inshū |
| Yishan Liaowan | 一山了萬 | I-shan Liao-wan | Issan Ryōman |
| Yishan Yining | 一山一寧 | I-shan I-nei | Issan Ichinei |
| Yizong | 懿宗 | I-tsung | Isō |
| Yongjia Xuanjue | 永嘉玄覺 | Yung-chia Hsüan-chüeh | Yōka Genkaku |
| Yongming Yanshou | 永明延壽 | Yung-ming Yen-shou | Yōmei Enju |
| Youzhou Yanwang | 幽州燕王 | Yu-chou Yen-wang | Yūshū En'ō |
| Yu Di | 于頔 | Yü Ti | U Teki |
| Yu Zhengxie | 俞正燮 | Yü Cheng-hsieh | Yu Seishō |
| Yuanfeng Qingman | 元豐淸滿 | Yüan-feng Ch'ing-man | Genpō Seiman |
| Yuanjue Zongyan | 圓覺宗演 | Yüan-chüeh Tsung-yen | Engaku Sōen |
| Yuanwu Keqin | 圜悟克勤 | Yüan-wu K'o-ch'in | Engo Kokugon |
| Yuezhou Qianfeng | 越州乾峰 | Yüeh-chou Ch'ien-feng | Esshū Kenpō |
| Yun'an Puyan | 運庵普巖 | Yün-an P'u-yen | Un'an Fugan |
| Yunju Daojian | 雲居道簡 | Yün-chü Tao-chien | Ungo Dōkan |
| Yunju Shanwu | 雲居善悟 | Yün-chü Shan-wu | Ungo Zengo |
| Yunju Xiaoshun | 雲居曉舜 | Yün-chü Hsiao-shun | Ungo Gyōshun |
| Yunjushan Chang | 雲居山昌 | Yün-chü-shan Ch'ang | Ungozan Shō |
| Yunmen Wenyan | 雲門文偃 | Yün-men Wen-yen | Unmon Bun'en |
| Yunyan | 雲嵓 | Yün-yen | Ungan |
| Yunyan Tansheng | 雲巖曇晟 | Yün-yen T'an-sheng | Ungan Donjō |
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| Zetian Dasheng | 則天大聖 | Tse-t'ien Ta-sheng | Sokuten Taisei |

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| Zhang Jiucheng | 張九成 | Chang Chiu-ch'eng | Chō Kyūsei |
| Zhang Jun | 張浚 | Chang Chün | Chō Shun |
| Zhang Shangying | 張商英 | Chang Shang-ying | Chō Shōei |
| Zhang Wujin | 張無盡 | Chang Wu-chin | Chō Mujin |
| Zhang Yunshen | 張允伸 | Chang Yun-shen | Chō Inshin |
| Zhang Zhuo | 張拙 | Chang Cho | Chō Setsu |
| Zhang Zishao | 張子韶 | Chang Tzu-shao | Chō Shishō |
| Zhantang Wenzhun | 湛堂文準 | Chan-t'ang Wen-chun | Tandō Monjun |
| Zhao Lin | 趙璘 | Chao Lin | Chō Rin |
| Zhaozhou Congshen | 趙州從諗 | Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen | Jōshū Jūshin |
| Zheng Yu | 鄭愚 | Cheng Yü | Tei Gu |
| Zhenjing Kewen | 眞淨克文 | Chen-ching K'o-wen | Shinjō Kokubun |
| Zhenzhou Puhua | 鎮州普化 | Chen-chou P'u-hua | Chinshū Fuke |
| Zhenzhou Zhaowang | 鎮州趙王 | Chen-chou Chao-wang | Chinshū Chō'ō |
| Zhenzong | 眞宗 | Chen-tsung | Shinsō |
| Zhichang | 智常 | Chih-ch'ang | Chijō |
| Zhigong | 誌公 | Chih-kung | Shikō |
| Zhihai | 智海 | Chih-hai | Chikai |
| Zhiyan | 智巖 | Chih-yen | Chigan |
| Zhiyi | 智顗 | Chih-che | Chigi |
| Zhongguan Zhao | 中觀沼 | Chung-kuan Chao | Chūkan Shō |
| Zhonghe Zhang | 中和璋 | Chung-ho Chang | Chūwa Shō |
| Zhongzong | 中宗 | Chung-tsung | Chūsō |
| Zhu Falan | 竺法蘭 | Chu Fa-lan | Jiku Hōran |
| Zhu Xi | 朱熹 | Chu Hsi | Shu Ki |
| Zhu Zhangwen | 朱長文 | Chu Chang-wen | Shu Chōbun |
| Zhu Zi | 朱子 | Chu-tzu | Shushi |
| Zhuangzi | 莊子 | Chuang-tzu | Sōshi |
| Zhuozhou Kefu | 涿州剋符 | Cho-chou K'o-fu | Takushū Kokufu |
| Zhuozhou Zhiyi | 涿州紙衣 | Cho-chou Chih-i | Takushū Shi'i |
| Zihu Lizong | 子湖利蹤 | Tzu-hu Li-tsung | Shiko Rishō |
| Zihushan Lizong | 子湖山利蹤 | Tzu-hu-shan Li-tsung | Shikozan Rishō |

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